



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

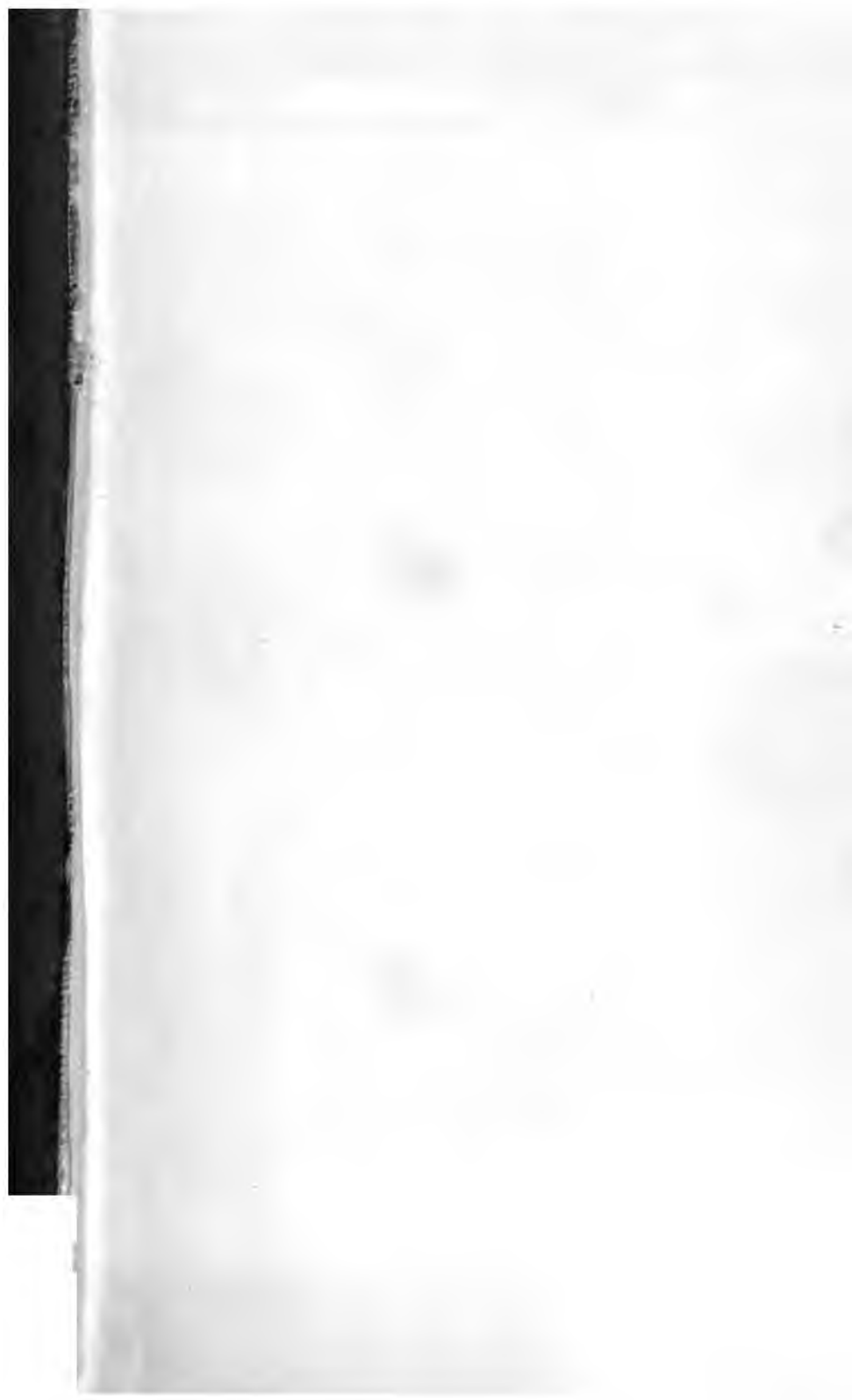
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

LIBRARY OF THE
Leland Stanford Junior Univ

NOT TO BE TAKEN OUT

782.

C 981_w



PRINCIPLES
OF
GREEK ETYMOLOGY

Uniform with the Present Work.

One Volume (600 pp.), 8vo. 12s.

THE GREEK VERB. ITS STRUCTURE AND DEVELOPEMENT.

By Dr. GEORG CURTIUS, Professor of the University of Leipzig. Translated into English, with the Author's sanction. By A. S. WILKINS, Litt. D., LL.D., Professor of Latin and Comparative Philology; and E. B. ENGLAND, M.A., Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Owens College, Manchester.

The body of the work contains very many emendations and additions to the first edition, and may be regarded as the fullest and most learned examination of the phonetic growth of the manifold forms of the Greek verb, and as a masterly dissertation on Comparative Philology. *Educational Times.*

THE STUDENT'S GREEK GRAMMAR; A GRAMMAR OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE. By Dr. GEORG CURTIUS. Translated under the Revision of the Author. Edited by WM. SMITH, D.C.L. and LL.D. *Twelfth Edition.* (386 pp.) Post 8vo. 6s.

A SMALLER GRAMMAR OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE FOR THE MIDDLE AND LOWER FORMS IN SCHOOLS. Abridged from the above Grammar. *Fifteenth Edition.* (220 pp.) 12mo. 3s. 6d.

ELUCIDATIONS OF THE STUDENT'S GREEK GRAMMAR. By Dr. GEORG CURTIUS. Translated by EVELYN ABBOTT, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford. *Second Edition, revised.* Post 8vo. 7s. 6d.

PRINCIPLES
OF
GREEK ETYMOLOGY

BY GEORG CURTIUS
=.
PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG

Fifth Edition

TRANSLATED BY
AUGUSTUS S. WILKINS, LITT.D., LL.D.
PROFESSOR OF LATIN AND COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY

AND
EDWIN B. ENGLAND, M.A.
ASSISTANT LECTURER IN CLASSICS
IN THE OWENS COLLEGE, VICTORIA UNIVERSITY, MANCHESTER

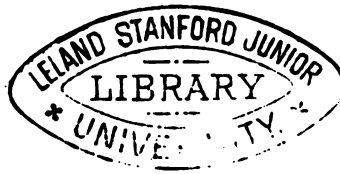
VOL. I.

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY: ALBEMARLE STREET

1886

[*All rights reserved*]

S



A10181
©1912

PRINTED BY HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

✓ C. 112, 186

TRANSLATORS' PREFACE.

THE first edition of this translation of the 'Grundzüge der Griechischen Etymologie,' published in 1875, 1876, was made from the sheets of the fourth edition of the original, as it passed through the press. A fifth edition of the latter was published at Leipzig in 1879. Although not much exceeding in bulk the preceding edition, it contained very extensive additions, and not a few corrections, while some important sections were wholly rewritten. Room was found for these changes by the withdrawal partly of explanations no longer regarded as tenable, partly, and much more frequently, of the criticisms of theories put forward by other scholars, but now so generally rejected as no longer to call for discussion. The very thorough revision, to which the work was thus submitted, gives it a claim to be regarded as containing the author's most mature and deliberate judgement; while the untimely death, which robbed the science of Comparative Philology of one of its most illustrious exponents, at a time when his ripe and sober scholarship seems to be especially needed, has stamped it with a final character. It has hence appeared to be our duty to make this second edition of the translation nothing more than a faithful reproduction of the original.

It is impossible to deny that the work does not hold on some points the same position of authority which was almost universally allowed to it ten years ago. From the year 1876

onwards a series of articles or of independent works have been issued, mainly by the younger German philologists, which, though not always agreeing in the results to which they have led, have been based on the same general principles, and have been commonly regarded as evidence of the rise of a 'junggrammatisch' school. The cardinal principles of this school are (1) that all phonetic change of a mechanical character works according to laws *which admit of no exceptions*: (2) that the operation of analogy was most extensive at a very early stage in the history of language, and tended largely to the association of forms. Of these principles the latter affects to the greatest extent questions as to the origin of inflexions, such as are dealt with in Professor Curtius's comprehensive and most valuable treatise on 'The Greek Verb'; the former has a direct relation to the problems handled in the present work, especially in Book III. In view of the wide acceptance which these principles have found, and the important changes which they have effected, especially in the manner in which the vowel-system is now commonly regarded, it was a matter for serious and repeated consideration, whether it would not be our duty to call attention by frequent notes to the bearing which they have on some of Professor Curtius's conclusions. Several reasons have prevented us from doing so. In the first place, the attempt to carry this out with completeness would have increased very materially the size of a work, which the author, as he showed by his unsparing retrenchment, in the last edition, of everything at all superfluous, wished to be kept within its present limits. Secondly, although on some points the new school have made contributions of permanent value to the Science of Philology, as Professor Curtius in his latest work¹ was not slow to acknowledge, many of their conclusions have not yet been sufficiently sifted, and generally approved, to find their way into a work which has won its place by nothing more than by its marked

¹ 'Zur Kritik der neuesten Sprachforschung' Leipzig 1885.

sobriety and caution. Thirdly, it may be remarked that the value of the vast collection of linguistic facts, which forms the bulk of the present work, is little, if at all, affected by any modification of the theories, which are suggested to explain some of the less common phenomena. Fourthly, the English reader may naturally desire to have this epochal work once at least placed before him in the form in which it was finally left by its author. And finally, we may plead the personal reason that to annotate a work of this magnitude with the completeness requisite if the work was to be undertaken at all, would, with the leisure at our command, have delayed too long the republication of a book which has been for some time out of print, and which has been universally recognized as indispensable for the scientific study of Greek. We have, therefore, contented ourselves with giving as an appendix to the preface a list of the principal works which have appeared since the date of the fifth edition, especially such as set forth the principles or the conclusions of the new school of Philology. The teacher will find in these abundant material for supplementing, or, if in his judgement it should be necessary, of correcting the doctrines which are here stated by Curtius. For the student, we do not wholly abandon the hope expressed in our former preface that at some future time the substance of the present work may be adapted to his needs, with any additions or corrections that the progress of philological science may require.

Among the minor alterations in this edition, we may call attention to the fact that the Sanskrit words are now accented. In view of the increased importance conceded to accentuation as bearing upon phonetic laws, especially since the publication of Karl Verner's important paper in Kuhn's 'Zeitschrift,' this will be recognized as a valuable improvement. It may, however, be worth reminding some readers that in the case of many Sanskrit words the accent cannot be determined either by rule or by authority, and that this is why many remain unmarked.

It is perhaps superfluous, but it is at least permissible, that we should express our sense of the heavy loss which Greek scholarship has sustained in the recent and all too early death of the distinguished author of this work. In recent years his position was somewhat a conservative one, and he was then conspicuous more for the cautious criticism which he directed upon what he regarded as premature theorising, than for brilliant contributions of his own to Comparative Philology. But although he was unable to admit that the whole field of language had as yet been shown to be under the rigorous rule of mechanical law, it must never be forgotten that, as even his critics admit, no man, with the possible exception of Pott, did more in his earlier days to extend the domain of phonetic laws, and to bring the exceptions which he felt constrained to allow, within the sphere of general principles. The genius of Curtius was by no means solely critical. Where his subject called for it, as especially in his suggestive essay '*Zur Chronologie der Indogermanischen Sprachforschung*,' he showed himself capable of the most brilliant theories. But he was still more at home in the sober and judicial estimation of the theories of others. With a never-failing sense of the historical developement of the Greek language, and an extensive knowledge of its literature at different stages, he united a singular candour, and an unbiassed love of truth. It is perhaps only those whose duty has led them, as it has led us, to spend many months, and even years, on the careful and repeated examination of his different works in their various editions, who can fully realise his constant desire to collect from every quarter, and to weigh with scrupulous care, every scrap of evidence, telling either in favour of or against a theory, whether his own or that of a rival, and the readiness with which he abandoned views long advocated, if the weight of argument seemed at last to turn against them. It was only natural that such qualities should be accompanied by a courteous dignity in controversy, which though always loyal to the truth, yet never willingly wounded an opponent.

Of his personal character we need only add that it fully bore out that impression of a single-minded devotion to that which was true and right, which cannot but be derived from his intellectual work.

The pages of the German fifth edition are given in the margin. It is to these marginal pages that reference is made both in the indexes and in the body of the work.

We desire to acknowledge the remarkable care and accuracy with which a book, making unusual demands upon both, has been printed by the Oxford University Press.

MANCHESTER: *Christmas* 1885.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

To ascertain what results have been clearly established by the science of Comparative Philology bearing on Greek Etymology, apart from airy surmisings and absurd methods of investigation, has appeared to me for several reasons a useful undertaking. The Science of Language presents no subject so tempting, none that so invites to unwearying research, as the unsurpassable language of the Greeks, which has developed so richly and characteristically from its primitive foundation: but, to avoid error in the research, there is need for constant converse with that familiar knowledge of the Greek language and its records, which, inherited from Antiquity and the object of close and careful study in our own century, we call in Germany by the special name of Philology. On the other hand Classical Philology, with the wider range which it has now won for itself, asks a thousand questions about the descent and original meaning of Greek words, and about the history of the ideas and conceptions which they present, questions which can only be answered outside its own province, by the science of Comparative Philology. The more lively the activity now reigning in the last-named science, the more attention there is paid by Classical Philology on its side to the information to be gained from this science, so much the greater will be the advantage to be obtained by promoting a profitable commerce between the two movements in this very province.

Without doubt this is a difficult undertaking. Comparative Philologists have been called not without a sneer

'Circumnavigators of the World,' a title which they might be content to accept, were it not unseemly to call by the name of 'world' that Indo-Germanic realm with which we have here to do, and which is after all so very small a part of the region of human speech. Who is to restrict exploration to familiar coasting-voyages? Even here there is most certainly no lack of danger. It is on the rocks and shallows near the land that most ships are wrecked, while it is only on the high seas that navigation has reached its fuller development.

But the bolder the course, the more do we need points of view to guide us. Therefore I have thought it needful above all things in attempting what I have, to subject the first principles and the methods of Comparative Etymology in its application to the Greek language, to a searching discussion. Not that I intended to exhaust the subject systematically, once for all, but, adjusting myself to the present attitude of the study, to handle a series of questions of fundamental importance, and by so doing to establish a fixed standard of procedure for the treatment of details which is to follow. These are the ends served by the First Book of this work.

Next I took as my task the synoptical enumeration of those Greek words and families of words for which undoubted affinities could be found in the kindred languages, along with the words so related. If I have erred in judging of the connexion of words, I believe it has been on the side of caution. Adhering firmly to the principle, that it is better to forbear to connect what *may* be unrelated, than to connect it too hastily, and that a limited number of sure comparisons has far more value than an abundance of uncertain conjectures, I have not shrunk from repeated scrutiny in each single instance. My matter however fell naturally into two parts. Since every trustworthy inquiry must start with the sound rather than the sense, a division naturally resulted between the regular or constant representation of sounds and

which is irregular or sporadic. Accordingly the Second Book treats of Regular Representation of Sounds. Its form is that of an index arranged phonetically.

In the treatment of the several families of words I have endeavoured to state the facts of the case as clearly, and at the same time as concisely as possible. I have therefore given in all cases none but the most important members, though I did not like to omit the translation even of the Greek words. By its addition many readers are saved the trouble of searching for rare words in the dictionary, and even when the words are common, the translation of them has been a short and concise means of calling attention not only to the prominent meaning, but also to noteworthy coincidences and differences in the other languages, and this practice has for consistency's sake been maintained even in the absence of such special reasons. I think that a hint here and there, which may possibly be superfluous, does less harm in these inquiries than that *doctum silentium* which gives rise to many misconceptions, especially as this book may chance to be used by some who are not so well versed in Greek as classical scholars are, though perhaps all the more at home in other languages.

In the search for the Greek words which belong to the same group I have derived much assistance from Niz's small 'Etymologisches Wörterbuch' (second edition, by I. Bekker, Berlin 1821). In this unpretentious little book, which has received too little attention, there is more etymological insight than in all our dictionaries, excellent though they are in other respects. Of Greek grammarians and lexicographers I have most frequently referred to Hesychius, whose statements have in very many instances been confirmed by inscriptions of recent discovery. I have however carefully avoided indulging in guesses at isolated etymological puzzles, and have only occasionally noticed proper names.

In giving the words from the other languages I have bestowed great care on the accuracy of their appended trans-

lations. Hence I have generally followed my authorities in using the language in which the meaning is there given. In the case of the Church-Slavonic and Gothic words I have often added the Greek words to which they serve as a translation. This not unfrequently makes the correspondence still more striking.

To each group of connected words I have added a short commentary; and in so doing I have thought it necessary in the first place to give the history of each etymology more fully than has been done hitherto. The literature of etymology has often been unduly neglected. The sanctity of intellectual property, and the continuity so desirable in scientific investigation, both demand, I think, greater care in this direction. Accordingly, though I cannot vouch for absolute completeness, and have omitted to notice attempts which are clearly fantastic and unmethodical — and of these there are too many even in our days — I have faithfully recorded the contributions of my predecessors. Still etymologies of the old sort are only mentioned occasionally, whenever they give occasion for decided approval or condemnation, or acquire importance from the names of their authors, e. g. Buttmann, Lobeck, or Doederlein. These references to other authors are as a rule followed by short notes of agreement or criticism, or explanation and extension. The compressed brevity of these remarks in the style of critical notes may find an excuse in my desire to confine the work within reasonable limits. Whoever takes the trouble to read these brief notes will perceive from them that the conclusions given in the text have often been arrived at after much painstaking deliberation, and will acquit me at all events of having jumped at them thoughtlessly. I hope too that by giving the grounds of my comparisons I shall facilitate the refutation of my errors, and at the same time stimulate the discussion of difficult questions; and there are very many cases in which fuller discussion is needed.

The annexed tables (pp. 125–129, marginal pages) of the

regular representation of sounds and the transcription of several alphabets are intended to enable any one who desires to enter on these questions, to use and test this book. A knowledge of Sanskrit or of any other of the kindred languages, except the two classic ones, is by no means necessary to the formation of a judgement on the subjects here discussed. Whoever will believe me that the Indian, Slavonic, or Lithuanian words quoted are given conscientiously, in form and meaning, is perfectly able to judge of the soundness of each comparison. And such a readiness to accept much on trust is in other branches of philology as necessary as it is safe. If we credit the epigraphist with correctness in copying an inscription, the editor of a text with the accuracy of his various readings, if we accept the measurements and descriptions of the topographer, linguistic scholars can in their turn demand that their statements shall not be discredited without good reason. Error is inevitable in all circumstances, and therefore even statements of fact need constant revision. But division of labour and attention to the discoveries and diligent compilations of others can never be dispensed with.

The Third Book, which is devoted to the sporadic representation of sounds, since it endeavours to demonstrate rarer phonetic changes, assumes naturally more the character of an investigation. I felt myself more bound here not only to state my own views, but to explain my reasons more fully.

PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION.

WHEN I found that there was a demand for a fifth edition of this book, I made up my mind that this time a more thorough revision of the work would be needed than on former occasions. In each of the former editions the changes were limited to a few corrections and improvements, and in particular the difference between the third and fourth edition was, if we exclude Windisch's welcome contributions from Keltic, immaterial.

For the fifth edition I have examined and used such portions of the rapidly increasing literature of Comparative Philology as seemed likely to be of service to me. I have been glad to learn, whenever what was new convinced me; I have subjected a large number of questions of detail to a fresh examination, and have suppressed many rash conjectures, more particularly such as had no direct bearing on Greek, though at the same time I have adopted much that is new, and tried to make the old in parts more convincing and more intelligible. Consequently the difference between this edition and its predecessors is very considerable, though at the same time its objects and arrangement remain the same. It will be hard to find a page which does not contain some alteration.

I have taken the greatest care however to prevent the book, which was large enough already, from becoming larger, and have almost always made room for the necessary additions by omitting all that could now be spared, by studying to be concise in expression and compact in form. From the second

part especially I have omitted many polemical discussions of particular points for which I found the space at my command insufficient. No one will I hope regret that I have been more consistent than before in passing over in silence views which seemed to me decidedly mistaken, and have in general limited the number of references. The literature of etymological interpretations has been most diligently collected by my friend Vaníček in his 'Griechisch-Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch.' To show, however, that I am not always at a loss for the means of defending those of my views which have been attacked, I have treated at somewhat greater length in the Third Book some controverted points of especial interest. In this connexion I may refer particularly for example to what I have there said on pp. 513-520 (marginal pages) on *θεός*, on pp. 602 f. on *ὥς*, on pp. 604 ff. on *ἵημι* and *ἔμαι*, and on pp. 613 f. on *ἄγυρος*.

The additions which have given me the greatest satisfaction are those due to the discovery of inscriptions; for there we have the refreshing substitution of facts for theories. Recent years have revealed a large amount of matter of this kind, which was of great interest and importance for the discussions in this work. By the kind communications of my brother Ernst, I have been enabled to make the earliest possible use of many such discoveries.

The results of Ascoli's and Fick's investigations on the two kinds of gutturals demanded—though I did not feel compelled to alter altogether my previous arrangement—certain additions and important alterations in the Introduction, and in such articles in the Second Book as this question concerned. In the section dealing with the ramifications of the Indo-Germanic languages, reference had to be made to the controversies raised by Joh. Schmidt and, if I mistake not, in a certain sense settled by A. Leskien, and particularly now to Hübschmann's work on the Armenian language. On the other hand, I have not felt it my duty to do more than occasionally refer (e.g. on pp. 91 ff., p. 642) to the question, now

so much discussed, though so far from settled, of the chronology of the vowel-system and all that belongs to it.

It is in the Third Book that the greatest alterations have been made. The credibility of the kind of phonetic change here dealt with—i. e. the irregular or sporadic—has been unreservedly impeached. I have therefore been obliged, in order to defend my position, which the doubts thus expressed have not shaken, to insert a long passage (pp. 426–438) in which I have striven to take as objective a view as possible, and to confront with a series of unassailable and for the most part generally recognized facts, the scholars whose youthful zeal has, as I believe, led them to assert too positively the regularity of phonetic change. I believe that I am by no means alone in holding that if we are to reach that truth which we are all of us seeking, it must be by the unprejudiced consideration of carefully investigated particulars, and not by the help of a few principles barely stated and not proved, and I have done my best to show that this is a point of view which is perfectly reconcileable with reasonable views of language and its history.—In the doctrine of the digamma I have entered with more minuteness than formerly into the authorities for the actual existence of this sound, and the Homeric questions raised by Hartel's valuable investigations.—I have thought it to be specially incumbent on me to subject the section on the *j*, and the effects left by it in Greek, to a searching scrutiny, and impartially to review afresh the objections made to it. On some points, as, e. g. on the conjecture—which I never expressed without hesitation—that in Latin too *d* is occasionally the successor to a *j*, I have given way. In one important question, that of the priority of the $\sigma\sigma$ to the $\tau\tau$, I have accepted the results of Ascoli's acute investigations (p. 666 ff.), and I have now within a limited circle of phenomena to explain the origin of the δ from the *j* somewhat differently than before, while endeavouring on the other hand more firmly to establish the main points of my theory, to refute opposition, and by the help of a more concise expositor

(pp. 658-61) to render the statement of my views more convincing to my readers.

The most neglected side of Etymology is still that of the doctrine of meaning, the very side which lies nearest to special classical students. To trace the use of a word, or a family of words, historically through one language, or again, to arrive at points of view for a wider consideration of the changes of meaning, these are tasks to which, apparently, the present generation feels little drawn. The path in which Tycho Mommsen has, in his investigation of an important part of speech in Greek, shown himself such an admirable pioneer, has been left almost untrodden by others. I cordially welcome however in Heinrich Schmidt's '*Griechische Synonymik*,' a work of kindred though not identical aims with this, and from the first two volumes of this stimulating book, which I have read more diligently than I have quoted it, I have derived much aid¹.

My dear friend and colleague, Ernst Windisch, has not only revised and added to his contributions from the Keltic languages, but has helped me in other departments as well, particularly with the Sanskrit words, by many useful hints and recommendations. His active aid in the revision of the book, which extended even to correcting the proof-sheets, has been most valuable to me. To Ascoli I am indebted, not only for the information to be gained from his published works on special questions of Romance Philology (cp. p. 624), but also for important communications by letter; and I also received on asking, most readily granted information from Hübschmann on Iranian forms and sounds, and from Deffner (of Athens) on Modern Greek. Herr Dr. Alex. Brückner (of Lemberg) has had the kindness to point out to me such of the Lithuanian words given by me, as his lately published investigations ('*Die Slavischen Fremdwörter im Litauischen*')

¹ I have only just heard of Fritz Bechtel's work '*Ueber die Bezeichnungen der sinnlichen Wahrnehmungen in den indogermanischen Sprachen, Ein Beitrag zur Bedeutungsgeschichte*' Weimar 1879.

Weimar 1877) show to have been borrowed from Slavonic, and which may therefore be omitted from my list. Vaníček, now Director of the Gymnasium in Neuhaus (Bohemia), again undertook at my request the reading of the proof-sheets and the verification of the indexes, and made use of this opportunity to call my attention to many out-of-the-way corners of etymological literature, of which he possesses such a rare knowledge, and also to some minor contradictions and inequalities in the book. For all this help I express to the above-mentioned scholars my hearty thanks.

GEORG CURTIUS.

LEIPZIG, *March*, 1879.

NOTE ON THE CELTIC COMPARISONS.

The contributions from the Celtic languages, first added in the fourth edition, have for this fifth edition been considered afresh, emended and supplemented by others, where I thought necessary. In this respect I have derived most valuable aid from the searching criticism of Whitley Stokes, which first appeared as 'Some Remarks on the Celtic Additions to Curtius's Greek Etymology' Calcutta 1874; then as 'Remarks on the Celtic Additions to Curtius's Greek Etymology, and on the Celtic Comparisons in Bopp's Comparative Grammar,' etc. Calcutta 1875, and were then in the main reprinted in the 'Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Sprachforschung' viii. 301-355. As these criticisms, with all their numerous details, are easily accessible, I have thought it lawful to pass over here unnoticed all that seemed to me to go too far, to be not clearly proved, or mistaken, all the more so that the plan of this work does not admit of a large use of Celtic comparisons. It is only in very few cases that I have had to strike out a number of the fourth edition altogether, though many numbers bear a changed appearance owing to a differen^t

choice of forms to represent it, and I have been able to add many new ones. Roughly speaking, Celtic is represented in about 250 numbers in the text, and noticed in the notes to about eighty or ninety more. I have not been so careful as in the fourth edition to cite the passages from which the individual words were taken, as this, especially in the case of words in frequent use, seemed to me unnecessary; the main source from which they are drawn is still the 'Grammatica Celtica' of J. C. Zeuss (Editio altera, curavit H. Ebel, Berlin 1871). I may refer now too in general to Ebel's etymological collections in vol. ii. of the 'Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Sprachforschung,' as no special reference is made to them where the word is generally known.

ERNST WINDISCH.

LEIPZIG, *March*, 1879.

LIST OF THE MORE IMPORTANT ABBREVIATIONS.

- A, B* etc. Books of the *Iliad*.
- α, β* etc. Books of the *Odyssey*.
- Ahrens Aeol. 'De dialectis aeolicis et pseudaeolicis scr. H. L. Ahrens.' Gottingae 1839.
- Ahrens Dor. 'De dialecto dorica scr. H. L. Ahrens.' Gott. 1843.
- Ascoli Fon. 'Lezioni di Fonologia comparata da G. I. Ascoli.' Torino e Firenze 1870.
- Ascoli Lautl. The same (Translated into German by Bazzigher and Schweizer-Sidler, Halle 1872).
- Ascoli Krit. Stud. . . 'Kritische Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft.' Authorised translation by R. Merzdorf and B. Mangold. Weimar 1878.
- Aufr. and Kirch. . . . 'Die umbrischen Sprachdenkmäler. Ein Versuch zur Deutung derselben von Aufrecht und Kirchhoff.' Berlin 1849, 1851.
- Beitr. 'Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der arischen, celtischen und slawischen Sprachen, herausgegeben von Kuhn und Schleicher.' Berlin 1858-1876. 8 vols.
- Bekker Hom. Bl. . . . 'Homerische Blätter von Immanuel Bekker.' Bonn 1863, 1872.
- Benf. 'Benfey's griechisches Wurzellexikon.' Berlin 1839, 1842.
- Bezenb. Beitr. 'Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen.' Göttingen 1877 ff.
- Bopp Gl. Bopp's 'Glossarium comparativum linguae Sanscritae,' ed. tertia. Berol. 1867.

- Bopp Vgl. Gr. 'Vergleichende Grammatik von Franz Bopp.'
2 Ausgabe. Berl. 1857-61.
- Bréal Tabl. Eugub. . . 'Les tables Eugubines par Michel Bréal.' Paris
1875.
- Brücke Grundz. . . . 'Grundzüge der Physiologie u. Systematik der
Sprachlaute von Ernst Brücke.' Second ed.
Vienna 1876.
- Brugman Problem . . 'Ein Problem der Homerischen Textkritik und
der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft von
K. Brugman.' L. 1876.
- Cauer Del. 'Delectus inscriptionum propter dialectum me-
morabilium comp. Paulus Cauer.' L. 1877.
- Christ 'Grundzüge der griechischen Lautlehre von
Wilh. Christ.' L. 1859.
- C. I. A. 'Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum.' Vol. i.
Berol. 1873.
- C. I. G. 'Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.'
- C. I. L. 'Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.' Vol. i.
Berol. 1863.
- Clemm Comp. 'De compositis graecis quae a verbis incipiunt
scr. V. Clemm.' Gissae 1867.
- Corm. Gl. 'Cormac's Glossary in "Three Irish Glossaries,
with a Preface and Index" by Wh. Stokes.'
London 1862.
- Corm. Gl. Transl. . . 'Cormac's Glossary translated and annotated
by the late John O'Donovan, ed. with Notes
and Indices by Whitley Stokes.' Calcutta
1868.
- Corssen Beitr. 'Kritische Beiträge zur lateinischen Formen-
lehre von W. Corssen.' L. 1863.
- Corssen Nachtr. . . . 'Kritische Nachträge zur lateinischen Formen-
lehre von W. Corssen.' L. 1866.
- Corssen i², ii². . . . 'Ueber Aussprache, Vocalismus und Betonung
der lateinischen Sprache von W. Corssen.'
Zweite Auflage. L. 1868, 70.
- Corssen Ital. Sprachk. 'Beiträge zur Italischen Sprachkunde.' L.
1876.

- Delbrück Verb. 'Das altindische Verbum von B. Delbrück.'
Halle 1874.
- Diefenbach 'Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gothischen
Sprache.' Frankfurt a. M. 1851.
- Döderlein Gl. 'Homerisches Glossarium von Ludw. Döder-
lein.' Erlangen 1850-58.
- E. M. 'Etymologicum Magnum, recens. Thomas Gais-
ford.' Ox. 1848.
- Fick². 'Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indoger-
manischen Sprachen von August Fick.'
Third edition revised, 4 vols. Gott. 1874-
1876.
- Fick Indogerm. . . . 'Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indoger-
manen Europa's von Aug. Fick.' Gött.
1873.
- Fulda Unters. 'Untersuchungen über die homerischen Ge-
dichte von Albert Fulda.' Duisburg 1865.
- Goid.² 'Goidelica.' Old and Early-Middle-Irish
Glosses, Prose and Verse, ed. by Wh. Stokes.
Second ed. Lond. 1872.
- Grassmann Wtb. . . . 'Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda von Hermann
Grassmann.' L. 1873.
- Grimm Gesch. 'Geschichte der deutschen Sprache von Jacob
Grimm.' L. 1848.
- Hehn¹. 'Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere in ihrem
Uebergang aus Asien nach Griechenland u.
Italien, sowie in das übrige Europa v. Vic-
tor Hehn.' Third ed. Berlin 1877. (Trans-
lated into English and abridged by J. S.
Stallybrass. Lond. 1885.)
- Hesych. 'Hesychii Lexicon ed. M. Schmidt.' Jena
1858-62.
- Ir. Gl. 'Irish Glosses,' a Mediaeval Tract on Latin
Declension with examples explained in Irish,
ed. by Wh. Stokes. Dublin 1860.
- Justi 'Handbuch der Zendsprache von Ferd. Justi.'
L. 1864.

- Knös 'De digammo Homericæ quaestiones, scr. Claus Knös.' Upsala 1872-78.
- Lindner Nom. 'Altindische Nominalbildung von Bruno Lindner.' Jena 1878.
- L. U. 'Lea bhar na huidhri.' A Collection of Pieces in the Irish Language. Dublin 1870.
- Leo Meyer 'Vergleichende Grammatik der griechischen und lateinischen Sprache von Leo Meyer.' Berlin 1861, 65.
- Leo Meyer Goth. 'Die gothische Sprache, von Leo Meyer.' Berlin 1869.
- Max Müller 'Lectures on the Science of Language by Max Müller.' 2 vols. Lond. 1861, 1864.
- Mém. 'Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique.' Paris 1868, etc.
- Miklos. Lex. 'Lexicon Palaeoslovenico - Graeco - Latinum, emendatum, auctum ed. Fr. Miklosich.' Vindob. 1862-1865.
- Mommsen U. D. 'Die unteritalischen Dialekte von Theod. Mommsen.' L. 1850.
- Morphol. Unters. 'Morphologische Untersuchungen von Herm. Osthoff und K. Brugman.' Part I. Leipz. 1878.
- O'Dav. 'O'Davoren's Glossary in "Three Irish Glossaries."' See Corm. Gl.
- Osthoff Forsch. 'Forschungen im Gebiete der indog. nominalen Stammbildung.' 2 parts. Jena 1875, 76.
- Paul Ep. 'Pauli Epitome Festi,' by O. Müller's pages in his edition of Festus (L. 1839).
- Pet. Dict. 'Sanskritwörterbuch, herausgegeben von der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, bearbeitet von O. Böhtlingk und Rud. Roth.' Petersb. 1855-75, 7 vols.
- Pictet 'Les Origines Indoeuropéennes ou les Aryas primitifs.' Paris 1859, 63. (Second ed. Paris 1877, 3 vols.)

- Pott¹. 'Etymologische Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen von Aug. Friedr. Pott.' Lemgo 1833, 36.
- Pott². Second edition of the same work. Lemgo 1859, 61.
- Pott W. 'Wurzelwörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen.' Detmold 1867-73.
- Scherer Gesch. d. d. . 'Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache von Wilh. Scherer.' Berlin 1868, Second ed. 1878.
- Schleich. Comp . . . 'Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen von Aug. Schleicher.' Dritte Auflage. Weimar 1871
- Kirchensl. 'Formenlehre der kirchenslawischen Sprache von Aug. Schleicher.' Bonn 1852.
- Lit. 'Handbuch der litauischen Sprache von August Schleicher.' Prag. 1856, 1857.
- Heinr. Schmidt Synon. 'Synonymik der griechischen Sprache von Dr. Heinrich Schmidt.' L. 1876, 1878.
- Joh. Schmidt Voc. . . 'Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vocalismus.' 2 parts. Weimar 1871, 1875.
- Sievers Lautphysiol. . 'Grundzüge der Lautphysiologie von Ed. Sievers.' L. 1876.
- Sprachw. Abh. 'Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen, hervorgegangen aus G. C.'s grammatischer Gesellschaft.' L. 1874.
- Studien 'Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik, herausgegeben von Georg Curtius.' 10 vols. Leipzig 1868-1878.
- Van. 'Griechisch-Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch von Alois Vaníček.' 2 vols. L. 1877.
- Van. Fremdw. 'Fremdwörter des Griechischen und Lateinischen.' L. 1878.
- Gk. Verb 'The Greek Verb in its structure and development, by Georg Curtius, translated by Wilkins and England.' London 1861

- Weber Et. Unters. . . 'Etymologische Untersuchungen von Dr. Hugo Weber. I.' Halle 1861.
- Windisch Auslautges. 'Die irischen Auslautgesetze' in 'Paul und Braune's Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Litteratur III,' p. 204 ff.
- Windisch Kurzgef. . . 'Kurzgefasste Irische Grammatik mit Lese-
Ir. Gr. stücken von Ernst Windisch.' L. 1879.
- Z.³ 'Grammatica Celtica, construxit J. C. Zeuss.'
Editio altera. Curavit H. Ebel. Berlin
1871.
- Zacher nom. in *aos* . . 'De nominibus Graecis in *aos aia aos* scrips.
Konr. Zacher.' Strassb. 1876.
- Ztschr. 'Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung
herausgegeben von Adalb. Kuhn.' Berlin
1852 ff.

LIST OF

SOME BOOKS BEARING ON GREEK ETYMOLOGY

PUBLISHED SINCE THE LAST GERMAN EDITION.

- 'American Journal of Philology,' vols. i- . . . Baltimore, 1880 ff.
- Baunack, J. and T., 'Die Inschrift von Gortyn.' Leipzig, 1885.
- Bezenberger, F., 'Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen,' vols. v-ix. Göttingen, 1880 ff.
- Brugman, K., and Osthoff, H., 'Morphologische Untersuchungen,' parts ii-iv. Leipzig, 1879-1881.
- Brugman, K., 'Zum Heutigen Stand der Sprachwissenschaft.' Strassburg, 1885.
- Brugman, K., 'Griechische Grammatik' (in Dr. Iwan Müller's 'Handbuch der Klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft'). Nördlingen, 1885.
- Collitz, H., 'Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften,' vol. i. Göttingen, 1883-1885.
- Curtius, G., 'Zur Kritik der neuesten Sprachforschung.' Leipzig, 1885.
- Delbrück, B., 'Einleitung in das Sprachstudium,' 2 Aufl. Leipzig, 1884 (a translation of the first edition, 'Introduction to the Study of Language,' 1882).
- Delbrück, B., 'Die neueste Sprachforschung.' Leipzig, 1885.
- De Saussure, F., 'Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européennes.' Leipsic, 1879.
- Meister, R., 'Die griechischen Dialekte auf Grundlage von Ahrens' Werk 'De Graecae Linguae dialectis' dargestellt, vol. i. Göttingen, 1882.
- Meyer Gustav, 'Griechische Grammatik.' Leipzig, 1880.
- Meyer Leo, 'Vergleichende Grammatik der griech. und lat. Sprache,' 2nd edition. Berlin, 1882-1884.
- Osthoff, H., 'Zur Geschichte des Perfects im Indogermanischen mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Griechisch und Lateinisch.' Strassburg, 1884.

above-mentioned at least the merit of logical consistency; though it is true this leads, when pressed still further, to the ingenious attempts of Anton Schmitt, who, in his 'Organismus der Griechischen Sprache' (1836), traces all Greek words to the letter ϵ , and in his 'Organismus der Lateinischen Sprache' (1846) traces all Latin ones to the 'Urelementarwurzelwort' *he* or *hi*. Such simplicity surely is unsurpassable, and truly primeval! The German philologists who since Hermann have laid the foundation of Greek Grammar and Lexicography had too much sound common sense to lose themselves in such extravagances as those. These men, whom we have to thank for such invaluable assistance, had far too much to do in the criticism and explanation of their texts, in the settlement of rules of grammar, in the confutation of absurd views, and in the establishment of a real knowledge of classical antiquity, to venture otherwise than occasionally on the slippery ground of Etymology. Etymology remained a step-child of Philology.

- ¹³ Derivations were given with reluctance, and when the process was unavoidable, it was gone through with a kind of smile behind which lurked the consciousness that others had done it far worse. The less the study was taken up in earnest, the greater the boldness of the general principles broached on occasion, and in these we clearly recognize the above-mentioned $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu \psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$. When, for instance, G. Hermann, who is always so fond of starting from a general proposition, maintains, in the work before alluded to (p. 136), *Credibile est, initio omnes nominum formas generis significatione caruisse, quam serius demum, sexuum observata diversitate et in linguas introducta, accessisse probabile est*, we have there the same inference from a general and quite arbitrary view of the beginnings of language on the whole, to the Greek language. A similar line of thought is followed by Lobeck in his $\rho\eta\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$, which begins with the words *Quemadmodum pictura a monochromatis orsa est, sic verborum structura a monosyllabis*. By *monosyllaba* he does not mean, as we should have expected, roots, which we should readily admit to be monosyllables; but, in adherence to the theory of the old grammarians mentioned on p. 7, contracted verbs like $\delta\rho\omega$, $\lambda\omega$, which become monosyllabic in the 1st pers. sing. pres. as the result of con-

traction. Lobeck, then, has taken the trouble to show that—to translate his words into our language—the stems ending in a consonant (such as δρακ, δακ) have bases (δρα, δα) ending in a vowel. In this observation there is, as we shall see later, some truth; but thus generally expressed it is, notwithstanding Fick's attempts in the same direction, unwarranted. Thus we see that the Grammar of old-established precedents with its pride of sobriety was, as I have shown at greater length in the 'Zeitschrift f. Alterthumsw.' 1843, p. 51 ff., far bolder than the new method, at all events as regards most of its representatives. Even in Lobeck's last work, the 'Elementa pathologiae graeci sermonis,' we meet with the same fundamental views. On account of the assumed simplicity of the oldest languages Lobeck is always far more inclined to assume the addition than the loss of a sound. He considers it not impossible to derive λεύσσω and βλέπω from λάω, βία from ἴς (p. 90), while σ, though frequently expelled, is also added *soni aspirandi causa* (p. 129). While he is very strict in admitting syncope (p. 348), he allows internal augmentation of words to a somewhat large extent, for he teaches (p. 137) *saepius vocabulorum primitivorum potestates non compositione solum et derivatione sed etiam intestinis quibusdam mutationibus pressius definiri solent*, so that actually the old derivation of φοξός from ὀξύς is allowed, and φοῖτος conjecturally rests on εἶμι as an initially increased *itus*. Still bolder is the assumption of the prosthesis of πλ in πλευρά from εὔρος (p. 140), of στ in στόννξ from ὄννξ, of πτ in πτόρθος from ὄρω, ορίο (cp. 'Rhematikon,' p. 245). With Lobeck, however, even such attempts, whose questionableness he himself sometimes notices, are always united to such rich learning, such fine philological discrimination, and such careful regard for tradition, that they yet contribute much to the comprehension of the principles of Greek Etymology, and, even in cases where the results of the inquiry cannot be allowed, the process of their discovery—and this cannot be said of the processes of Lennep and Scheide—is itself exceedingly valuable from the material which he has worked up in them. The same, however, cannot be said of the many wild derivations that, especially since the time of Joh. Gottl. Schneider, after being added to and altered by

Franz Passow¹, meet us still in the majority of the Lexicons in use. The first Greek Lexicon based on a more correct insight into Etymology is Karl Schenkl's 'Greek-German School-Dictionary' (Vienna, 1859).

More earnestly than any celebrated philologist of the older school did Ludwig Döderlein enter into the study of the Etymology of the classical languages. It is true that Etymology is for him too, both in his 'Synonymen und Etymologien,' and especially in his 'Homerisches Glossarium,' more a means than an end. Still he acquired from the diligent inquiry which was the continued employment of his long and laborious life a kind of theory which is in the main the only one that has been arrived at by recent philology without the help of the comparison of languages. And yet there were probably few who agreed with his etymological principles, in spite of his great merit in other respects. No one followed him in his assumption of 'dichotomic' and 'trichotomic' bases, or in his other elaborate propositions, and it may be doubted if any of his numerous pupils could to-day with Döderlein ('Lateinische Wortbildung,' p. 45) "think it allowable to ascribe to Latin to a certain extent the character of a jargon." Döderlein acknowledged in principle the importance of the comparative science of language, and claimed to have distinguished formerly between 'Wortforschung' (the study of words) and 'Sprachenvergleichung' (the comparison of
 15 languages) and afterwards between 'esoteric' and 'exoteric' inquiry. But he continually overleaped the bounds he had himself laid down, and propounded the boldest theories on the subject of the early history of all the life of language which lies on the further side of the single language, as also on that of the primary forms of words; and these theories he then regarded as sure ground in the treatment of special questions. I have attempted a more minute investigation of his etymological processes in the 'Zeitschrift für die österreich. Gymnasien,' 1851, pp. 36-47. I acknowledged then, in spite of fundamental objections, the extraordinary

¹ One of Passow's whims is the objection he has to considering old words as compounds, which Pott (E. F. i. 158) has justly combated in reference to the word *ἄνθρωπος*.

and at times most felicitous sagacity, as well as the subtle knowledge of language displayed by a man whom I too join in honouring, and I may express the same acknowledgement again here. For my present object, however, it will be enough to point out that the means used by Döderlein to bring forms of different sound together are often directly the opposite of those used by Lobeck and the Dutch etymologists. While these latter talk of words growing up, expanding, and springing from the shortest possible stems, Döderlein is much inclined to suppose older, fuller forms, or, as he likes to call them, 'primary forms' (sometimes 'postulated forms,' Preface to his 'Glossary,' p. v), from which the words used in historical times have arisen by loss, elision, and weakening. We need only compare what Döderlein in his book on Latin word-formation has collected under the head 'Ausbildung' (Expansion), pp. 112-119, with the complicated and far-reaching treatment of 'Umbildung' (transformation), pp. 119-202. The fundamental principle of his whole procedure is indeed again a purely subjective view of the earliest condition of language. While Lobeck and the Dutch school hold a verb like $\lambdaύω$ to be absolutely primitive, Döderlein has to consider it as already mutilated if he wishes to hold fast by the principle ('Homer. Gloss.' I, Preface p. vii) that "in the primary form of a word consonant and vowel regularly alternate." Lobeck regards Greek neuters like $μένος$, $ἄχος$ as original so far as to treat them as the earliest derivatives from the verbs; while with Döderlein all such forms are abbreviations of what he calls trichotomic primary forms ('Glossary,' p. 7 note)—e.g. $μένος$ from $μενετόν$ (p. 91), $ἄχος$ from $ἀχετόν$ (p. 277). It is plain that in this case no decision is possible in the absence of an external ruling principle; without one each fresh etymologist will hold that form to be the primitive one which corresponds best to his views of the oldest condition of language. And can any one believe it possible to construct that condition *à priori*, as men used once to construct the state from the 16 meeting together of primitive men, and the feelings awakened by one in the breast of another? The oldest language (it may be said) must have been simple, like the life of the men who spoke it. The opposite of this can be maintained just as well:

the organs of men in those early days were stronger, their senses quicker, and so they could make use of forms that were fuller and more difficult to pronounce than were possible to the generations of their descendants whom civilization rendered effeminate. In this case the path of hypothesis is not the one that will bring us to our goal.

3.

It was the comparative study of languages that first gave Etymology a surer hold. But, before we pass to the services it has rendered us, we must make grateful mention of the man who, before the discovery of the new resources, without doubt contributed most to the elucidation of Greek Etymology. Philipp Buttmann had the true spirit of a judicious, penetrating etymologist in a degree which makes us most deeply regret that he made no use of the rich treasures discovered while he was still alive by Grimm and Bopp. He would have been exactly the man to make them the means of diffusing really fresh light. Buttmann is distinguished from the men who were upon the same footing as himself especially in two ways. He has sense and feeling for the growth of language, and takes the trouble to understand it from a study of its own phenomena, instead of forcing it into traditional or invented schemes. Hence he often makes very profitable use of the dialects, which Lobeck almost entirely excludes from his inquiry, and selects with happy tact the oldest forms, which he knows better than any of his predecessors how to analyze. So far, then, Buttmann is already a forerunner of the historical study of language. Lobeck shows most to advantage when he is arranging with a nice accuracy a large stock of words of varying authority and from different mints, drawing attention to the complexion and force of a particular class, and undertaking from that point of view to remove absurdities and correct mistakes. Still he always treats language from the standpoint of a critic and an interpreter, and consequently the most recent has for him the same charm as the earliest. Hence Lobeck must have

before his mind the men who made and used the words. Involuntarily he represents to himself a *nominum impositor*¹,¹⁷ that he may test his art with the critic's probe. With Buttmann it is quite different. He is attracted by the earliest stages, and so, above all, by the language of Homer, with regard to which we cannot yet speak of a conscious shaping of the language or of its so-called developement by civilization. With consummate acuteness, and a method which is a pattern of clearness, and charming freshness, he can explain the meaning of many half-understood Homeric words. So well aware is he of the difficulty of Etymology proper, that he makes it a principle to seek invariably the explanation of hard words from their use, before resorting to their supposed derivation. No philologist of his age so clearly perceived the dangers of grammatical tradition, or furthered in so many ways the treatment of Greek as a continuous natural growth. Doubtless he has entangled himself in many errors in his work. In the explanations in his 'Lexilogus' he attaches, like Döderlein, far too little value to the traditions of the Alexandrian grammarians, for whom the Königsberg school have made us feel greater respect; it is true that this respect degenerates sometimes to an excessive reverence for and too servile imitation of the old ways. Although in referring words to their stems, and adjusting their relation to each other, Buttmann tries to arrive at fixed laws of sound, still he

¹ Madvig ('Kleine Philologische Schriften,' p. 327) angrily defends Lobeck in this matter against the words in the text. Like Whitney, he lays stress on the fact that Language was the work of *men*. As if any one had doubted it! All the same, there is a very great difference between the result of the unconcerted, unconscious common activity of men who are united in one tribe or people, as seen in their language, laws, faith, or manners, and that which individual poets, thinkers, orators, or lawgivers, consciously and of set purpose, determine. The former we are accustomed to call a natural growth. The expression is no doubt figurative, and is open to the same misconstruction to which the language is liable which talks of Nature's laws as constraining and governing the individual in his language; but it is perfectly justifiable as a protest against the fashion, complained of above, of imagining a responsible originator for every process of language, even when it is demonstrably the product of many forces acting at different times.

and corruptions, the perception of which alone will help us to the correct use of this speech in the science of language. Even the sounds of Sanskrit must not directly be taken as the starting-point for comparison. Two classes of consonants, the linguals and the palatals, as is now universally admitted, arose after the separation of the languages. The recognition of these facts was arrived at only gradually, and examples of the misuse of the palatals occur even in the latest writings on the subject. Of the real character of the palatal sounds the essay of Rud. von Raumer on 'Aspiration und Lautverschiebung,' now reprinted in his 'Gesammelte sprachwissenschaftliche Schriften' (1863), gave for the first time a complete account, which has since been supplemented by Ascoli's comprehensive and thorough investigations ('Glottologie,' i. p. 37, Germ. trans.). Raumer has clearly pointed out that *k* and *g* are nothing but the gutturals *k* and *g* affected by *j* sounded after them (p. 35), a view further developed and established by Schleicher, 'Zur vergleichenden Sprachengeschichte,' p. 138. Pott found, in the 'Protean' form of several words and roots that occur in Sanskrit with palatal consonants, a reason for ascribing to these sounds a great
 27 antiquity. Answering to the Skt. *katvāras* is found the Greek *τέσσαρες*, Dor. *πέτορες*, Lat. *quattuor*, Goth. *fidvōr*, Church-Slavonic *četyrije*, Erse *cethir*, Kymr. *petguar*. As long as the customary pronunciation of *k* in Sanskrit words as *tsch* was held to be the original one, it certainly appeared probable that this *tsch* was preserved in Slavonic as well as in Sanskrit, that in Ionic Greek it left behind it its first component *t*, while elsewhere it appeared as a guttural or a labial. But we had no need to go farther than the Lithuanian *keturì* to have a doubt raised as to this view. Here the pure *k* appears, and seeing that beyond doubt Lithuanian is a near relative of Slavonic, the Lith. *keturì* proves that before the separation of the Lithuanian from the Slavonic, and consequently long after the beginning of the general separation of the languages, the double sound *tsch* did not exist, and that in consequence the coincidence of the Slavonic with the pronunciation now in vogue in Sanskrit is pure accident. Besides, this old explanation of the 'Protean form' loses all

probability from the fact that, in accordance with the now ascertained pronunciation of the palatals, we find in them no trace of a *t*—much less then of a *p*,—and that even such *k*'s and *g*'s as do not appear in Sanskrit as *k* and *g*, reappear in the related languages in the form of *k*, *qu*, *τ* and *π*, e.g. Skt. *ki-m*=Gr. *τί*, Osc. *pi-d*, Lat. *qui-d*; Skt. *jakṛt*=Gr. *ῆπαρ*, Lat. *jecur*. Hence, Bopp too, who was before of a different opinion, pronounces in the second edition of his 'Comparative Grammar,' § 14, for the view that the said sounds in Sanskrit arose originally from the gutturals¹.

The case of the palatal sibilant denoted by the sign *ç* differs somewhat from that of the palatal *tenuis* and *media*. As to the pronunciation of the sound various opinions are still held. Kuhn (in Hofer's 'Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache,' ii. p. 166 ff.) inclines to that of the German *ch* in *mich*, and Schleicher ('Compendium³,' p. 17) agrees with him. Ebel on the contrary ('Zeitschr.' xiii. 276) and Max Müller ('Lectures' ii. 132) hold *ç* to be a true sibilant, which the former identifies with the Polish *ś*. See Ascoli, 'Glottologie,' i. p. 169. However this may be, it is quite certain that the Indic *ç*, where it corresponds to a *k*, has arisen from a related explosive by a weakening of the sound, and that there is no possibility that the opposite process has occurred—that the *k* has arisen from 23 the *ç*. It is not of course to be denied that corresponding to the Sanskrit *ç* there sometimes appears in the related languages—by no means in Greek alone—in one or two rare cases the dental sibilant, and in Greek its usual representative before a vowel at the beginning of a word, the *spiritus asper*; e.g. in *çvaçura-s* (*socer*)=ἐκυρό-ς for σφεκυρό-ς, Lat. *socer* for *svecer*, Goth. *svaihra*, Ch. Sl. *svekrŭ* (No. 20). In such cases also, however, we must without doubt charge the Sanskrit, and not the Greek or the other related languages, with the corruption of the sound; and this corruption surprises us the less because this very letter *s* in Sanskrit is in other cases also corrupted in various ways, since it regularly changes after other sounds than that of *a* or *ā* to *sh*, and at the end of

¹ We shall come back on p. 459 ff. to several questions that are allied to this one.

a word, under certain conditions, into the aspirate *h* called *visarga*; while in the middle of a word it more often becomes *r*. The letter *ç* therefore has two different values for the comparative philologist—either that of a *k*—as is much more frequently the case—or, in far fewer instances, that of an *s*. This is essentially the view of Bopp as well, according to his treatment of the subject in § 21*a* of his ‘Comparative Grammar’ (second edit.). For the question as to the representatives in the other languages of this *ç* which answers to a Gk. *κ* and a Lat. *c*, and the latest literature about this important subject, I refer to pp. 87 ff.

The Sanskrit laws of sound have been treated to a still greater extent as the starting-point for comparison by Benfey. There is found in Sanskrit a series of stems ending in *ksh* which are usually regarded as roots,—e.g. *raksh* ‘servare,’ *uksh* ‘humectare,’ *vaksh* ‘crescere.’ Benfey himself acknowledges that these have arisen from shorter stems, or roots in the narrower sense of the word, by the addition of an *s* (‘Hallische Litteraturzeitung,’ 1838, p. 316). Here and there in the related languages the shorter as well as the longer form appears, e.g. Gk. ἀλεῖ by the side of ἀλλκ (No. 7), Gk. αὐῖ by the side of the Lat. *aug* (No. 159). Hence it is reasonable to suppose that the lengthened form existed side by side with the shorter one before the separation of the languages. Now it happens also in some cases that only the longer form has survived in Sanskrit, and only the shorter in Greek; e.g. by the side of the Skt. *uksh* ‘humectare’ Gk. ὕρ in ὕγ-ρό-ς (No. 158), Skt. *bhaksh* ‘comedere’ by the side of the Gk. φαγ in φαγεῖν (No. 408). In such cases Benfey (*ut supra*, 317) is pleased to derive the simple Greek sound from the doubled Sanskrit one, while before him Pott certainly got at the truth in assuming in such cases that the Greeks had kept the purer root-form, and that consequently the Indians had lost the shorter forms *ug*, *bhag*, although the latter root occurs with a somewhat different meaning in *bhag* (sortiri, obtinere).

- 29 The Sanskrit *h* too cannot be reckoned an original sound : *h*—except where, as in several cases has certainly happened, a change of vocal-organ has taken place (*h* for *dh* or *bh*)—points to an old *gh*, and this is the value it bears in Compara-

tive Philology. When then, in spite of this, not only Benfey (i. 35), but Pott and Bopp as well, hold it allowable to compare Greek roots ending in vowels with Sanskrit ones ending in *h*, "because *h* can easily drop away," we must object most decidedly. Before the separation of the languages, it was not *h* but *gh* that stood here, and even if we were to venture so far as to place the Gk. *δι-αίν-ω* (Pott, i.¹ p. 282, differently explained W. iii. 863) by the side of the Skt. *dih* (oblinere), for the *h* in which (= *gh*) the Lat. *pol-ling-o* and the Lith. *daž-ý-ti* (to dip in) give the regular representative, we should have to regard not *h* but *χ* as dropped—a loss of which there are, it is true, some examples, but only when a consonant follows. But we should be distinctly wrong if we were to follow Benfey (i. 72) in assuming, from the Skt. *ruh* (grow) and *rō-p-ájā-mi* (cause to grow), a stem *rōp*, or even *rāp* for the allied languages also. In so doing we should be pronouncing corruptions of sound peculiar to Sanskrit to be older than the separation of the languages.

In Sanskrit there is an *ī* which is a lengthened form of what elsewhere is *α*. In Greek, on the other hand, the spheres of the vowels *α* and *ι* are so far apart that *ι* is very seldom connected with an older *α*, and when it is it is generally through the medium of an *ε*. Consequently, we must never expect to find an *ι* in Greek as the representative of a Sanskrit *ī* that has arisen from an *α*—a mistake to which again Benfey is specially inclined, e. g. when he finds traces of the Skt. *īksh*, an amplified form, peculiar to the Indic branch, of the root *ak* (Gk. *ὀπ*) 'see,' in the Greek *ἴσχω*, *ἐἴσχω* (i. 233), and even sees in the diminutive suffix *-ισκο* (i. 235) and in the verbal-ending *-ισκω* representatives of this same *īksh*, which beyond all doubt did not exist at the time of the separation of the languages. In opposition to such attempts—ventured on by Benfey again even in the seventh volume of the 'Zeitschrift'—we cannot be too strict in holding fast by the rule that the Indo-Germanic primitive form arrived at by proper combinations, and not the special form of a single language, is to be placed at the head of every comparison of words.

This more strict and consistent method of employing Sanskrit in the comparison with the allied languages has been gradually

gaining ground, and has especially been pursued most rigorously by Schleicher in his 'Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik' (1861, 1862, second edit. 1866, third edit. 1871). From this more correct view Sanskrit itself too will gain
 30 something. Now that this language has for a long time served exclusively to throw light on the others, the light begins to shine back from the other languages upon Sanskrit. This is quite the normal course of the developement of science, which follows, as has rightly been said, not a straight line but a spiral one. The preposterous idea that Sanskrit must have preserved in every case alike the oldest form, would be most ruinous to the examination of words, even apart from phonetic laws. As regards the meanings of words, thanks to the noble labours of Böhtlingk and Roth—whose great Petersburg Dictionary was finished in 1875—and to Grassmann's excellent 'Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda,' we are now in a better condition than the students of the classical languages, of which the lexicons, in spite of all diligence in making collections, are in many respects lamentably deficient. Etymology too has gained much from the same source. Still there are many words used only in the Vedas which give the same sort of difficulty to the interpreter as do certain much-discussed Homeric γλωσσαι. Under all circumstances the original meaning of a word or root cannot be ascertained without a comparison of its often variously modified use in the kindred languages. The luxuriance of the Greek, and the definiteness of the Latin languages, are most valuable sources of information on this head: nor should the value of living languages be underrated for this purpose. Whenever we have shown the identity of a German, Slavonic, or Lithuanian word with a Greek one, the living use of the word at the present time is often the surest guide in our search for its real fundamental meaning. Hence I cannot accept the rule given by Pictet ('Origines,' i. 23) 'partir toujours du mot sanscrit s'il existe.' Pott has rightly paid greater attention to the Western languages, and Benfey has done the same in the second part of his 'Wurzellexicon' to a greater extent than in the first. Thanks to Miklosich, Schleicher, and others, we are now enabled to make more use of Slavonic and Lithuanian, whose wealth and natural prolific-

ness promise us a plentiful harvest, while our own Teutonic languages have been already laid open before us by Jacob Grimm in such a way as specially to favour etymological research.

6.

But in another respect also Sanskrit has been made the ³¹ standard for the other languages in a manner which is not justifiable. The truth, confessedly fundamental, that Sanskrit is only to be regarded as a sister-language, with especially distinct family features, has often been overlooked in practice. It may be regarded as established that neither Sanskrit, nor even the Indo-Germanic primitive language, which we can only discover by combinations, stands to the individual languages of our stock in a relation similar to that which Latin holds to the Romance languages. The latter are related to the mother-tongue in such a manner that, between the time in which Latin was a living language and the developement of the daughter-tongues, there was a loss of the sense of the nature of the language through which its structure—because of the interruption in the national tradition—suffered not a little, and its form received important alterations¹. Even the relation which sounds in the daughter-languages bear to those in Latin betray an important diminution of the instinctive correctness of articulation. We have only to remember the numerous instances of weakening: e.g. of *c* to *g* (Ital. *luogo* = *locum*), of *t* to *d* (Ital. *padre* = *patrem*), of *p* to *b* (Fr. *abeille* = *apicula*): and the frequent rejection of consonants (Fr. *père*, *lieu*). Nobody will venture to deny that the Fr. *ouïr* originated in *audire*; but who would venture, on this analogy, to assume a similar mutilation for the Gr. *αἶω*, whereby it might be brought into connexion with *audio*? Indeed by this very phonetic process the inflexions of Latin have to a large extent disappeared, and in compensation for

¹ For the conception of 'daughter-languages' cp. Steinthal A. 'Litteraturz.' 1849, p. 368: 'Archiv für neuere Sprachen,' xxxvi. p. 129, and Pott, 'Die Ungleichheit der menschlichen Rassen,' p. 214 f.

the case-endings &c. of whose use the language has thus been deprived, new expedients have been introduced. Prepositions, robbed of their full original sound, and with weakened meaning, are compounded with each other (Fr. *avant* = *ab ante*, *devant* = *de ab ante*) and with pronominal forms (Ital. *del* = *de illo*). Thus the most various disfigurations arise. Frequently a new word is formed of two, three, or even more words welded together; very often a virtue has to be made of necessity, and in too many cases we notice in words how they fashioned themselves out of the ruins of the older languages, in the first instance rather as conventional aids, until the new germs developed, and by degrees idioms appeared, which in
 32 their way are again deserving of admiration. That Ital. *medesimo* arose from *-met ipsissimus*, Fr. *dans* from *de intus* (Pott, 'Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.' i. 311), no reasonable man will doubt. But if we are recommended to assume similar mutilations, in order to refer Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin forms to their origin, this, in my opinion, is to confuse with each other essentially different periods of language. For from the establishment of the primitive Indo-Germanic language, so far as we can see, down to the time when Greek and Latin reached their highest perfection, there was an uninterrupted tradition which makes us *a priori* disinclined to rash attempts to refer forms to elements completely confused and disfigured. For a time so early in the life of language as that before the separation of the various tongues all the conditions are wanting, by which such mutilations are explicable in younger languages. But further, the attempt to break up apparently simple forms and roots has been made almost wholly by means of Sanskrit, and in such a manner as to involve the assumption that all the little weaknesses of Sanskrit were to be found existing before the separation of languages. This is the point of a difference between Pott and myself which, after my objections in the first edition of this book, led to a fresh discussion of this question on his part in the second volume of the second edition of his 'Etym. Forsch.' (p. 293 ff.), and to a short reply on my side in the preface to the second volume of the first edition of this work. Leaving everything personal as much as possible on one side, I wish, without entering into the very

numerous details, simply to point out here briefly the general character of the process, and to adduce the reasons which, in addition to the one already mentioned, prevent me, and not me alone, from adopting it.

The most usual case is that in which it is believed that in the initial letter of a root a more or less mutilated prefix may be recognized, and that therefore it is allowable to derive this root from a shorter one. Thus most of the Sanskrit prepositions were used as prefixes to lengthen roots beginning with a vowel, in just the way which the older Etymology ventured upon in its confused fashion. Because in Sanskrit the prefix *api* = Gr. *ἐπί* commonly becomes *pi* by aphaeresis, therefore Pott even now (ii². 301, cp. W. iii. 428) finds no difficulty in deriving *piñj*, which, besides other meanings, is asserted in Indian lists of roots to have also that of 'painting,' though in reality this meaning appears to have been invented merely to explain the adjective *piñgāra-s* 'golden yellow,' as well as the Lat. *pingere*, from *api-añj* (*oblinere*) or (and the very hesitation shows the doubtfulness of the assumption) from *api-masj* ³³ (*immergere*), and in the same way to assume similar mutilations for other prefixes commencing with the vowel *a*. Where, for instance, *apa* = *ἀπό* suits better, an inconvenient *p* is referred to this, instead of to *api*, e. g. *pāpā-s* 'bad' to *apa-āp*, i. e. to fail to reach, to wander off [abgelangen, abirren] (p. 305). This, however, by no means prevents Pott from explaining conjecturally this very *āp*, which occurs in the form *ap* in the Lat. *ap-iscor*, through *ā-api-i* to mean 'to go to this in addition,' in which the assumed root *i* has entirely disappeared, or as Pott expresses himself, "has gone the way of all flesh." In the same way an initial Skt. *bh* or Gr. *φ* is referred to *abhi*¹ (*bei*), e. g. Skt. *bhrāj* = Gr. *φλεῖν*, Lat. *fulg*, to *abhi-rāj*, to shine 'upon'—an initial *dh* or Gr. *θ* to *adhi* (over, upon) e. g. Skt. *dhjāi*, meditari, with Gr. *θεάομαι* to *adhi-i* (*līvai*), adire, (p. 308),—an initial *n* to *ni* (sub, de), e. g. *vaś* to *ni-vas* (*vas* 'to dwell') (p. 308),—an initial *d* to *ut* 'upwards' which, according to certain phonetic laws peculiar to Sanskrit, becomes

¹ Now the difficulty occurs to Pott himself (W. i. 421), 'Unfortunately there is no trustworthy example of an *ἐφί* in Greek.'

d before many sounds, e.g. Skt. *duh* 'draw' from *ut-vah* 'eve-
here' (p. 314, cp. W. iii. 1023), an initial *v* to *vi* 'one from
another,' e.g. Skt. *vr̥dh* 'crescere,' from the equivalent *rdh*
(i¹. 250), Gr. *le* in *λεσθαι* from Skt. *vī* 'desiderare,' and this from
vi-i (Ebel, 'Zeitschrift,' iv. 164), or when convenient to *ava*
'away,' e.g. Skt. *vah*, Gk. *ὄχ* in *ὄχος*, Lat. *veh* in *veho*, to
ava-hā 'to go away,' 'to make to go away' (Pott, i¹. 283
withdrawn ii². 316), an initial *s* to *sa*, *sam* 'with,' e.g. *snushā*
= OHG. *snuor*, Gk. *vvós*, Lat. *nurus* to *sam-vas* 'to dwell with'
(ii². 300, W. ii. 2, 478), an initial *sv* to the prefix *su* = Gr. *εὔ*;
e.g. *svād* (gustare) from *su-ā-ad* 'to eat well' (gut anessen)
(ii². 319). It is easy to see how far it is possible to go in
this direction; for as the meaning of these prefixes can easily
be turned about this way and that way, and as writers dealt
freely in assumptions of the most various elisions and pho-
netic changes in prefixes and verbal roots alike, any word
could easily be referred by such means to a stem which finds
its counterpart in fuller or abbreviated form in Sanskrit.

It is true that in this respect purely Greek Etymology
does not lag behind comparative Etymology. Thus Döder-
lein ('Hom. Gloss.' § 2272) says, "as *ἀνά* is shortened into
ἀ, *κατά* to *κα-* and *κ-*, *ἐκ* to *ἐ-* and *κ-*, *διά* to *ζα-* and *σ-*,
so also *ὑπό* is curtailed into *ύ*:" and in § 2463 even makes
the *σ* which he supposes to originate in *διά*, take a "leap for
34 life," in order to change the *διαπελάγιοι* into *Πελασγοί*. But
here we must not fail to notice that Pott distinguishes many
of these combinations from certainly recognized analogies, as
being mere hypotheses, so that the greater number of his
comparisons can be easily separated from these and retain
their full value. The more recent students of comparative
philology have for the most part passed over these attempts
in silence, but some are reluctant entirely to give up the
right to avail themselves of such a method of procedure¹.

¹ So Scherer ('Zur Gesch. d. deutschen Sprache,' p. 328) says "in
cases of resemblance in sound and meaning." But where can we find
a clear case of this kind? Pott (W. iii. 672) believes that he has
discovered one. The Vedic verb *bhishak-ti* 'it heals' (with *bhishaf*
'healing,' the derived *bhishaf-jati* 'he heals' and *bhēshaf-a-m* 'medi-
cine') he refers with Pictet to (*a*)*bhi-saf*, for which the only demon-

What are the reasons, then, for which I hold that I am compelled to oppose not merely particular instances, but this whole style of analysis? Pott appeals to the analogy of the more modern languages. That the *s* of the It. *s-aggio* has arisen from *ex* we believe, because in *exagium* we have the Latin word before us, because the other Romance languages (*essai*) still show traces of the *e*, and because the omission of the vowel in a syllable which is known to have been unaccented has every analogy on its side. The same sibilant (=Skt. *sa*) is common in the more modern Slavonic languages in the meaning 'with.' Hence that e.g. the Bohem. *s-bor* 'assembly' is derived from *s* (Ch. Sl. *sŭ*=Skt. *sa* 'with') and *rt. ber* (=Skt. *bhar*, φερ, Lat. *fer*) and that it originally meant much the same as *con-fer-ence* is evident. If any one should doubt that the case was the same with the *g* of the Germ. *g-lauben*, he would have to be referred to the OHG. *gelouben*, *galoubo* (Grimm, 'Gr.' ii. 699), just as for the modern *b-leiben* we have the OHG. *pi-lip-an*. But what right have we to argue from these precedents in late periods of language to the earliest, to propose combinations for which all the intermediate forms, and all the criteria of probability are wanting which were present in the instances just adduced, and to assert a composition with prepositions even where there is no strong motive either in the sounds or in the meaning of the form concerned to refer it to such elements? From the root *āp* which, as we saw, Pott by a bold hypothesis makes a com- 35 pound, we arrive at the shorter form *ap*, which is the base e.g. of the Skt. *ap-as*=Lat. *opus*. This *ap*, just as much as the *rt. tap* 'burn' (τέφ-ρα), bears quite the character of being original; it occurs plainly in *ap-iscor*, *ap-tus*. Just as little is there anything in the *rt. piñg* (whose very existence

strated meaning is 'to curse.' It is only through the hypothetical intermediate stage 'to exorcise' that the two ideas are linked together. Hence in the Pet. Dict. this etymology is not to be found. But even allowing it to be correct, this would only prove that, at the time when Indic and Eranic were still one language (for the Zend *baēshaza* means 'medicine'), a verbal compound became a stem used as a root, not that this could have taken place in the far earlier Indo-Germanic period.

is not satisfactorily proved) pointing to composition. The same is true of the rt. *svad* (*ἄνδ-άν-ω, ἥδ-ο-μαι*). All these roots are treated in their inflexion just like those which even Pott regards as primitive. They are lengthened mostly by expansion or vowel-intensification, sometimes by nasalisation (*āp, svād* cf *ανδ*), means, which language is accustomed to use for the formation of words only in the case of actual roots. Again that such simple ideas as 'to attain,' 'to make gay,' 'to taste,' should have been formed only by the intellectual method of composition will seem very improbable to any one who believes with Max Müller ('Lectures,' ii. 66) that the material of language arose rather by "a poetical fiat" than by analytic thought. But we have other objections.

The process which we have been describing tacitly assumes that all the prefixes found in use in Sanskrit not only existed before the separation of the languages, but existed as prefixes, and precisely in their Sanskrit form. But this is an extremely bold assumption, which we can never admit. It seems to me very improbable that significant roots, the proper substance of language, for the most part owed their existence in the first instance to a process of decay, while the little particles, which—whether pronominal (Bopp, 'Vgl. Gr.' iii. 487) or, as Weber holds ('Indische Studien,' ii. 406) with Jacob Grimm ('Wörterbuch,' i. 50) and Schoemann ('Redetheile,' p. 142) of the same origin as verbal roots, or, as Pott will have it, *sui generis*—in any case have the function of indicating and demonstrating rather than denoting, were extremely old, older than many of the most common and indispensable verbal roots. Even Pott's learned and acute treatment of the prepositions in the first volume of the 'Et. Forsch.' (second edition) has not convinced me of this. We do not find by any means all the Sanskrit prepositions recurring in the other languages in their separate use: *ā* e. g. and *ava* can only be shown to exist in Sanskrit and Zend: *api* undoubtedly corresponds to Gr. *ἐπί*, but whilst *api* in Sanskrit very frequently loses its *a*, there is not a single Greek word in which *πι* unmistakeably stands for *ἐπί*. Even in Sanskrit the aphaeresis of *a* is by no means usual, except in

the case of *api*¹. Pott himself states that *abhi*, in spite of the 35 fact that this preposition takes the accent on the last syllable, never loses its *a* in the living language; but this does not at all prevent him from assuming, for the far earlier period when the languages were not yet separated, this mutilation which was still unknown in the period of language which can be ascertained historically, and from regarding, as we saw, an initial *bh* as the remains of an *abhi* which early fell into bad ways. It so happens that Greek is especially conservative in the retention of an initial vowel; a circumstance which we have to thank for the preservation of the augment in which this language has the advantage over most of her sisters. Thus *su* (cp. O. Ir. *su-*, *so-*) is derived, as the Greek *ἐὺ* shows, from *asu*, for it is only thus that we can explain the two forms, which are related to each other precisely as the Sanskrit strong stem of the participle from the root *as* 'to be,' *sant*, is related to the Gr. *ἐόντ*, i.e. *ec-ont* or *as-ant*. Hence we must assume that, before the separation, *asu* and not *su* was the prevalent form, and, as we nowhere find in Greek a trace of *ú* for *éú*, *ẽ*, we cannot use this form at all in comparative grammar. The case is in no way altered by the fact that the initial vowel has disappeared also in Old Irish; nor would any traces of a *su* in the German and Italian families of languages, which Bugge ('Ztschr.' xx. 34) believes he can point out, be able to perplex us in our assumption of an Indo-Germanic *asu*. Of a preposition *vi* denoting separation we have no instance in Greek: in Latin the *vi* of *vi-dua* (Skt. *vi-dhavā* 'husbandless'²), the *vē* of *vē-cors*, *vē-sanus*, *ve-stig-*

¹ Other instances of aphaeresis in Sanskrit words assumed with great confidence by Pott, are by no means admitted by other Sanskrit scholars. The editors of the Pet. Dict. doubt the very first example which is maintained against me on p. 299, *taskara-s* 'robber,' according to Pott=*atas-kara-s* 'carrying away.'

² This very simple and often repeated etymology of the words which correspond so exactly to the Goth. *viduvō*, the Ch. Sl. *vidova* (Bopp. 'Vgl. Gr.' iii. 506), an etymology which I myself once regarded as a sure one, is called in question in the Petersb. Dict., on the ground that *dhava-s* is too young a word; and the authors of the dictionary prefer to regard it as a word formed from *vidhavā* (see

iu-m has been regarded as the representative of this *vi*. But even in his first edition (i. 127 f.) Pott thought that this pre-
 37 position showed itself most commonly in the form *di*, *dis* in Latin, and as *διά* in Greek, and that it was to be referred to the root of the numeral 'two,' *dvi*. With this view Bopp also agrees in his Glossary s. v. *vi* (he gives a different explanation in 'Vgl. Gr.' iii. 506), and hardly anything can be said against it; for that the same root appears in Latin sometimes with and sometimes without *d* is shown, beyond the possibility of doubt, by the comparison of *duo* and *bis*, i. e. *duis* with *vī-ginti*. But, even though we find as the representative of *vī-ginti* for *dvi-ginti* the Dor. *Φίκατι*, also with the loss of *d*, yet the 'particle' *vi* is only represented in Greek by *διά*. And if we look into the matter more closely, there is even a striking similarity in the use of *vi* and the Gr. *διά*; *vi-gñā* is *διαγνῶναι*, *vi-jā* (permeare) *διῆεναι*, *vi-vā* (perflare) *διαῆναι*, and the Pet. Dict. quotes passages from the R̥gvēda in which *vi* with the accusative means 'through.' We can see that *vi* has the two meanings 'in two' from which comes 'apart,' Lat. *dis*, and 'between,' 'through,' just like *διά*. As for the form, I regard *δι-ά* as an instrumental case of the stem *dvi* which appears in its simple form in *vi*, and expanded in *dis* by the same *s*, by which *ἀμφίς* is expanded from *ἀμφί*, *ἐξ* from *ἐκ*, Lat. *abs* from *ab*, and in which possibly we have an analogue of the genitive suffix *as*, Gr. *ος* (Weber, 'Ind. Stud.' ii. 406). Hence, though we may have preserved, certainly in Latin¹, and perhaps also

Pictet's objections to this view, ii. 342).—The Sanskrit word is now referred by Roth ('Ztschr.' xix. 223) to a rt. *vidh* (*vindh*) 'to be empty,' 'to be faulty,' which he gets from the R̥gvēda. This, at all events, agrees excellently with the Goth. *vidu-vairna* 'orphaned,' and with *ἡθ-εο-ς* 'a bachelor,' which had been already compared by Benfey. *ῆ* arose from a prothetic *ε* owing to the influence of the digamma. Cp. *ἡρέμα* No. 454.

¹ In Latin a remarkable trace of the fuller form *dvi* (in addition to the numeral adverb *bis* mentioned above, which, when compared with *dis*, necessarily presupposes a Graeco-Italic *duis*) is preserved in *bivira* (i. e. *dui-vira*), which Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iii. 400 has pointed out, used, according to Nonius (ii. p. 56 ed. Gerlach), by Varro in the sense of *vidua*. Hence even Latin in its earlier period was not

in some other branches of the Indo-Germanic family, traces of a prefix analogous to the Skt. *vi*, we cannot regard the weakening of *dvi* into *vi* as older than the separation of the languages; and as in Greek there is no single instance that can be clearly proved of a prepositional *fi* with the force of Skt. *vi* or the Lat. *vē*, it appears to me unlawful to make any use whatever of this Sanskrit preposition in Greek Etymology.

An additional objection to the view here under discussion is to be found in the history of Prepositions. Was the connexion of prepositions with verbal roots in early times really so close, that new stems could easily arise thus? Nothing entitles us to make the assumption. On the contrary, it is ³⁸ an established fact that prepositions were originally, without exception, adverbs of direction, in which we can sometimes still recognize clearly the case-forms. Prepositions were therefore at first quite independent words, though afterwards they lost their independence in two ways; on the one hand, becoming united with verbal stems as prefixes, on the other, serving as prepositions (in the usual sense of the word) joined to cases, and expressing the manifold relations in a sentence. Language itself shows the composition with verbal stems to be but loose by the fact—in which Sanskrit and Greek agree—that it places the augment and the reduplication between the preposition and the verb-form ('Greek Verb,' p. 94). These elements then, for these languages, form in all preterite tenses and in the perfect a wall of partition between the preposition and the verb, which evidently must have made it a much more difficult thing for the two parts to coalesce. It was otherwise e.g. in the Germanic languages. Here this increased difficulty did not present itself at all, or to a very unimportant extent, so that the Goth. *fraitan* (NHG. *fressen*) may be derived without hesitation from *fra-itan* (ver-essen) (Pott, ii². 313). But in Greek the exceptions to the normal

as yet inclined to the weakening of *dvi* into *vi*, which has been assumed with so much confidence for the earliest times, and on the ground of which scholars have thought themselves justified in regarding the initial *v* of many stems as the remains of this particle (cp. Pott ii². 325).

position of the augment and the reduplication alike, such as *ἐκάθισα, ἤνεσχύμην*, are wholly post-Homeric; so they do not in the least diminish the weight of the fact adduced as regards the earliest period of our stock of languages. And verbal compounds like the assumed *su-ad*, i.e. **εὐέδειν* were altogether unknown to Greek, by a delicate and, as we may venture to conjecture, old law of the language. Primitive verbal stems have in the Indo-Germanic languages generally very little tendency to form firm combinations with other kinds of words. Ludwig Lange, in his 'Andeutungen über Ziel und Methode der syntaktischen Forschung' ('Verhandlungen der Göttinger Philologenversammlung 1852,' p. 104 f.), has carried out more completely the observations which we have made here as to the developement of prepositions, and has shown incontrovertibly, by a computation of their proportionate occurrence, that the extremely extensive use of prepositions as prefixes only presents itself in Epic Sanskrit, whilst Vedic Sanskrit in this respect approaches more nearly to the state of things in the Homeric poems. Hence, as we see in the earliest monuments of the Indian and Greek languages that the prepositions still showed so little tendency to enter into
 29 composition¹, reflection shows that we are by no means justified in considering the use of prepositions as prefixes to be earlier than the separation of the languages, far less in assuming that a large number of verbal roots had already so entirely coalesced with prefixes that new words could be formed from them, which were no longer felt to be compounds, and indeed not individual nouns merely but widely ramifying verbal stems bearing the most primitive stamp. The chronology of linguistic science, that is, the distinction between the various periods of the life of language, is entirely opposed to this assumption. The number of compound words which belong originally to more languages than one, is altogether

¹ This view of the preposition (with which Sonne also agrees 'Ztschr.' xiv. 5) is of course at variance also with the assumption that in the case-endings we have mutilated prepositions, a theory which Pott e. g. holds to be fully made out in the case of the suffix *bhi* (Gr. *φι*, *φω*). But who knows whether *a-bhi* is not rather itself a case-form of the pronominal stem *a*?

extremely small, and even in the case of these there is often a doubt whether they belong to the common inherited stock or to the store that has been subsequently acquired. And to return to prepositional compounds, it might possibly be shown that there is a considerable likeness between the use of them in two languages, at all events in languages so nearly related as Latin and Greek; but even here this is the case but seldom. The coinage of such words evidently belongs, as a rule, to the period in which each language pursued its independent development; and the same holds good of the mutilations of prefixes of the kind; and though examples of these can of course be adduced in abundance in Sanskrit, and the Teutonic and Slavonic languages, yet, being entirely independent of each other, they certainly made their appearance a long time after the establishment of the use of such prefixes. In Greek and Latin even these phenomena are rare, and especially in Greek the sense of the independence of prepositions kept its vitality in a high degree.

There is still less probability in the supposed instances of composition with the interrogative stem *ka* (Pott, ii.² 426 ff.). By a peculiar idiom of Sanskrit various forms of the interrogative pronoun, especially *kim* (*quid*), are compounded with various substantives with the force of astonishment, e.g. *kī-rājā* 'what king!' i.e. what a king! both in a good and in a bad sense. In the same way it is asserted that the uninflected stem *ka* or *kā* enters into compounds, e.g. *kā-rava-s* = *corvu-s*, supposed to be from *ka* and *rava-s* 'sound' (cp. *rāvi-s*, *raucu-s*), 'having what a sound!' (Bopp, 'Gl.'). But even for Sanskrit this method of composition is not quite established. 10 In the Petersb. Dict. ii. 2 we find these words: "even if we are not to deny absolutely such a method of composition, yet we are bound to notice that this explanation has in some cases been used too freely." Hence it appears to me more than venturesome to assume the existence of such a specifically Indian method of expression in time before the separation of languages; and I am not convinced even by Pictet, who is fond of the use of this instrument of etymology, and who (ii. 226) finds in it "un caractère de naïveté, qui s'accorde parfaitement avec la nature d'un idiome primitif."

In an exclamation of astonishment there lies hidden a reflection which has merely the appearance of *surprise*, but which really contains a judgement, that is, an element of conception. That simple notions which obtrude themselves directly on the perception of men¹, should have found their expression by means of such exclamations, which became as it were fixed and passed into names, I regard as wholly improbable. Hence we cannot for a moment conceive that the Lat. *oculus* = Goth. *kail-s* (one-eyed) is '*quo oculo praeditus!*' as Pott holds (i¹. 166, cp. ii². 445) (*ka-ocul-s*), nor, on the other hand, can we regard it as a compound of Skt. *éka* 'one' and *oco*, the stem of *oculus*, a derivation which Pott gives as also possible, and which Bopp considers certain ('Vergl. Gr.' ii². 59). For of this *éka*, which is itself undoubtedly a derived form from the stem which occurs in Sanskrit also as *ē-rá*, and in Zend as *aéva* (Pott, 'Zählmethode,' 149), there is no trace to be found in any of the allied languages, to say nothing of the fact that we have to assume a very rare mutilation which cuts out the very kernel of the word. This *éka* again we hold to be only Sanskrit, not Indo-Germanic.

My objections to the prefix-theory Pott meets (p. 301) by adducing the existence of "not a few pairs of roots with simpler and fuller initial sounds" side by side. He contends against the view that by mere accident two roots with the meaning 'shine' like Skt. *rāj* and *bhrāj*, differing only in their initial letters, came into being independently of each other. But there are pairs and triplets of roots of the kind, which even Pott cannot refer to one and the same origin, e.g. Skt. *jaḡ* and *bhaḡ* 'to honour'; in the case of which he admits of 'accident' (ii². 336), *am*, *gam*, *kram* three 'verba eundi,' where the prepositions leave us in the lurch, *ad* 41 'edere,' *kakul* 'frangere,' *an* 'spirare,' *stan* 'suspirare.' Or are we, in order to favour the prefix-theory, to explain the last of

¹ As an instance we may take Skt. *kapāla-s* = κεφαλή, which Vietet breaks up into *ka-pāla-s*, and translates *quel protecteur*, adding "on ne saurait mieux caractériser le rôle naturel du crâne" (i. 308, ii. 305).

these by *sa + ati + an* 'together exceedingly to blow?' Then we might perhaps find some help for *jaḡ* in a *ni-aḡ* 'to move oneself down,' and for *bhaḡ* in *abhi-aḡ* 'to move oneself up to,' in something of the sense of *προσκυνεῖν*. But many will, I believe, prefer with me to regard it simply as a fact, which after all is not very surprising, that language sometimes denotes related conceptions by similar sounds. It is hardly worth while reminding the reader that the riddle is often solved by the fact that the one form is the earlier, more faithfully preserved (e.g. OHG. *smilz-u*), the other the more mutilated (Gr. *μέλδ-ω*).

7.

In general the endeavour to break words up into their elements has been pushed much too far. The principle that he who proves too much proves nothing might be well applied to many assertions of comparative philology. In our judgement much more is gained if we set a Greek word, together with the related and derived words which accompany it in Greek, side by side with an actually occurring Sanskrit, Latin, German, or Slavonic word, and do so with absolute certainty, than if we lose ourselves in bold hypotheses upon the origin of the form which this comparison compels us to give as the root-form—without having any firm ground to go upon. Even Pott, in his review of Benfey's 'Wurzellexikon' ('Berl. Jahrb. 1840,' p. 623 ff.), has uttered a warning against this danger, and recommended, for many questions, an honest acknowledgement of ignorance, in the place of flighty omniscience. Besides, the question of the relation of a Greek word to a word in the other languages can in practice be very satisfactorily answered, without entering upon these ultimate questions. For instance, that the Greek *ὄστέον* with the Latin *os* goes back to a stem *asti*, which in Sanskrit is *asthi* (No. 213), is a fact of interest, which is completely established. But to trace back the root-form so recognized to its origin is a task which is quite different, and better kept distinct. And it seems to me that little is gained by

such conjectures as that put forward by Bopp in his 'Glossary,' and approved by Pott, ii². 296, that this *asti* comes from the root *stu* 'to stand.' This can never be proved. Pictet (i. 515) gives for the same word, which denotes at the same time the
 42 stone of a fruit, a quite different conjecture, which we shall consider under No. 213. In other cases indeed we can go back to a root with more certainty. The various names for Spring, (Ik. *ē-ap*, Skt. *vas-ant-ds*, Lat. *vē-r*, ON. *vd-r*, Ch. Sl. *ves-na*, Lith. *vas-a-d*, find their meeting point in the stem *vas*. So far we can go with certainty. But whether this *vas* is the same as that which we find in Sanskrit, and also, though slightly altered in other cognate languages, with the meaning of 'to clothe'—according to which therefore Spring was designated as the clothier and adorer of earth (cp. Pictet, i. 101)—or a quite distinct *vas*, which, like the shorter form *us*, denotes burning and shining—which would also well suit the conception of Spring—it is certainly much harder to determine. The second of these two views, defended by Fick, Grassmann, and recently by Bergaigne ('Mém.' ii. 73), is certainly more probable. The root *lu* (No. 547) occurs in Greek as *λυ* in *λυμα*, raised into *λυν* in *λυν-ω*; in Latin as *lu* in *lu-o*, as *lav* in *lav-o*; among the Teutonic languages the Old Norse gives *lō a* (*ulluo*). There we stop short, without entering as Bopp does on the question whether this *lu* is not perhaps merely a mutilated form of the root *plu*, which we find with its initial letter well preserved in a number of words in all the cognate languages (No. 809), or conjecturing with Pott, i¹. 209 (retracted W 1 1187), that by an opposite process this *plu* in its turn may have proceeded from *pi* - *api-lu* (to wash upon). The objection may be brought against us that we have thus passed by many of the most interesting questions, and no one will desire to take it upon himself to forbid further investigations for all future time. But in this case, as often, we can only make advances by limiting the tasks we set ourselves, and above all by a careful distinction of that which may be definitely known from that which can only be reached by conjectures. Even within the narrower circle, which is however quite wide enough, there will be no lack of increased enlightenment on many points. *Science* has not for its object the satisfaction of curiosity, or

the supply of an arena where more or less ingenious hypotheses may disport themselves, but the extension of the kingdom of truth and the confinement of the rule of error within narrower limits.

As a rule, then, we shall not in our combinations proceed beyond the forms which clearly present themselves from the comparison of words actually occurring in the various languages with which we are dealing; but in one respect it will be hardly possible to observe strictly the limits which we have drawn. I am referring to one of the most difficult questions in the investigation of language, the question of the variation of roots, or the formation of secondary roots, which, though in part far removed from the aims which we are here pursuing, yet cannot be left untouched, because it enters into numberless individual questions. As to the general idea of a root, we may accept the view of Pott ('Review of Benfey's *Wurzellexikon*'), who calls roots the ultimate material (*Grundstoff*) of language. But if we define roots according to the form in which they present themselves in the Indo-Germanic languages, we may say that a root is the significant combination of sounds¹ which is left remaining after a given word has been stripped of everything formative. Primitive verb-forms are best adapted to this. Suppose $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\tau\acute{\iota}\text{-}\theta\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omicron$ given. Grammar points out the particular grammatical force of every other part of this form, that is, $\acute{\epsilon}$ denotes that the action lies in the past, the reduplication syllable $\tau\acute{\iota}$ denotes the present stem, or duration, $\tau\omicron$ the 3rd sing. mid.; hence $\theta\epsilon$ is evidently the root. If we compare $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\nu\nu\text{-}\mu\iota$, $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\xi\iota\text{-}\varsigma$, $\zeta\nu\gamma\acute{o}\text{-}\nu$ with each other, we

¹ We shall be right in saying 'combination of sounds,' for the only Indo-Germanic root, which *appears* to consist of a single sound, the root i (to go) has the smooth breathing before the vowel, a sound which is generally left quite out of view in linguistic investigations, but very incorrectly. The German alliteration shows most clearly that the smooth breathing was not unknown even to the linguistic instinct of the unlearned. The recognition of the smooth breathing as a real sound is often shown to be important, as in the interchange with the spir. asp. in Greek, and in that with j and v in the Slavonic languages. The assumption of a verbal root a in Heyse's 'System der Sprachwissenschaft' p. 113 rests upon an error.

arrive at the root $\zeta\upsilon\tau$, from which these three forms may be easily derived, because from the laws of inflexion we can point out the meaning of the syllables $\nu\upsilon$ and $\mu\iota$, and from the laws of derivation we can explain the suffix $\tau\iota$ ($\sigma\iota$) with the sign of the nominative s and the suffix o with the sign of the accusative ν , while in the first two forms we can show that the diphthong has arisen from υ by intensification or expansion. The Indian grammarians, whose views were followed at first by comparative philology, were so far inconsistent in their procedure, that they set down some roots, specially all that ended in a , as having a long vowel: $d\bar{a}$, $p\bar{a}$, $s\bar{t}\bar{a}$, &c. But Schleicher ('Beitr.' ii. 92) has shown, by convincing arguments, that the short vowel, which has long been assigned to Greek roots like ϕa , δo , θe , really belongs to the root. The length of the vowel, where it occurs, is to be considered as being itself something formative, as raising. Hence I follow now this treatment of Schleicher, in favour of which Pott also

44 (W. i. 1) has expressed himself, though not without reserve, and Corssen (i². 604) more decidedly¹. For the future therefore, when it is a question of Indo-Germanic roots, we shall be speaking only of roots like da , pa , sta , &c., retaining, however, the long vowels in the case of Sanskrit roots. But this definition of a root needs still further limitation. If we were to break up $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\nu\epsilon\tau o$ in the same way as $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\tau o$, we should arrive at the utterly unpronounceable root $\tau\nu$. Such roots, absolutely unpronounceable in some cases and not merely unpronounceable according to Greek laws of sound, are actually assumed by Benfey. He gives us the chance of practising the pronunciation of the sound-groups $\tau\lambda$, $\kappa\rho$, $\kappa\nu$, δf , arriving at last at $\Theta f r\chi$ and ΘPC . But objections to this have been justly raised from various quarters². Ought any one really

¹ An intermediate view, according to which some of the roots in a have the long vowel, others the short vowel, has been put forward by Delbrück, 'Altind. Verb,' p. 88 f.

² I am well aware that the views developed by Brugman ('Stud.' ix. 285 ff.), as to a primitive so-called 'nasalis sonans,' and similar views expressed in different quarters as to the priority of the vowel r , as it occurs in Sanskrit, over ar , are a return to assumptions similar to those which seemed long ago disposed of. The fact that the fundamental tendency of phonetic change in the history of language is

to maintain in all gravity that the relatively primitive language which lies at the base of all Indo-Germanic languages used such monstrous sounds? We can hardly credit any language with forms like these when all experience is against it.

Or is it intended, by such unpronounceable aggregations of sound, to represent mere shadowy existences, pure abstractions? A proceeding in our judgement extremely doubtful. It is true that we arrive at roots, as we conceive them, by abstraction; but it does not by any means follow from this that they did not really exist: it is only that they have no independent existence in the state of language which we have given to us historically. But for all that they underlie the various forms which have sprung out of them, just as the stems, formed from roots, underlie the forms which in their turn spring from them. The instinctive sense of roots and stems undoubtedly became in many ways obliterated and obscured, especially in the more recent periods of the life of language. But for more ancient times and for languages of the transparent structure of Sanskrit, and even Greek, as a rule at least, the feeling of the mutual connexion between words that originated in one root or one stem must have been preserved in activity. A Greek undoubtedly was just as well aware of the connexion between λέγω and λόγος, νέμω and νόμος, νομάω, between 45 ποῦς and πρῶς, as a modern German of the relation of *Bund* to *binden* and *Band*, or of *Fluss* to *fliessen*. We give to such a connexion among a group of words the shortest scientific expression by basing it upon a root. There is also much to be said for the view that in the earliest period of the life of language, that is in the period preceding inflexion, the roots so deduced had a real existence apart from all additions, that, in other words, many at least of them were once true words. This view has recently been asserted among others by Steinthal ('Ztschr. f. Völkerpsychol.' iii. 250) and Max Müller ('Lectures,' ii. 37). [It has been strongly contested by A. H. Sayce, 'Principles of Comparative Philology: Introduction

from the full to the weak sound, not the reverse, is of itself enough to make it impossible for me to assent to such views. The OHG. *hloufan* is more primitive than the German *laufen*, &c.

to the Science of Language,' ii. 5.] Hence we can recognize as Indo-Germanic roots only such combinations of sound as, according to the phonetic laws of the primitive Indo-Germanic language, so far as we can arrive at these, can be pronounced. In fact some vowel or other is always easily discovered as an integral part of the root. One who preferred to start from rv instead of rev , would be compelled to assume even in $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ a strengthening, that is, a formative element quite apart from the termination, an assumption which would be altogether unlawful. Evidently the rejection of the vowel is something purely accidental, limited to some few formations from the root; and hence we can no more assume it in the root itself, than we could the strengthening of zur to zeur , which is also limited to particular forms. We must therefore complete the definition of the origin of a root given above, by adding that a root is the combination of sounds which remains when everything formative *and accidental* has been stripped away from a given word.

Another question is not so easily answered, i.e. whether we are to lay down special roots for the several languages, or common roots for the united stock. At the first glance it seems to be more in accordance with the approved view that roots were the actual primary words of the languages, to speak not of Greek, but only of Indo-Germanic roots. For nothing is more certain than that $\theta\epsilon$, zur , rev were never independent words. These combinations of sound date from a time when language had long passed beyond the primitive words. It is only of the older sound-groups which may be regularly deduced from them, of *dha*, *jug*, *gan*, that it is probable that they had an independent existence in that early time. Hence Heyse ('System der Sprachwissenschaft,' p. 112) will only allow of Indo-Germanic roots, and Steinthal ('Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsychol.' ii. 463, iii. 250) agrees with him, while Jacob Grimm ('über Diphthonge u. ausgef. Conson.' 46 p. 63) maintains that what is held to be a root in one language need not be regarded as such in another. The question is plainly not to be considered from the point of view of theory alone, but essentially, so to say, from that of practice, that is, of the requirements of special investigations. One

who lays down only Indo-Germanic roots, must naturally set aside not only Greek, but also Sanskrit roots. Accordingly we must not speak of the rt. *gan* any more than of *yer*, but only of *gan*. The rt. *gar*, which by the way may be shown itself to have been used in three essentially distinct primary meanings—'to call' (*γῆναι*), 'to devour' (*βόρειν*), 'to wake' (*ἐγρηγορέναι*)—would coincide with the root *gar*, which again has three principal meanings,—'to grow old' (*γέρων*), 'to approach,' and 'to crackle.' As an original *k* is in Sanskrit sometimes preserved, sometimes changed, without any apparent reason, to *k*, the roots *kam* 'love,' *kam* 'sip,' and again *kar* 'make' and *kar* 'go,' would have to be reduced to one, or to several of identical sound. But is not this simply confounding theoretically forms which in the living language diverge far from each other? And there are still greater difficulties in the way in the case of Greek, because here evidently from the earliest times its richer vowel-system¹ contributed to determine the meaning. *ēd* 'to eat' and *ōd* 'to smell' are in Greek kept as strictly distinct as the identical stems in Latin (*edere*, *odor*), and in Lithuanian *ēd-mi* 'I eat,' *ūd-ėu* 'I smell.' Are we to refer both to a root *ad*, nowhere existing and purely theoretical? Who can assure us that *ad* 'to eat' was not distinguished from the root meaning 'to smell,' in an earlier period in language, only in a way which we cannot now discover? The stems *āp* (*ἀπαρίσκει* and *ἀπείω*), *ēp* (*ἐπέσσω*), *ōp* (*ὀρνυμι*) go back to one original theme, the *ar* retained in Sanskrit; but to each of these forms a definite meaning is attached, to the one with *a* that of 'fitting' and 'ploughing,' to the one with *e* that of 'rowing,' to the one with *o* that of 'raising' or 'arousing;' and if we compare the Latin words *artus*, *rēmus*, *orior*, here too this special meaning shows itself attached to the same vowels. It follows that this change of vowel is neither formative nor accidental; hence according to our definition it belongs to the root. Anyone who lays down simply *ar* as the root of all these Greek words, obscures the more special relation in which the *a*-sound stands to the meaning of *ἀπαρίσκει*, &c. and fails to recognize in *ar*

¹ The attempt to ascribe to the Indo-Germanic primitive language an *a* of varied colouring will be discussed below (p. 33).

the stem in the case of ἐρέσσω and ὀρμενος an element which subserves the meaning. The difference between ἄρμενος and ὀρμενος is quite other than that between λέγω and λόγος, between ἔτρεπον and ἔτραπον. In the latter case the change of vowel is connected with the form, but it is not so in the former; here it belongs to the very substance of the language. In the forms ᾠρτο, ὀρμενος, ὀρνυμι, ὀρίνω, ὀρ presents itself in exactly the same way as the fundamental element, appears in them all, so to speak, as a monad, just as much as Skt. *ar* in the words derived therefrom. The assertion of stems of this kind is therefore as indispensable for a clear representation of the structure of language, as the assertion of noun-stems, of derived verb-stems and of pronoun-stems. The noun-stem πλοο certainly never existed in that form independently, and yet we give it the same name as the Skt. noun-stem *plava*, in the case of which this independent existence is more possible. We call *s* the termination of the nominative πλόο-*s*, *plava-s*, although the proper original sign of this case was apparently *sa*. In short, in the science of language we always call the atoms (Lautkörper) and elements of the individual languages, which act as the representatives and we might say heirs of the corresponding Indo-Germanic atoms and elements, by the same names as these. As an unbroken tradition reigned in the history of language, *rev* is the heir of the rt. *gan*. The form *rev*, which by degrees developed out of *gan*, always retains the same value when inflected: why are we to call the two combinations of sound by different names? Hence I am also of opinion that we do not get much profit from the distinctions which some have attempted to make in order to avoid a confusion of the Indo-Germanic roots with their successors in the realm of language. Heyse (*ut supra*) wishes to distinguish between 'roots' and 'root-forms,' but the idea of a root taken strictly excludes form: Steinthal draws a distinction between 'root' and 'theme,' but the latter expression is too wide; Pott, ii². 246, distinguishes absolute from relative roots. This would do better, and it is in any case important to be aware of such a difference. But can we really always succeed in reaching the absolute final root? The many homonymous roots which we

should arrive at for the Indo-Germanic period warn us against thinking so. Will any one undertake, in the case of the root *kam* mentioned above, to trace back the meanings 'love' and 'sip' to one original signification, or regard it as credible that language from the first denoted such different conceptions by the same sounds? In short, we may certainly lay it down as probable that the Indo-Germanic languages proceeded from elements of words like the roots which we can 48 infer, and that many of these had from the beginning just those sounds, neither more nor less, which we find in them by our inferences. But to decide, in the case of every such unit which may be inferred, whether it was the absolutely oldest combination of sounds linked to this conception or not is impossible. And therefore the science of language will always have to do in detail essentially with relative roots, which present themselves differently for each individual language.

Be this as it may, we can of course only speak of roots at all in those languages, in which substance and form are not too entirely confused. Where, as in daughter-languages or in languages with much decayed sounds, e. g. in New High German, the connexion between forms originally belonging to each other is much effaced, the assumption of a root for the particular language is a very doubtful step. But in this respect Greek occupies a position not at all differing from that of Sanskrit. It is true that Greek grammar did not attain to the scientific consciousness of roots, any more than to the consciousness of case-endings, noun-stems, and verb-stems. But on all these points we must supplement the linguistic sense which had not yet been developed into clearness; whilst by the help of the insight into the earlier history of the Greek language which has been granted only to us, we give precision to the representation of it, and carry our analysis (where this is possible) as far as those small significant elements of words, which even in their Greek dress have a well-grounded claim to the name of roots.

As to the Greek roots in particular, this will be the place, before we go any further, to insert some remarks upon their number and character. L. Lange has deserved our thanks for taking the pains to count (for his notice of the first volume of

the present work in the 'Ztschr. für Oest. Gymn. 1860,' p. 118) the number of the roots recognized by me in that volume, and to arrange them according to their phonetic character. Although there is room for doubt with respect to individual roots, yet this grouping is well calculated to furnish us with a general measure of the extent to which we can discover roots, and also of their phonetic nature. With the help of this arrangement, which I have altered in only a few points of little importance, and supplemented by some additional roots, I give here the main results. According to this, I consider it possible to refer some 700 Greek word-stems, which are treated as such separately, to 278 distinct roots; and of these, if the
 49 spiritus lenis as well as the spiritus asper is counted as a consonant (p. 43 note),

- (1) 36 consist of a consonant and a vowel: ι (615), $\chi\alpha$ (179), $\theta\epsilon$ (309), &c.
- (2) 152 of a consonant, a vowel, and a second consonant: $\acute{\alpha}\kappa$ (2), $\delta\iota\kappa$ (14), $\acute{\alpha}\gamma$ (118), $\gamma\alpha\phi$ (122), &c.
- (3) 23 of two consonants and a vowel: $\sigma\kappa\epsilon$ (45 b), $\kappa\lambda\upsilon$ (62), $\delta\rho\alpha$ (272), &c.
- (4) 24 of a consonant, a vowel, and two following consonants: $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa$ (1), $\phi\epsilon\rho\gamma$ (141), $\tau\epsilon\rho\pi$ (240), &c.
- (5) 40 of two consonants, a vowel, and a following consonant: $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\pi$ (58), $\sigma\kappa\upsilon\lambda$ (114), $\chi\lambda\alpha\delta$ (196), &c.
- (6) 3 of two consonants, a vowel, and two following consonants, namely $\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\pi$ (106), $\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\chi$ (176 b), $\sigma\tau\epsilon\mu\phi$ (219).

With regard to the second division of roots, which is so much larger than any of the other, two important remarks are made by Grassmann in his papers 'On the aspirates and their simultaneous occurrence at the beginning and at the end of roots' ('Ztschr.' xii. 81 ff.). The first is that "in Greek there is no root with two medial mutes and a vowel standing between them, either by itself or expanded by a nasal" (p. 115). Greek is thus distinguished especially from the Teutonic and Letto-Slavic tongues, in which roots like the Gothic *gab* (give), Ch. Sl. *bŭd* (wake) are very common. The distinction is explained by the corruption of the aspirates in the northern tongues, and their transformation in other ways

in the two classical languages. Thus the course of the investigation, which the author has conducted with equal acuteness and thoroughness, leads him in the next place to the conjecture that not only for the primitive Indo-Germanic language, but also for Greek, we must assume roots both beginning and ending with aspirates, like *bhūdh* = Gk. *φύθ*. By this latter assumption, opposed as it is to the view held by most scholars, and by myself formerly, so much light is thrown upon many questions hitherto dark, especially with regard to the relation of several German roots to the corresponding Greek ones, that, in spite of Pott's passionate attack upon it ('Ztschr.' xix. 16 ff.), I fully accept it. According to the familiar phonetic law, which in Sanskrit as in Greek does not readily allow the succession of two syllables each beginning with an aspirate, the first aspirate lost of necessity its aspiration, either entirely (*πυθέσθαι*, *πύσομαι*) or at least in the majority of its verbal forms (*τύφω*, *θύψω*).

But even that section of the word which, in the manner 50 that has been indicated, we find to be indivisible, and the proper vehicle of the meaning, sometimes presents itself to us under more than one form, and the question arises which is the more primitive, and the proper root-form. It is comparatively easy to decide when we have to deal with those regularly recurring series of vowels, which Jacob Grimm established for the Teutonic languages, and denoted by the name 'Ablaut.' In the case of the chord presented by the three vowels in most of the strong verbs, it is as a rule not difficult to arrive at the fundamental note, to which the root is set. It is the same with the corresponding phenomena in Greek. Modern philology, here agreeing with the Sanskrit grammarians, usually regards the shortest form of the root as the oldest; so that what Grimm regarded as 'Ablaut' (degradation of sound) we hold to be rather 'Zulaut'¹ (addition of sound) or vowel-

¹ The word *guṇa-s* (from which the hybrid words *guniren*, *Gunirung* have been formed, certainly not to the adornment of our philological writings), used with especial preference, perhaps just because of its mysterious origin, is according to Boehtlingk ('Pet. Dict.') properly 'the subordinate, secondary vowel-strengthening,' opposed to *vrddhi-s* (growth), the full strengthening. Why should we

intensification, which therefore, as being formative, must be regarded as an addition to the root, and not as something contained in it. Hence we regard $\zeta\upsilon\rho$ as the root in spite of $\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\gamma\upsilon\mu\iota$ and $\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, $\lambda\iota\pi$ in spite of $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\pi\omega$ and $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\alpha$, $\lambda\alpha\theta$ in spite of $\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\eta$. According to this view the conceptions of men, as has been well said, broke out first "like lightning" in short syllables. It is only later, and especially in connexion with inflexion and the coinage of noun-stems in various ways, that we find the tendency to bring out the root-syllable in certain cases more fully and broadly, a tendency which led on the one hand to reduplication, on the other, to those vowel-raising, which then in the further course of the history of language underwent various ramifications and changes. Attempts have been made in different quarters to explain the 'addition of sound' (Zulaut) by the accent. How far they have been successful we need not discuss¹ here. It is certain that this

not rather substitute a German word like 'Zulaut' (addition of sound), or 'Vocalsteigerung' (vowel-intensification), for the curiously devised and wholly unintelligible term of the Indian grammarians.

¹ The last few years have produced a number of important investigations, all based on the notion that the gradations of the vowel-system (*Abstufungen*, a happily invented expression, as I think it, introduced, so far as I know, first by Brugman) are most closely connected with the accentuation of the Indo-Germanic primitive language. I readily admit that this theory considerably increases the probability of the view taken in the text. The earlier defenders of this principle, Benfey, Holtzmann, Grein (cp. 'Greek Verb,' p. 97), were for the most part only able to adduce facts from Sanskrit in support of this view. It was reserved for the luminous investigations of K. Verner, in Kuhn's 'Ztsch.' xxiii. p. 97 ff., to explain a series of irregularities of the German consonant system, the so-called *grammatische Wechsel* (e. g. *schneide*—*schnitt*), from the old Indian accentuation so convincingly, that since then the existence of old Indian rules of accentuation far beyond the limits of this language, even down to the time when the separate life of the European languages began, has for the first time gained a sure footing. On this foundation Osthoff, in Paul and Braune's 'Beiträge z. Geschichte d. deutschen Sprache,' vol. iii., and Brugman in my 'Studien,' vol. ix., especially have endeavoured to build. It must be admitted that the views of these scholars differ on isolated points not inconsiderably,

hypothesis can be maintained only if we suppose for the 51 primitive Indo-Germanic language a system of accentuation differing from the traditional system of Sanskrit on many points, and from that of Greek essentially. But allowing that in that early period the main accent of a word always went along with vowel intensification, yet this could not be regarded as any explanation, for the further question would immediately present itself, why the accent in one form fell upon the stem, in another on the termination. And the answer would certainly in many cases bring us back to our previous conjecture, i. e. that emphasis was sometimes used by language to give prominence to the stem, at other times to the termination. This is not the place to enter into the details of this modification of the vowels. They belong to the science of the forms of language, i. e. to Grammar. Here we may simply mention that the interchange of ϵ and o ($\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega$ and $\nu\acute{o}\mu\omega$), and the much less common interchange of η and ω ($\beta\acute{\eta}\gamma\gamma\upsilon\mu\iota$, $\xi\pi\pi\omega\gamma\alpha$) belong to this category. The view, which I established in my essay *de nominum formatione*, p. 22, that the o -sound is heavier than the e -sound, and that therefore here too we must assume intensification, addition of sound, though in a lesser degree (cp. 'The Greek Verb,' p. 398), has found many supporters. Since its publication it has been confirmed by my investigations on the splitting of the a -sound ('Ueber die Spaltung des A-Lautes') printed in the 'Sitzungsberichte d. k. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. 1864,' p. 9 ff. I believe that I have shown there that the division of the old a -sound has a much deeper influence on the structure of the European members of 52 the Indo-Germanic group of languages than has been hitherto supposed, and that in particular, first e and then afterwards o arose from what was originally a simple a -sound. The change of the a to the thinner e , and afterwards to i , was the earlier, the change of a to the duller o and afterwards u was the later modification; and hence the above-mentioned languages agree and while the accent theory is mixed up with other views which have recently been started as to the original multiform character of the Indo-Germanic a , the originality of the n sonans, &c., it becomes more and more evident, that we are far enough from a settlement of these questions in any one direction.

Thus forms like κλάγξω, ἐκλαγξα, κλαγγή, Lat. *clangor*, give evidence that κλαγγ was earlier than κλαγ. If, as I believe, πένθος, πάθος, πέπονθα, ἔπαθον, cannot be separated from πένομαι, πένης, πόνος, it is reasonable to regard the forms with the nasal as the older, those without it, as the later. The disappearance of the nasal, especially after α, is a recognized process, in which occasionally Greek agrees with Sanskrit: e.g. ἐ-κατό-ν, Skt. *śatā-m* beside *centu-m*. That this⁵⁴ originally was connected with the accentuation is an attractive conjecture of Brugman's ('Stud.' IX), though we cannot test here the extent to which it can be carried out. The phenomenon is elucidated by similar ones of much later date within the history of the Greek language, e.g. *Ολυπος beside *Ολυμπος, Νυφόδωρος beside νύμφη. We may in any case argue from this a duller pronunciation of the nasals in particular dialects. But the complete suppression of this element to such an extent that the syllable concerned becomes short, cannot, as Clemm, 'Rhein. Mus.' xxxii. 466 ff. has shown, be demonstrated earlier than in a poet of the Anthology, who uses εὐκαμπές as a dactyl.

2. Cases in which the nasal which has made its way into the root has suffered metathesis.

This is most clearly the case in verbal forms, for which Schleicher was probably the first to establish this principle. That the *n* of *jungo* (cp. Skt. 1 plur. *juṅg-mās*), *scindo* as compared with *jugum*, *scidi*, is the same element as appears in the Skt. *ju-nā-g-mi*, and in the Gr. ζεύγ-νυ-μι, σκίδ-νη-μι as a distinct syllable in another place, and that it occurred in the latter place sooner than in the former, may now be described as the universal opinion of philologists. (Cp. 'Greek Verb,' p. 170.) The same view is now taken of the nasal of the Skt. *vi-n-dā-mi* 'I find' (for **vid-nā-mi*), and hence of the Greek *ι-ν-δ-άλλεται*, which with its meaning of *videtur* belongs as certainly to the root *vid* 'see,' as the Sanskrit form. We must trace back *ινδάλλεται* to a noun-stem *ινδ-αλο*, which was probably based upon a present stem **φινδω*, just as *διδάσκ-αλο-ς* on *διδάσκω*. This **φινδω* is the exact reproduction of *vindā-mi*.

3. Cases in which we must regard the nasal as an accretion.

It is quite undeniable that a nasal has often developed

at the end of a Greek word after a vowel. Where this nasal did not become firmly attached, it is called '*ν* paragogicum,' or *ἐφελκυστικόν*, for which we may refer especially to Lobeck, '*Elementa*,' ii. 143 ff., and Deventer, '*De litera ν* paragogica' (Münster, 1863). In forms like *ἐστίν*, *φέρουσιν* we cannot imagine the nasal to be original. It is now universally recognized that this moveable *ν* is not merely due to the requirements of the verse, or to a disinclination to hiatus, but, as inscriptions show, extended colloquially over a much wider sphere, and that the familiar rule of grammar only by degrees came to hold good, and that not without a conscious training of the usage of language. But we must also recognize firmly attached nasals of a similar origin. The clearest instance is furnished by the Cyprian genitive singular in *ων* instead of *ω*, e.g. *ἀργύρων* = *ἀργύρου* (Deecke und Siegismund, '*Stud.*' vii. 55 241). Analogies for this nasal accretion at the end may be found, it appears, in very different regions of language: thus, as I am informed by Arabic scholars, the so-called '*Nunna-tion*' in Arabic (though Philippi, '*Wesen des status Constructus*,' p. 184, takes a different view). Kölle, ('*Nachrichten der Göttinger Ges. d. Wissenschaften* 1866,' p. 314) has shown the existence of nasalization, especially in connexion with reduplication, from the African languages. German dialects furnish instances of the same *n* in an application very similar to the Greek: e.g. in the dialect of Zürich *wie 'n er au* = *wie er auch* ('*Litt. Centralblatt* 1860,' p. 57), in that of Carinthia *ba'n enk* = *bei euch* (Kuhn, '*Ztschr.*' xii. 396 from Lexer). Now it is asserted that the same accretion established itself at the end of a syllable as at the end of a word. Joh. Schmidt, generally disinclined to this view, still admits that in words like *στρόμβος* beside *σρέφω*, *λύγξ*, *Λυγεύς* beside root *λυκ*, *λεύσσω*, *ἱαμβος* beside *ἰάπτω*, *κόρυμβος* beside *κορυφή*, this explanation is as admissible as any other. Hence I recognize here the phonetic change, which the ancient grammarians (Eustathius, '*Comment.*' p. 1123, 41, p. 1350, 26) denoted as *στομφασμός*. It seems to me that this view has the advantage of simplicity over other possible theories: and therefore I leave it to others to assume for *Λυγεύς* a verb **λυκω*, and to trace this back to a **λυκ-νη-μι*. The nasal of *θιγγάνω*, *λαμ-*

βάνω, and λανθάνω, which has made its way into the root, and that of τέπταρον beside the isolated τυπάνων ('Hymn. Homer.' 14, §) I have explained as an anticipation of the nasal of the final syllable ('Greek Verb,' p. 171). The nasals which appear tolerably irregularly in syllables of reduplication (e.g. παμφαίνω, τίμπρημι) have been carefully put together by Fritzsche, 'Stud.' vi. 309, where the attempt is made to explain them in part as weakenings from liquids. The main fact for us is that in etymologizing the nasal can frequently be regarded as a moveable element.

A difficulty of a wholly different kind presents itself in a number of roots, whose final consonant does not always remain the same. For δψομαι and δψις we shall lay down *ōn* as the root unconditionally: but it will appear hereafter that the *τ* here is the successor of a *κ*, and that the related words *ὄσσι*, *ὄσσομαι* are only to be explained by the root *ok*, occurring in the Lat. *ocu-lu-s*. But it would not be correct to give *ōk* as the root of *δψομαι* also, for the interchange of *κ* and *τ* is neither formative, serving for the expression of any distinction, nor accidental in *δψομαι*, *δψις*. We evidently find ourselves here in the same position as previously in the case of the interchange of *ε* and *α*. We must recognize a dulling of the linguistic sense, which we express by allowing the co-existence of a two-fold root *ōk* *ōn*.

Hitherto we have always been able to explain the differing forms of roots from peculiar relations of sounds. But there is a variation of roots which extends beyond these limits. This phenomenon, which has not as yet been sufficiently considered from a general point of view, has received its most thorough discussion from Pott in the 'Etym. Forsch.' i¹. 27, 167 and recently in ii². 272. Pott assumes a tolerably extensive variation of roots at a period evidently very early in the life of language, by means of which a modification ('Temperirung') of the fundamental conception became possible. This modification, expressed by a change or addition of sounds, is conceivable in three ways, by means of an alteration either at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of a root. In all these alterations we do not include those changes of sounds which are to be explained by the general process of 'weather-

ing away.' Thus we have here no concern with the fact that when we find in Greek, by the side of *τερ* the form *τερ* (*στέγος* and *τέγος*), we explain the latter form, as well as the Lat. *teg* in *teg-o*, as shortened from the first and fuller root. Here there is no 'variation' but an 'affection' of the root, though in this case a very old one, extending beyond the period of the Graeco-Italic language, inasmuch as we find also in German and Erse a simple dental initial consonant. But an initial variation does present itself, according to Pott, in the Lat. *scalp-o*, *sculp-o* compared with the root *glab* in *glab-er*, *glub* in *glub-o*: *σκόλοψ* (stem *σκολοπ*) and *σκάλοψ* (mole), *σκολύπτω*, are connected with *scalp* and *sculp*, *γλάφ-ω*, *γλάφ-υ*, *γλαφυ-ρό-ς* with *glab*, *γλύφ-ω* with *glub*: all have in common the idea of 'hollowing.' Now here Pott regards it as possible that the initial *s*, which he does not in this case take to be a preposition, contributed to give a special colouring, so that *scalp* and *galbh*, *skulp* and *gulbh*—for so we should have to give the forms—would be sister-roots, which we should have, not to derive one from another, but to consider as having an equal right to recognition. However it will as a rule be more prudent here to neglect entirely the question of mutual connexion; and with respect to the particular roots in question, I agree with Joh. Schmidt ('Vocal.' ii. 293) in separating those beginning with *s* from the others. It appears to me that we have no sufficient basis for the assumption of "a formative sound modifying the meaning of the original root," (Heyse, 'System,' p. 114) at the beginning of a root¹. The 57 place where formative sounds are added, according to the universal tendency of the Indo-Germanic languages, is not the beginning, but the end. For our purpose we keep roots of the kind entirely distinct, except indeed where the curtailed beginning can be explained as an affection, because we may

¹ This means of reducing two similar roots to a unity, which reminds us of the attempts of older philologists, mentioned above (p. 13), has been used again tolerably extensively by Pictet. A. Weber also ('Ztschr.' vi. 139) occasionally allows 'a prefixed *s*,' and Max Müller ('Lectures,' ii. 312) expresses a similar judgement. [Cp. p. 42 note. Skeat s. v. doubts the commonly asserted connexion of *smelt* with *melt*.]

reasonably conjecture that they were separated even before the division of the languages. Besides their number will be found to be small.

The case is similar with letters in the middle of a root. The same verbs may serve us here again as examples: *sculp* and *sculp*, $\gamma\lambda\alpha\phi$ and $\gamma\lambda\epsilon\phi$ are distinguished from each other by the vowel, and certainly this distinction is not without meaning. Hence in our view, as in form and meaning they are not quite identical, these also are distinct roots. Fick, 'Wörterb.' i³. 574, recognizes $\gamma\pi\alpha\phi\epsilon\upsilon$ in the Germ. *kerben* [Eng. *carve*], $\gamma\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\phi\epsilon\upsilon$ in the NHG. *klieben* [Eng. *cleave*]. Hence we do not undertake the attempt to derive the α from the α ¹. Still less shall we endeavour to refer to one root such forms as are distinguished in respect to consonants within the root, with the sole exception of the nasals, which we discussed above. In spite of the slight difference in meaning the roots $\rho\alpha\rho$ ($\rho\acute{\eta}\gamma\gamma\upsilon\mu\iota$) and $\rho\alpha\rho$ ($\delta\gamma\gamma\upsilon\mu\iota$) are regarded by us as distinct. In this case, as in the numerous similar cases quoted by Pott ('Berl. Jahrb. 1840,' p. 635) we are contented to divide that, the separation of which is at least extremely old. If sounds are connected with the conceptions denoted by them by an internal bond, it is natural that similar conceptions should be denoted by similar sounds. To that time of the first establishment of sounds and ideas we do not here go back. But there are particular Greek stems, in the case of which our task will not allow us to dispense with the assumption of root-variation, effected by early differences of vocalisation. Thus we must claim for the time before the separation of the languages a root *tak* with the by-forms *tik* and *tuk*, that is to say, a root appearing in three various forms through a

¹ The attempt to explain 'every' radical *i* and *u*, with the exception of those which have proceeded from *ja* and *va*, as a weakening of an original α , has been made by Fick ('Vergl. Wörterb.' iv². p. 15 ff.) I gladly recognize the acuteness which has been employed in the process, but confess that these hypotheses are too flighty for me. So long as Fick himself is compelled to give up the attempt to refer such an important and widely extended root as $\delta\eta\upsilon$ 'grow' to a form in α (p. 31), no one can be censured for feeling unable to draw such a conclusion as that above-mentioned.

degradation of vowel (*Ablaut*) as in the German, the existence of which in all three forms can be proved in the case of almost all the allied languages. In Greek from *tak* sprung *τεκ* and *τοκ* (No. 235). But these three forms of the root are not so distinguished from each other, that each form possesses a definite meaning—in that case we should give three roots,—but the principal meanings, ‘beget,’ ‘hit,’ ‘prepare,’ are so distributed to the three main forms, that in three families of speech different vowels¹ appear for each of them, i. e.

| <i>a</i> (ε ο) | <i>i</i> | <i>u</i> |
|---|--|---|
| Gk. <i>τεκ-εῖν</i> | OPr. <i>teik-usna</i> (creatio) | Skt. <i>tōk-ā-s</i> (rt. <i>tuk</i>) (proles) |
| <i>τέκ-μαρ</i> <i>τόξο-ν</i> | Lith. <i>tik-ỹ-ti</i> (to aim) <i>tink-ā-s</i> (it befalls) | Gk. <i>τυχ-εῖν</i> |
| <i>τέκ-των</i> | | Gk. <i>τεύχ-ειν</i> <i>τε-τύκ-οντο</i> <i>τύκ-ο-ς</i> |
| Skt. <i>tak-sh-an</i> (faber) <i>tak-sh</i> (fabricari) | OPr. <i>tik-in-t</i> (make) | |
| Lith. <i>taszỹ-ti</i> (to work in wood) | | |

Here even in Greek the relation of *τέκμαρ* and *τυχεῖν*—*χ* has arisen out of *κ* by affection—of *τέκτων* and *τετύκοντο*, *τύκ-ο-ς* (chisel) is not conceivable without the assumption of a vowel-splitting. We must certainly maintain a root-variation which perhaps coincided originally with the differentiation of meaning, but afterwards continued independently of it, and this is the very reason why a complete separation is not possible.

¹ Fick, i². 86 explains the *i* as a weakened *a*, and gets *u* from the assumed by-form *tvak*. Certainly *tōk-ā-s* shows that *tuk* was really felt to be a root. A similar change of vowels, which is but rarely found in Greek, Joh. Schmidt in his ‘Vocalismus’ endeavours to explain by the effect of the nasals and liquids on the vowels in their neighbourhood.

8.

59 More important than such isolated interchange of vowels in the middle of roots—which should not, however, mislead us into allowing a promiscuous interchange of the three primitive vowels *a, i, u*—is the transformation of the final letter. It does not admit of doubt that a considerable number of roots are preserved to us in two-fold forms, of which the one is longer than the other by a final consonant. J. Grimm in his essay 'On Diphthongs after dropped consonants' (Dec. 11, 1845), reprinted in the third volume of his 'Kleine Schriften,' p. 102, in discussing a long list of such double roots, ascribes the priority to the forms ending in a consonant, at any rate in the Teutonic languages (p. 60), though he concludes by regarding the accretion of a consonant as possible for an earlier period of language. That Lobeck from his own point of view was led to the assumption of such accretion we saw above, p. 13. Here with Pott, who discusses these affixes thoroughly in ii². 460 ff., we call the shorter form the primary, the longer the secondary, and the process of the addition of a consonant expansion (*Weiterbildung*)¹. Of course here again we do not take into consideration cases in which the twofold form is only apparent; for instance, where we have a moveable *s* at the end of the Greek roots, for this *s* falls away or is assimilated according to definite phonetic laws (e.g. the root *ék*—*ék-ovt* for *ékσ-ovt*, *él-μt*, root *ék*—*ék-vv-μt* for *ékσ-vv-μt*), but roots

¹ Fick ('Wörterb.' iv³. 44 ff.) treats the whole question here touched upon in its widest extent. The principles on which this is done do not differ essentially from those which are here maintained. But I do not understand why every consonant that occurs as final in a root where the initial letter is also a consonant, should be secondary. If there were always roots like *ak*, *ad*, *ar*, why not also *tak*, *pad*, *tar*? Some important roots, as e.g. *bhar* 'bear,' according to Fick's own confession, stubbornly resist his bold analysis. Here, as elsewhere, a systematizing consistency seems to be out of place. Still, it is useful to see what can be done in this direction. When this question is treated again from the general Indo-Germanic point of view, it would be desirable to separate instances which the meaning makes certain, from combinations which can only claim at most a certain degree of probability.

which in several languages show themselves in a twofold shape, when the occurrence of the shorter is not phonetically explicable. Here we must go back to the period of the organization of language; and to understand even Greek 60 we must not neglect to cast a glance upon these phenomena. If we compare, as has often been done, the verb *τύφω* with the Skt. *dhū-pá-ja-ti* 'he fumigates,' inasmuch as the aspiration in *τύφω* has changed its place (as *ἐθυσσα*, *θύμβρα* show), we cannot but refer both verbs to the shorter root *θυ*, Skt. *dhū*, which clearly occurs in *θύω* (No. 320), *θύος*, *θύμον*, and also in the Skt. *dhū-má-s* 'smoke' = Lat. *fū-mu-s*, Lith. *dū-mai* (smoke). The root *dhu* is therefore strengthened by *p*, and in this expanded form comes under the head of the Sanskrit causative forms in *p*, with which, however, a number of forms without a distinctly causative meaning are connected (Delbrück 'Ind. Verb.' 210). A similar *p* might be assumed in *δα-π* (*δάπ-τ-ω*, *δαπ-άνη*) which is connected with the Lat. *dap-s*: from which we see that *δεῖπ-ν-ον* undoubtedly belongs here (No. 261). The shorter root is the *δα* of *δα-ί-ω* = Skt. *dā*, *dō* (No. 256), whence *δαί-s* (stem *δαιτ*) and Skt. *dājá-s* (share). *δυ-π* for the usual *δυ* (*δύω*) is demonstrable first in the Alexandrian poets in the forms *δύπτω*, *δύπτη-s*. *τρύ-π-η*, *τρυνά-ω* are connected with *τρύ-ω* and *τείρ-ω*, Lat. *ter-o* (No. 239). It is very probable that the root *ἐλπ* for *Feλ-π* (No. 333) is connected with the Lat. *volup(e)*, and is to be referred to the shorter stem which enters into *βούλομαι*, *vol-o*, *velle* (No. 659); and also that *κλέ-π-τ-ω*, Lat. *cle-p-o*, Goth. *hliftu-s* (thief) [Scotch 'lift' of cattle] is an expansion of the root which occurs in the shortest form in Lat. *oc-cul-o*, *clam*, but which is similarly expanded by a *p* in the OPr. *anklīp-t-s* 'concealed.' The root *σκαλπ* (No. 106) in *σκάλοψ*, Lat. *scalp-o*, mentioned on p. 57 because of its vowel, connects itself with the shorter *σκαλ* in *σκάλλω*, *σκαλís*, and the root *καρπ* (No. 41) of *καρπ-άλιμο-s*, *κραιπ-νό-s* with Skt. *kar*, i. e. *kar* 'to move,' and Lat. *curro*, *χρέμ-π-τε-σθαι* 'to clear the throat,' certainly comes from the root *χρεμ* (No. 200 b): and in the same way *χρίμ-π-τω* points to the root *χρα-ν* of *χραίνω* (No. 201). We shall see below how the *p* by weakening sometimes becomes *β* and *φ*, e. g. in *καλύβη* (cp. *καλύπτω*), p. 539, in *στέφω*, which under

then we may compare immediately with the θ in $i\theta\acute{u}$ -s and $i\theta\mu\eta$. It is deserving of notice that it happens that the root i makes in ChSl. more use of the d than the other verbs of the same class. (Schleicher 'Kirchenslaw. Formenlehre,' 325.)

Of the addition of a sibilant in a long list of Sanskrit roots discussed by Pott, i¹. 167 and ii². 566 (cp. Jac. Grimm 'Kl. Schriften,' i. 317) we have already spoken at p. 28. Greek forms of this kind are the following: $\alpha\upsilon\tilde{\epsilon}$ = Skt. *vaksh*, Goth. *vahs-j-an*, pres. $\alpha\upsilon\tilde{\xi}$ - ω , Ion. $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\xi}$ - ω , i.e. $\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\xi}$ - ω , $\alpha\upsilon\tilde{\xi}$ - $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ - ω by the side of the Lat. *aug-e-o* (No. 159), $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\tilde{\xi}$, pres. $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\xi}$ - ω = Skt. *rak-sh* (servare, tueri) for *ark-s* by the side of $\acute{\alpha}\lambda$ - $\alpha\lambda\kappa$ - $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\kappa$ - $\acute{\eta}$ (No. 7), $\acute{\omicron}\acute{\delta}\alpha\tilde{\xi}$, $\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\tilde{\xi}$, pres. $\acute{\omicron}\delta\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\xi}$ - ω with several collateral forms (Buttmann 'A. Gr.' ii. 250) by the side of the root $\delta\alpha\kappa$, $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\nu$ - ω , Skt. *daç*, *daç* (No. 9), $\delta\epsilon\tilde{\xi}$ in $\delta\epsilon\tilde{\xi}$ - ι - $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ (No. 266), to be compared with the Skt. *daksh* 'to be fit,' by the side of $\delta\epsilon\kappa$ in $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ - $\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\upsilon\lambda\omicron$ - ς (No. 11), $\delta\epsilon\psi$, pres. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\psi$ - ω , Lat. *deps-o* by the side of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\phi$ - ω , $\acute{\epsilon}\psi$ for $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\psi$ pres. $\acute{\epsilon}\psi$ - ω from the root $\pi\epsilon\pi$ Skt. *paç* (cook), and so for $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\psi$ - ω . The roots with an added s are often connected with the desiderative forms, which on their side again stand in an undeniable relation to the future in σ .

A nasal appears joined to several widely disseminated roots of great antiquity, though the nasal is not always of the same order in the different languages. So to the Skt. *gā* (go), of which the aor. is α - g - $\acute{\alpha}$ - m , corresponds the Gk. $\beta\alpha$ (No. 634), of which the aor. is $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\beta\eta$ - ν , while *gam* with short vowel and added m is represented by $\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$, i.e. $\beta\alpha\nu$ - $j\omega$, as also by the Lat. *ven-io*, Osc. *ben* (*ben-ust* = *venerit*) and by the Goth. *quam* (*quima*, venio).— $\phi\alpha$ bears to $\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ (No. 407) the same relation that $\beta\alpha$ does to $\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$, with the distinction, however, that in the case of the former root the nasal affix has established itself more firmly ($\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ - $\eta\nu$). To the shorter form which occurs in $\phi\eta$ - $\acute{\mu}\iota$, and which unites the conceptions 'shine' and 'speak,' corresponds the Skt. *bhā* (*bhā-mi*) 'to shine,' 'to appear,' to the longer the Skt. *bhan* (later *bhan*), that appears in the Vedas with a dental nasal in the sense of 'resound,' 'ring,' in later Sanskrit with a lingual nasal in that of 'talk,' 'speak.' Similar is the relation of $\tau\alpha$ to $\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$. The shortest

form is contained in the Homeric τῆ. From *ta* we arrive at the Gk. τά-νυ-ται=Skt. *ta-nu-tē*, in which the nasal affix 65 seems to be used in the present-stem alone. But this is intimately connected with the Gk. τανν- in compounds like τανύ-πεπλο-ς, together with the Skt. adjective *tanū-s*=*tenu-i-s*, ON. *thunn-r*, ChSl. *ѣн-ѣ-кѣ*. For τείν-ω=τεν-ῖω and all its belongings (No. 230), as also for the Lat. *ten-e-o* and *ten-d-o*, Goth. *than-j-a*, Lith. *tem-p-jũ* (cp. Lat. *tem-p-tare*), we have to take the nasalized stem as equivalent to a root. Again, as τα is to τεν, so is ρα to ρεν, and so accordingly is γε-γα-ώς to ἐ-γεν-ό-μην (No. 128), in which words, however, may be observed the special tendency of Greek to suppress ν after α. Notwithstanding ρα must apparently be taken as the starting-point, and we are thus enabled to understand also the Lith. *gĩm-ti*, *nasci*, with its *m*, and this *m* points us back to the Gk. γά-μ-ος, γαμ-εῖν (cp. below, p. 546). In two other roots the relation of the nasal is more obscure. To the root κρεμ in κρέμα-μαι (No. 75) corresponds directly the Goth. *hram-j-an* 'to crucify,' but it is so nearly approached also by the Lith. *kār-ti* 'to hang,' that, seeing that metathesis is frequent in the case of *r*, we may suppose *kar* to be the primitive form, from which first *kra*, then *kram* has developed. The root δε in δέω, δι-δη-μι (No. 264) is identical with the Vedic *dā* 'to bind,' but it is possible to suppose a connexion with the root δαμ, δαμάω, Skt. *dam*, Lat. *domo*, &c. (No. 260), and even with δέμ-ω, δέμ-ας, δόμ-ος (No. 265).

Much more limited is the number of roots which seem to be increased by the addition of one of the two liquids *l* and *r*. Still a connexion cannot be denied between the roots μερ (μέρ-ος, Lat. *mer-vo*, No. 467) and με (μέ-τρο-ν, Skt. *mā*, No. 461), between στελ (στέλλω, No. 218) and στα (Skt. *sthā*, No. 216).—even the addition of a *v* is nearly certain at all events in the roots φαF (Aeol. *φᾱῦος*) by the side of φα (Skt. *bhā*, No. 407) and χαF (χαῦ-νο-ς, No. 179) by the side of χα.

Let us here pause, leaving untouched for the present a number of other questions still more difficult to decide, and try to put together the results of this survey. It is certain that a considerable number of roots, of which as a rule we have been able to consider those only which have been pre-

they can, to prove entire words unmistakeably related to each other to be completely identical. From this tendency Pott among etymologists is tolerably free. He has repeatedly (again ii². 897, 935) and emphatically asserted that we must distinguish between partial and complete identity, and must not deny to language the right of deriving different words from one root or one stem by means of different suffixes. On the other hand, an attempt has been made, first by Kuhn and Ebel, then, to a much greater extent, by Benfey and Leo Meyer, to prove the identity of suffixes of different sound from the fact that
 71 they are added with similar meaning to the same stems; and this attempt finally results in the above-mentioned endeavour to raise partial to the rank of complete resemblance. Adalb. Kuhn has tried to prove ('Ztschr.' i. 368 ff.) that the Sanskrit suffix *as*, much used, especially in neuters—as representative of which the Gk. *es* Nom. *os*, and the Lat. *es* (nom. *us*) had been long recognized,—arose from *at*, and he finally arrives at the result that not only these forms but the suffixes *ar*, *an*, *ant* as well all arose from one and the same primitive form. For Sanskrit some of the changes of sound here maintained can be established, especially that of final *s* to *r*. But if we seek for analogous cases, in order for example to prove e.g. the asserted change of the older *ῥδος*—the dative *ῥδαι* does not actually occur before Hesiod 'Opp.' 61—to *ῥδωρ*, and the origin of both in *ῥδατ*, we are referred at p. 374 to the asserted identity of the syllables *ῥπι* and *ῥρι* with the Skt. *ati*. But this single analogous case is a very suspicious one. To the Skt. *ati* (*ultra*, *nimis*) corresponds, as is universally acknowledged, the Gk. *ῥτι*, the Lat. *et*, and most likely the *at* in *at-avu-s*. The emphasizing and superlative force of *ῥπι* and *ῥρι*, as to the difference between which Buttmann's observations 'Lexil.' i. 147 are still quite worth reading, has only a very limited resemblance to that of the Skt. *ati* in composition. Not a trace is to be found in the use of *ῥπι* and *ῥρι* of the primitive meaning 'out over,' which is unmistakeably prominent e.g. in *ati-mātra-s* 'excessive,' and *ati-rātra-s* 'lasting over-night.' The use of *ῥπι* is rather one which reminds us much of *ῥρι*, *ῥριω-s*. *ῥριφρων* ω 261 means 'right-minded,' like *ῥριφρων*, *ῥριεπής* X 281 'rightly speak-

ing.' If we consider further that from the notions of 'fitting aright' and 'suing' the Greek gets the metaphysical conceptions contained in *ἄρμενος*, *ἀρηρῶς*, *ἀρέσκ-ω* and its nearly related *ἀρετή*, we shall be much inclined to refer *ἀρ-* to this very root and to connect it with *ἀρι-στος*, *ἀρείων* (No. 488). We meet the same letters in Sanskrit too with a similar meaning in the adverb *āra-m* 'aright,' 'fitly,' 'sufficiently.' Cf. Jolly 'Infinitiv,' p. 125. Why then seek so far for an origin for *ἀρ*, when it lies so near at hand? As to *ἐρ*, whose meaning Buttmann was for connecting with *εὔρύς*, I will not too positively assert its identity with *ἀρ*, though it happens that the vowels *ε* and *α* interchange before *ρ* more often than before other consonants. It is moreover possible that it may be connected with Skt. *var-ú*, which, on account of *várīja-s*, we must suppose as an older form of *ur-ú-s* = *εὔρύ-s*. In that case the digamma would have disappeared without a trace. However that may be, what has been said is quite enough to 72 discredit the association of the two prefixes, as far as meaning goes, with *ati*. After all, who can believe that the *t* which is of such constant and universal occurrence in inflexions and derivatives, which we see pass, through the influence of a neighbouring *ι* or *υ* into *σ*, in a few cases became *ρ*? No case of anything like such an occurrence can be found.

If an attempt is to be made to establish a change of sound hitherto seldom or never heard of, the cases used to support it must be clear and beyond a doubt, in accordance with the rule which Herodotus lays down for his investigation (ii. 33) *τοῖσι ἐμφανέσι τὰ μὴ γινωσκόμενα τεκμαιρόμενος*. Although the change of *πτ*, *κτ* in the middle of a word into *βδ* and *γδ* cannot be proved by any unmistakeable analogies¹, no one will deny that *ἔβδομος* and *ὄγδοος* come from *ἐπτά* and *ὀκτώ*. Is this case a similar one? No, precisely opposite. We see that, by means of a multiplicity of suffixes, a large number of words are derived from roots—not one from each root, but ever so many. Everything inclines us to ascribe to the language of those old times before the separation of the Indo-

¹ We have an example of an initial *γδ* for *κτ* in *γδοῦπος* by the side of *κτύπος* (cf. p. 698).

Germanic tongues an exuberant energy of growth. That the many words which spring from one root are not to be arranged under the abstract categories into which the grammarians have invented, that, on the other hand, very many suffixes were used to denote the same categories, I have shown in my dissertation 'De nominum Graecorum formatione.' It does not of course follow that the numerous primitive words which sprang from one root were completely identical in meaning. The differences must have been of a somewhat physical and concrete kind, and we must consider that the real function of the suffixes was that of individualizing a word. Seeing then that from the one root *ud* there was made in Skt. *ud-án* (water) = Goth. *vato* (st. *vatín*) by means of the suffix *an*, and again the *ud-rá* which comes near to the OSax. *wat-ar*, why should we not here suppose an original double formation with no perceptible difference of meaning? With this *udrá ud-ar* ranks the Gk. *ῥδωρ*, which can hardly be connected with the stem of the other cases *ῥδατ* except through *ῥδαπτ*. This assumed *ῥδαπτ* is stronger than *udar* by a *τ*. But I regard this *τ* (cf. Skt. *jakrt*, Lat. *jecur*) as a superadded suffix with an individualizing force, for which see further 'Ztschr.' iv. 211 ff. The

73 dative *ῥδεῖ* (cf. Rzach 'Dialekt des Hesiod.' p. 416) is to be referred to a *s*-stem *ῥδεσ*, of possibly independent formation. Meeting as we do in all stages of word-formation not with meagre uniformity but with manifold variety, why should we try, in the face of all phonetic laws, to weld these suffixes into one? In my opinion it is not even allowable to identify off-hand suffixes nearer to each other in sound than these are. Although in certain circumstances *t* passes into *s* I venture to bring together neither the suffixes with *t* with those with *s*, nor even the pronoun-stem *ta* with *sa*. It seems to me that in all these cases it is safer to separate than to join. Even for the marking of such relations as in their simple and, one may almost say, palpable nature seem least to give an opportunity for it, the Indo-Germanic language makes use of different phonetic expedients: we find *πρώτος*, *prīmus*, Goth. *fruma* by the side of *πρωτος* and *pra-tha-má-s*; we have two comparative suffixes and a great variety of diminutive forms. From one and the same root *an* (No. 419) are formed, with the same

meaning and different suffixes, Skt. *an-i-lá-s*, Gk. *ἀν-ε-μο-s* (= Lat. *an-i-mu-s*), OHG. *un-s-t*. From the root *par* 'fill' (Gk. and Lat. *plē*) spring *πλῆ-θ-os*, *plē-bē-s*, OHG. *fol-c*, with only slight difference of meaning, though we should not be justified in identifying the formative syllables in these words as well as the root. We have a redundancy in the case of the two ChSl. words *ple-me* (tribus) and *plǔ-kǔ*, which is identical with *Volk*. Sanskrit itself, though that is the language in which all these attempts at identifying suffixes have their origin, shows from the beginning an extraordinary variety in its formations. We have from the root *ad* 'eat,' the substantives *ád-ana-m*, *án-na-m* (i. e. *ad-na-m*), *ád-nam*, *ád-ja-m*, with no difference or, at all events, no sensible difference of meaning, all having the sense of 'fodder,' 'eating,' 'nourishment,' while in the Gk. *ἐδ-ωδῆ*, *ἐδ-ητύ-s*, in the Lat. *es-ca*, in the Lith. *éd-i-s* (st. *édja*), other suffixes are used for the same purpose. From the root *da* 'give,' are formed, with the meaning of a *nomen agentis*, *dātár* (= *δοτήρ*, *dator*) and *dā-já-s*, *dá-ja-ka-s* 'giving,' *dā-ru-s* 'generous,' to denote a 'gift' *dá-na-m* (= *dōnum*), *dá-man*, *dā-trá-m*. Why then try to derive the Gk. *δῶ-πο-ν* from such a word as *dā-na-m*, and that too when we find the same double form in Slavonic and Lithuanian? A 'gift' in Lith. is *ũ-ni-s* with an *n*-suffix, in ChSl. *da-rǔ* with an *r*-suffix. Again *-ti* occurs in just the same sense in the Skt. *dā-ti-s* = *δῶ-τ-ι-s* = Lat. *dō-t(i)-s*. From the root *jan* 'beget' is formed *jan-i-tár* = *γενετήρ*, *genitor*, *jan-aka-s*, *ján-i-tva-s* 'father,' *ján-as* = *γένος*, *genus*, and in the same sense the common *jan-ús* and, with a slight difference of meaning, *ján-i-man*, *já-t-i-s* = *gen(ti)-s*, *jan-tú-s*, *já-na-m*, *ján-a-na-m*, *jáni-s* (cp. Goth. 74 *kuni*). Seeing then that the same language has recourse, as far back as we can trace it, to a number of suffixes, and that in the related languages now this suffix and now that one has come into use exclusively, or at least mainly, for a definite purpose, there is absolutely no inducement to us to identify suffixes that are different in sound. The chief supporter of the method here combated is Leo Meyer, in the second volume of his 'Vgl. Gr. des Gr. u. Lat.' He there carries to its extreme a theory of word-formation which has been aptly termed the 'participial theory,' most decisively rejected by

Pott ii². 936, W. i. 416 and by Corssen, e. g. 'Ausspr.' i². 585, and controverted on excellent grounds by Sonne ('Ztschr.' xii. 285) and lately subjected to a keen and luminous criticism by Zimmer 'Das Nominalsuffix *a* und *ā*,' p. 1-22, rests on the entirely arbitrary assumption of Benfey's, that the participles, and particularly the present participle active, are of older date than a number of other noun-forms. Benfey really rests this assertion solely on the extraordinary idea that the suffix of this participle *-ant* has arisen from the 3rd pl. termination *-anti*, i. e. that *bharant*=*φεροντ* came from *bharanti*=Dor. *φέροντι*. I doubt whether a single person shares this opinion. Still Leo Meyer makes the suffix *-ant* the starting-point for his argument, and seeks to show that, by means of weakening and loss of sounds, a large number of the commonest noun-suffixes have arisen from this *-ant* and its collateral form, with an added *a*, *-anta*. According to him among other forms *-as*, e. g. in Skt. *gán-as*=*γέν-ος*, *genus*, *-an*, *ān*, e. g. in *ἀνδ-όν*, *αἰθ-ων*, *-ana*, e. g. in *τῦπ-ανο-ν*, *-ala*, e. g. in *ἱκ-ελο-ς*, *-ara*, e. g. in *λιπ-αρό-ς*, *-na*, e. g. in *δει-νό-ς*, are one and all only various phases of this *-ant*. Definite analogies for the assumed changes of sound are seldom brought forward; the requisition of such analogies is even styled in so many words a vain pedantry, and appeal is made to tendencies of sound which look to the future for recognition. It seems that our Indo-Germanic ancestors, whom Leo Meyer does not allow to have ranged at will in the case of roots and verb-terminations through such sounds as *t*, *s*, *n*, *l* and *r*, took a special fancy to destroy in the one case of noun-suffixes all that had been previously created, however convenient, allowing all the while the old suffix-forms to live on side by side with the new ones. While the modern science of language is at pains to reveal in all other cases a governing rational principle in language, this theory
75 would enthrone, at least in this province of linguistic formations, the merest chance as a destroyer of sound, and while it is elsewhere held to be proved that what is purely accidental does not come within the province of scientific knowledge, the power is claimed in this case of unravelling the serpentine windings of this game of chance, and that too often with an assurance which proposes to trample all doubt under foot.

Even the supporters of the participial theory—which might just as well be called the Proteus theory—assume that noun-suffixes have arisen from pronoun-stems. They would very probably admit that their favourite *-ant* is itself a compound of *an* and *ta*. But then what in the world can warrant the assertion that the former of these two stems is never used by itself, but that rather where *-an* actually occurs it is a deformed *-ant*?

In our review of the store of words possessed by the Greek language attention will hereafter constantly be drawn to the existence of a diversified variety, and also to the fact that origin from one and the same root by no means implies the use of the same suffix even where the meaning is the same. I make no attempt to prove the identity of *lacruma* (No. 10) with the Gk. δάκρυ or δάκρυ-ο-ν, of δάκτυλο-ς or Lat. *digitu-s* (No. 11) with the OHG. *zêhâ*, of *l-b-s* 'arrow' with the Skt. *ish-u-s*, in the suffix as well as in the rest of the word, but am content to point out the identity of the root and of the meaning. It is easy to find many ways of explaining how it can exist in both these points without existing in the third. In the first place, for instance, it is certain that in many cases several forms from one single root existed side by side, even before the separation of the languages, with but a slight difference of usage; a fact of which we find numerous proofs in every language; and it has happened that one language has kept one form and another another, though we are not able—and this is specially difficult in the case of names for external objects—to perceive any difference of meaning between them. Again we may be allowed to attribute, even to the time subsequent to the separation, so much remains of vital energy as would serve, not merely to maim and disfigure the suffixes, but to amplify them and make them ramify afresh on recognized patterns, which, however, have not always been preserved to us. Seeing that e.g. Latin, even after its separation from the primitive Græco-Italic stock, was able from the stem *gnō-ti* (Gk. γνῶ-σι-ς), apparently already existing, to form *gnō-ti-ōn* (nom. *gnō-ti-ō*)¹ by adding a second suffix, why not credit the

¹ Another origin for the Lat. *-tiōn*—though likewise from ' suffixes (*tjā + na*)—has been maintained by Leo Meyer, 'Orie

Greeks with the power of occasionally assuming a τ independently¹, especially as the absolute identification of all related and synonymous words is a goal that cannot be reached even by the boldest etymologist? The κ of the Persian word $\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\kappa\text{-}\alpha$ = $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\nu\text{-}\alpha$ (No. 84), mentioned by Herodotus, we shall be obliged to allow to stand as an additional formative affix, while the stem $\sigma\pi\alpha$ can by Persian phonetic rules be derived from $\zeta\upsilon\alpha\eta$ = $\kappa\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$. If the Persians, however, could individualize this name for an animal by k , why not other nations by other sounds? To prove new changes of sound we need striking cases, but no comparison can be a striking one unless meaning and form both coincide. A clearly defined meaning, however, can be said to belong to but very few suffixes. It follows that as a rule one of the two chief factors disappears when a comparison is made between suffixes. If then the sounds are different as well, and it is an assured fact that by the addition of different suffixes to like roots of similar meaning are produced, what becomes of the cogency of the argument?

10.

The error against which we have thought the above warning necessary, arose from a tendency to ascribe to the Indo-Germanic language, before it branched off, as it did later, into its several divisions, the largest possible supply of perfect words with a determinate sound and meaning. There is another mistake akin to this—that of identifying words of similar meaning even when the identification is not supported

Occident,' ii. 586 ff. Compare the fruitful investigations of Osthoff 'Zur Geschichte des schwachen deutschen Adjectivums,' Jena, 1876.

¹ I entirely agree with Osthoff (*ut supra*, p. 92) that this process should be supposed to have taken place 'only on existing patterns, and where there is a substratum of a proportionate number of established precedents.' In the first volume of his 'Forschungen im Gebiete der nominalen Stammbildung' (Jena, 1875), Osthoff has in my opinion given satisfactory proof that even the form *-clo* in Latin is to be traced to the suffix *-tra*, a suffix which possesses a very definite meaning.

by evident similarity of sound. It is true there are parts of the vocabulary in which similarity of meaning carries great weight, even when accompanied by a certain difference of sound. It is plain e.g. that the numerals, excepting the first and those over a hundred, were determined at a very early period, and it is scarcely conceivable that a single language has taken a way of its own in reference to one of these much-used words. Accordingly, though *ἐννέα* is by no means so much like the Skt. *nāvan* or Lat. *novem* as we should like, certainly no one will attempt to separate it from them. The number of the pronominal-stems is small, but the personal pronouns are derived from a specially limited number of stems. Accordingly, if Hesychius' gloss 'τρέ σέ Κρητες' has been transmitted to us without any error, we have no choice but to declare both forms identical with the Skt. *tva*. For it is in the last degree improbable that in *τρέ* we encounter a special stem for this pronoun that is heard of nowhere else. The number of prepositions is considerably larger, but the list in each language may soon be passed under review. It seems to me therefore to be not very probable that within one and the same language we should find, alongside of the regular prepositions which are fixed by the most constant use, other words of the same class, isolated, but in full use, and moreover completely identical in meaning with the regular ones. I could not agree with Corssen when he impugned the identity of the Lat. *ā*, *au*, *af* with *ab* and that of *ē* with *ec* and *ex* ('Beitr.' 510, 426). I am pleased to see that he subsequently ('Ausspr.' i². 152) allowed at least that of *ā* with *ab* and that of *ē* with *ex*. As Corssen remarks at p. 395 of the 'Beiträge' with regard to the identification of *pēdo* with *πέρδω*, and of *pējerare* with *perjurare*, the connexion is too directly obvious to be disallowed. These small words which have no independent existence are not to be measured by the same rule as nouns and verbs¹. In their close connexion with words possessing more meaning they were exposed to more manifold ravages and disfigure-

¹ I have dwelt at greater length on these points in my essay, 'Ueber die Tragweite der Lautgesetze,' Ber. der k. sächs. Ges. d. Wissensch. 1870, answered by Corssen in his *opus postumum*, 'Beiträge zur italischen Sprachkunde,' p. 429.

ments. How easy it was for the *c* in *ē-mendo*, *ē-neco* to fall out after the analogy of *lūmen* (*luc-men*), *lū-na* (*luc-na*) and for *ē* to take regularly the place of *ec* even when used separately! *Ab* may also have passed through *abs* to *as* and so to *ā*, so that *ā* would be to *as* as *tra* to *trans*. Even though we here still look in vain for analogies for particular phonetic processes, it seems to me more prudent to hold fast to the identity of these synonymous words than to make new combinations, which would lose probability in another direction.

- 78 A similar, if not the same, decision may be arrived at also as to the names for objects and conceptions, which apparently, from primitive times downwards, were provided among the Indo-Germanic peoples with fixed and much-used names; this is the case with names of relationships and of domestic animals and of the commonest beasts of prey. Grassmann was the first to explain clearly the phonetic relation of *θύγατερ* to the Skt. *duhitār* ('Ztschr.' xii. 126). Still before this everybody justly connected the two words. A Latin *p* does not often correspond to a Greek *κ*. Still I connect *lupu-s* (No. 89) with *λύκο-s* (for *ελυκος*) and the Skt. *vṛkas*, because I find it more easy to believe that in this case the *k* has, contrary to the rule, become *p*, than that the Romans used for the beast of prey which has always been the most dreaded a name that was not the primitive one, although almost identical in sound. After all we do actually find some few analogies for *p=k*. Of more recent etymologists Hugo Weber is the *διαίρετικώτατος*. I find myself differing from him constantly in maintaining the connexion of several stems of the same meaning which may be phonetically brought together, e. g. Nos. 187, 188.

The farther, however, we go from this kind of words and advance into a region where the conception, and with it the name, has a larger range allowed to it, the less we are able to decide from an agreement in meaning when not accompanied by complete agreement in sound. The Greeks had many names for individual Gods. How much more, then, shall we be justified in assuming, with respect to the general word for God, that the Indo-Germanic nation felt '*Namen nennen ihn nicht*,' and accordingly made from the beginning different attempts at finding a name? Hence it is that the several

nations of the same stem differ so greatly from each other in these names. Out of many primitive ones there remains here one and there another, doubtless not without connexion with the national conception of the Deity. It is the fact that even peoples so nearly related as the Slaves and the Lithuanians have different names for God. The less right have we, as I still maintain against Max Müller ('Chips,' iv. 229 ff.), Ascoli ('Studj Critici,' ii. 382 ff.), seeing that there is a difference in the initial letter which is not satisfactorily explained—to connect $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\text{-s}$ and *deu-s*. Now the same holds good also in the case of other words of a less metaphysical stamp. Bopp's 'Glossary' may furnish us with a few examples. $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta$ and *porta* there find themselves placed with a '*fortasse*' under the Skt. *dvāra-m* 'door,' a connexion of which we shall certainly not be convinced by the analogy there adduced between the Pers. *aḡpa* and the Skt. *āḡva* (*equus*), because, while in the latter case *v* in the middle of the word is changed to *p* by means of a neighbouring *ç*, in the former an even bolder assumption of ⁷⁹ corruption of sound at the beginning of the word would have to be made without any such reason; and moreover it is $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha$ that is the Greek representative of the abovementioned Skr. *dvāra-m*, which I have no doubt is a corruption of *dhvāra-m* (No. 319). Still bolder is it to compare, as is done, with another '*fortasse*,' at p. 240 of the 3rd edition (cp. Pott ii². 345), $\delta\acute{\iota}\psi\alpha$ 'e $\beta\acute{\iota}\psi\alpha$ pro $\pi\acute{\iota}\psi\alpha$ ' with the Skt. *pi-pā-sā* of the same meaning, or (p. 244) the Lat. *urb-s* '*litteris transpositis*' with the Skt. *puri-s* 'town.' Of the suspicious character of such propositions their author was himself aware, though he held to them firmly to the end of his life; few will be found to agree with him now. Still there is no lack of later attempts in a similar direction, among which I reckon that of Legerlotz to identify the German *schwarz* with the Greek $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ ('Ztschr.' vii. 134). In referring then to these attempts, our sole object has been to find the origin of the mistake. Language arrives at the same idea by means of the most different signs. The Skt. *puri* (also *purī*, *pūra*) for *pari*= $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\text{-s}$ (No. 374) comes undoubtedly from the root *par*, $\pi\epsilon\lambda$, $\pi\lambda\epsilon$, and denoted originally the idea of 'fulness,' of a 'crowd,' a 'throng,' from which later the idea 'town' is developed even without this physical conception.

The Greeks themselves were conscious of the relation of πόλις to πολλοί. Even in Plato ('Republ.' ii. p. 369 c), aristocrat though he was, there is a reference, as Steinthal ('Gesch. d. Sprachw.' 82) points out, to this etymology. On the other hand, ἄστυ for φαστυ=Skt. *vāstu* (No. 206), from the root *vas* 'to dwell,' has attained to the same idea from the more general conception of 'dwelling,' 'an inhabited place,' which is still in Sanskrit associated with the word *vāstu*. A sense of the difference has been actually preserved in Greek in the more political meaning of πόλις and the purely local one of ἄστυ. By the side of *urb-s*, the etymology of which is still doubtful, the Romans have their word *op-pidu-m*, which I (cp. Schweizer 'Ztschr.' ii. 354) derive from *pedu-m* (cp. *Pedum*)=Gk. *πέδο-ν*, Skt. *padd-m* (No. 291) and *ob* 'on,' 'near,' 'over,' and interpret it accordingly as originally 'what lies on or over the open ground'—a compound like *am-segetes*, *quorum ager viam tangit* (Paul. p. 21), *am-termini*, *qui circa terminos provinciae manent* (ib. 17); hence may also be derived the old use of *oppida* for the barriers of a race-course (ib. 184), which lie on, over the *arena*. Seeing then that in this manner every language is wont to have a number of synonymous words for the same idea, the discovery of the etymon is a very difficult task. Even when there is no difficulty in reconciling the sounds, we can sometimes arrive at nothing more than a certain measure of probability. When, however, objections arise from the fixed
80 phonetic habits of a language we are at once on dangerous ground. Pott warns us repeatedly in his writings against 'that Siren, similarity of sound,' and it is certainly a characteristic distinction between the sober, well-regulated etymology which we aim at and the wild etymology of earlier times, that for us mere similarity of sound not only counts for little, but is actually, when the relation of words of different languages is in question, a positive reason for denying the connexion. Max Müller ('Lectures,' ii. 243) states this in the following witty way, 'sound etymology has nothing to do with sound,'—a saying which, however, might easily be misunderstood. But we must also beware of a fairy, related to the above-mentioned Siren, namely, similarity of meaning, and must avoid its influence with equal care. When properly examined, similarity

of sound, like similarity of meaning, turns out to be in many cases a matter of pure chance, and in no way fundamental. If there really had occurred in the history of language such very sporadic variations and completely diseased and unaccountable corruptions of sound as are confidently assumed by many scholars, we should be obliged to renounce etymologising altogether. For it is only what is regular, and internally coherent, that can be scientifically investigated; what is arbitrary can at most be guessed at, never decided with certainty. The case is however, I believe, not quite so bad as that; we shall be able to hold fast by laws and rules, even though allowing occasional exceptions and deviations; and to treat our word-stores to a great extent on the same principles as those used by Bopp to discover the formative structure of the Indo-Germanic languages with all its firmly established regularity.

11.

Now if we ask what is the surest method of solving the problem we have set ourselves, we shall find that it is necessary before all things, without making precipitate attempts at discovering the ultimate elements of language, to select from the word-stores of each single language that which appears, on simple and directly convincing principles, to be related to the stores of the cognate languages, to place what appears to be so related together, and thus to prepare the way for a general view of the common stores of the whole group of languages on the one hand, and of the special inheritance of each separate language on the other. This simple collection of related words is so far radically distinct from investigation of roots, inasmuch as the question as to the root of two related words is here often quite disregarded. But where a number of words are ⁸¹ unmistakably to be referred to one root, which has a corresponding form in the cognate languages, the comparison of roots is naturally not excluded. Comparison of words is much more productive than comparison of roots; inasmuch as in considering the wide-spread agreement of several languages, in the case of words formed with similar sound and mea

Germanic tongues an exuberant energy of growth. That the many words which spring from one root are not to be arranged under the abstract categories into which the grammarians have invented, that, on the other hand, very many suffixes were used to denote the same categories, I have shown in my dissertation 'De nominum Graecorum formatione.' It does not of course follow that the numerous primitive words which sprang from one root were completely identical in meaning. The differences must have been of a somewhat physical and concrete kind, and we must consider that the real function of the suffixes was that of individualizing a word. Seeing then that from the one root *ud* there was made in Skt. *ud-án* (water) = Goth. *vato* (st. *vatín*) by means of the suffix *an*, and again the *ud-rá* which comes near to the OSax. *wat-ar*, why should we not here suppose an original double formation with no perceptible difference of meaning? With this *udrá ud-ar* ranks the Gk. *ὔδωρ*, which can hardly be connected with the stem of the other cases *ὔδατ* except through *ὔδαπτ*. This assumed *ὔδαπ-τ* is stronger than *udar* by a *τ*. But I regard this *τ* (cf. Skt. *jakṛt*, Lat. *jecur*) as a superadded suffix with an individualizing force, for which see further 'Ztschr.' iv. 211 ff. The

73 dative *ὔδει* (cf. Rzach 'Dialekt des Hesiod.' p. 416) is to be referred to a *s*-stem *ὔδες*, of possibly independent formation. Meeting as we do in all stages of word-formation not with meagre uniformity but with manifold variety, why should we try, in the face of all phonetic laws, to weld these suffixes into one? In my opinion it is not even allowable to identify off-hand suffixes nearer to each other in sound than these are. Although in certain circumstances *t* passes into *s* I venture to bring together neither the suffixes with *t* with those with *s*, nor even the pronoun-stem *ta* with *sa*. It seems to me that in all these cases it is safer to separate than to join. Even for the marking of such relations as in their simple and, one may almost say, palpable nature seem least to give an opportunity for it, the Indo-Germanic language makes use of different phonetic expedients: we find *πρῶμος*, *prīmus*, Goth. *fruma* by the side of *πρῶτος* and *pra-tha-má-s*; we have two comparative suffixes and a great variety of diminutive forms. From one and the same root *an* (No. 419) are formed, with the same

meaning and different suffixes, Skt. *an-i-lá-s*, Gk. *ἀν-ε-μο-s* (= Lat. *an-i-mu-s*), OHG. *un-s-t*. From the root *par* 'fill' (Gk. and Lat. *plē*) spring *πλῆ-θ-os*, *plē-bē-s*, OHG. *fol-e*, with only slight difference of meaning, though we should not be justified in identifying the formative syllables in these words as well as the root. We have a redundancy in the case of the two ChSl. words *ple-me* (tribus) and *plǫ-kǫ*, which is identical with *Volk*. Sanskrit itself, though that is the language in which all these attempts at identifying suffixes have their origin, shows from the beginning an extraordinary variety in its formations. We have from the root *ad* 'eat,' the substantives *ád-ana-m*, *án-na-m* (i. e. *ad-na-m*), *ád-nam*, *ád-ja-m*, with no difference or, at all events, no sensible difference of meaning, all having the sense of 'fodder,' 'eating,' 'nourishment,' while in the Gk. *ἐδ-ωδῆ*, *ἐδ-ητύ-s*, in the Lat. *es-ca*, in the Lith. *ėd-i-s* (st. *ėdja*), other suffixes are used for the same purpose. From the root *da* 'give,' are formed, with the meaning of a *nomen agentis*, *dātár* (= *δοτήρ*, *dator*) and *dā-já-s*, *dá-ja-ka-s* 'giving,' *dā-ru-s* 'generous,' to denote a 'gift' *dá-na-m* (= *dōnum*), *dá-man*, *dā-trá-m*. Why then try to derive the Gk. *δῶ-πο-ν* from such a word as *dā-na-m*, and that too when we find the same double form in Slavonic and Lithuanian? A 'gift' in Lith. is *ũ-ni-s* with an *n*-suffix, in ChSl. *da-rǫ* with an *r*-suffix. Again *-ti* occurs in just the same sense in the Skt. *dā-ti-s* = *δῶ-τ-ι-s* = Lat. *dō-t(i)-s*. From the root *jan* 'beget' is formed *jan-i-tár* = *γενετήρ*, *genitor*, *jan-aka-s*, *ján-i-tva-s* 'father,' *ján-as* = *γένος*, *genus*, and in the same sense the common *jan-ús* and, with a slight difference of meaning, *ján-i-man*, *já-t-i-s* = *gen(ti)-s*, *jan-tú-s*, *já-na-m*, *ján-a-na-m*, *jáni-s* (cp. Goth. 74 *kuni*). Seeing then that the same language has recourse, as far back as we can trace it, to a number of suffixes, and that in the related languages now this suffix and now that one has come into use exclusively, or at least mainly, for a definite purpose, there is absolutely no inducement to us to identify suffixes that are different in sound. The chief supporter of the method here combated is Leo Meyer, in the second volume of his 'Vgl. Gr. des Gr. u. Lat.' He there carries to its extreme a theory of word-formation which has been aptly termed the 'participial theory.' This theory, most decisively rejected by

Greek. But it does not appear to me to be quite established that the aspirate was present in such words before the division of the languages. It is quite possible that in both languages the aspirate was developed independently out of the tenuis. It is true that one or two word-stems, in which a German and Latin *k* (*c*) is found side by side with an Indic *kh*, are very well explained according to Grassman's view, e.g. *khalati-s* (bald-headed), Germ. *kahlköpfig* = Lat. *cal-vu-s*, AS. *calo* [Eng. *callow*]; but we can also understand them in their German form by supposing an occasional 'stoppage of the shifting of 83 sounds' (Stocken der Lautverschiebung) which is not to be altogether rejected. In other cases there are other explanations possible, and the number of the words which belong to this class is altogether not large enough to enable us very easily to come to a definite decision. (Cp. Ascoli 'Lautlehre,' p. 161.) Hence I regard it as an open question whether the original Indo-Germanic language possessed hard as well as soft aspirates. With regard to the liquids, Schleicher assumes only one, *r*, and considers *l* in every case as a weakening of *r*. Still we shall see further on that, in spite of the frequent interchange of the two sounds, in a considerable number of instances the Greek *λ* is represented in the cognate languages by *l*, while, on the other hand, in a large number of words the *r* remains constant¹. Therefore it appears to me more prudent to start from the assumption that there were always two sounds, but at the same time to recognize a very close relationship between the two and therefore an early tendency to the transition from *r* to *l*, though probably not from *l* to *r*. Lastly, we may without doubt assume the presence also of that weakest of all sounds, the *spiritus lenis*, in the earliest age of the Indo-Germanic language. (See above p. 43 n.)

Now it has for some years been hotly discussed, whether the sounds here given, which almost all scholars admit to have existed in the period before the separation, are to be considered as the only ones then existing, or whether we

¹ Lottner 'Zeitschrift,' vii. 18, was the first to show that the European branches of the Indo-Germanic stem are in this respect distinguished in many cases from the Asiatic. With this may be compared my remarks further on upon the division of the A-sound.

ought, so to speak, to admit to the citizenship in that early community other sounds as well. The more closely the phonetic side of the separate languages was investigated, the greater was the surprise excited by discovering, not only that the differences between the languages came out in a stronger light, but also that striking resemblances were to be found in the modification of what apparently was the common property of the whole stock—resemblances discerned in different periods and classes of languages far removed from each other in place and in time. Hence the question arose, Have not such resemblances some deeper foundation? Are we not wrong in attributing them merely to a similarity in the process of ‘weathering away’? Pott had already frequently called attention to certain difficulties in the views advocated by Schleicher. But it was the investigations of Ascoli, directed as they were to definite aims with marvellous learning and acuteness, that first led the discussion along new lines. To him belongs, as 84 Germans have not sufficiently recognized, the honour of having laid the foundation, and of having given the first real impulse to nearly all the recent investigations into the consonantal system of the Indo-Germanic languages, and the conjectures and far-reaching combinations to which they have given rise.

Ascoli has shown in his ‘Corsi di Fonologia’ (1870, German translation 1872), that the Sanskrit *k*, out of which in certain cases a *k* is developed, and the palatal sibilant which we denote by *ç*, while represented with a few noteworthy exceptions in Greek, Italian, German, and Keltic by the same sounds (Gk. *κ*, Lat. *c*), are nevertheless in Iranian, as in the Slavo-Lithuanian languages, almost without exception two quite distinct sounds. The same chasm was found to exist between the same families of speech in the representation of the Sanskrit *ç* (from *g*=Gk. *γ*, Lat. *g*) and *gh* and *h* (=Gk. *χ*), though only in a portion of the words in which these sounds were contained. The Indo-Germanic languages can in consequence be divided into two groups, the non-assibilating and the assibilating (Sanskrit, Persian, Letto-Slavonic), and the theory, which I myself formerly advocated, that the palatal *ç* is to be regarded in its origin as completely identical with a *k*, and that there is no difference between the various

kinds of *ġ* and *gh* (*h*), must be given up. In the fourth edition of this book, on p. 29, I mentioned Ascoli's investigations, but could not at that time go further into the question.

The facts established by the Italian scholar gave rise to two conflicting theories in Germany. Johannes Schmidt employed them mainly as the foundation for an attack on the whole of the view previously taken of the divisions and classifications of the Indo-Germanic languages. In whole sets of words there corresponds to a Greek *κ*, to a Latin and Keltic *c*, and to a Teutonic *h*, the *k* (or its representative *k'*) which was to have been expected in Sanskrit, Iranian, and Slavo-Lithuanian: e. g.

Gk. *λύκο-s* (No. 89), Skt. *vṛka-s*, ChSl. *vlǫkǫ*, Lith. *vilka-s*;
 „ *κρέας* (No. 74), Lat. *caro, cruor*, Skt. *kravís*, ChSl. *krǫvǫ*;
 while within as wide a range, e. g. in

Gk. *ἐκατό-v* (No. 18), Lat. *centu-m*, Goth. *hund*, OIr. *cet*,
 OKymr. *cant*; but Skt. *ṣatá-m*, Zend *ṣata-m*, Lith. *szimta-s*,
 ChSl. *sǫto*,

to the same sounds in the same languages there correspond in the other class sibilants—in Skt. and Zend *ṣ*, and in ChSl. *s*. Bopp had used these relations which, as has been mentioned, recur in a portion of the medials and aspirated medials, although he did not know how widely they extended, to
 85 establish, on the one hand, the universally admitted close affinity between Sanskrit and Iranian, and, on the other, that between these two languages and the Slavo-Lithuanian, maintaining that all the assibilating languages had quitted the parent stock later than the non-assibilating, i. e. after the developement of these sibilants. Johannes Schmidt, however, did not confine himself to the grounds on which this view had already been attacked by others who had maintained the existence of a close affinity between the Slavo-Lithuanians and the rest of the European members of the family. In his work 'Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der indogermanischen Sprache' (Weimar, 1872) he arrived at a view of linguistic affinity radically different from all previous ones. If, he concluded, Slavo-Lithuanian shows affinity in some features with the Western languages and in others with the Asiatic, such instances of agreement are not to be ex-

plained, as everybody has hitherto assumed, as due to the relationship of the languages to the original parent stem. His theory is that a linguistic phenomenon appeared in some particular region of the earth's surface, and then spread from neighbour to neighbour in a particular direction, leaving some regions untouched in its progress. According to that it is quite possible that the same people may have received one peculiarity from its neighbour on the right, another from its neighbour on the left, without our being able to deduce from either process a closer connexion of race on one side or the other.

Schmidt himself explains his theory by the metaphor of a wave, which, rising at some point in a surface of water, spreads outwards from that point in concentric circles. The comparison of a great linguistic region to a pond or lake has never seemed to me an apt one. We must not forget that languages live only in peoples, and hence, in seeking for analogies, we must bear in mind the actual conditions of the life of peoples. The migration of single words may fitly be compared to the exchange of commodities; indeed it happens pretty often that the name and the thing are taken over together. But the modification of the sounds of a language involves a far deeper change: it is a revolution of the language itself. Deformations of the sounds of a language might therefore be likened to epidemics which pass from one nation to another without reference to affinities of race. But that the disease germs may find root in the new soil the two nations must be in constant and close communication, and the existence of such communication can hardly be established for prehistoric times. An apter analogy might be found in the diffusion of fashions of dress. Here conscious imitation is the real incentive to change. Many accurately noted instances of the diffusion of special peculiarities in the Teutonic languages may be traced to this cause, and these instances have happened in periods when the different stems understood each others ⁸⁶ languages, and when there existed a sense of national unity between the different stems. For example, the High-German pronunciation of *st* and *sp* has during the last fifty years penetrated much farther among the Low-Germans, and has infected Plattdeutsch itself. Are we entitled, however, to

assume for prehistoric times the working of such influences to which we see teachers, clergymen, the stage, army subalterns, clubs all contributing? On the other side, we have to set the fact that there are plenty of examples known of languages and dialects subsisting in the immediate neighbourhood of each other, and yet presenting contrasts of the most marked and uncompromising character. What an almost incredible variety of dialects inscriptions prove to have been spoken within the narrow limits of the Peloponnesus! Attic, Boeotian, Megarian dialects, though close neighbours to each other, remained markedly distinct, while the migrating Arcadians passed on in Cyprus many of their peculiarities as an inheritance to distant generations of their descendants. It was only the written language and the superior culture of Athens that were able gradually to efface these contrasts.

That it is impossible to conceive of language in general as separate from the people and its corporate life: that we can think neither of the spread of the Indo-Germans without migrations, nor of that of their languages without the detachment of individual stems from the parent stock, is a truth on which Leskien, in his work '*Die Declination im Slawisch-Litauischen*' (Leipzig, 1876), p. viii. ff., has rightly insisted, and in so doing he has found much support. He also remarks on the great improbability that the peoples, with whose languages we are concerned, should have lived as such, from time immemorial, side by side 'in unbroken continuity;' and this is what Johannes Schmidt's view requires us to assume. Leskien, however, considers it possible that at an immeasurably earlier period, while the Indo-Germans were still a small people within narrow local limits, there should have arisen among them stems and dialects which, from the circumstances of their position, may have exercised upon each other an influence of the kind imagined by Johannes Schmidt, and subsequently have taken with them the beginnings of these phonetic peculiarities to their separate abodes. But are we forced to regard linguistic phænomena like the one with which we are here principally concerned, i. e. the assibilation of the palatals, as necessarily of such extreme antiquity?

The linguistic facts, which Schmidt made the starting-point

for his stimulating theories, very soon found a radically different explanation in Fick's book 'Die sprachliche Einheit der Indo-Germanen Europa's' (Göttingen, 1873). Following Ascoli pretty closely—Ascoli had assumed the existence in early times of a *k* infected by a following *i*-sound side by side with the pure *k*—but with greater decision and with some 87 small modifications, Fick maintained that two kinds of *k*'s had existed from the very beginning. The one *k* which Fick writes thus, often remains unaltered in all languages, but often produced a neighbouring *v*, and so became the origin of the Latin *qu*, the Teutonic *hv*, the Greek π . The other *k*-sound, written by Fick as *k̄*, never does the latter, but occurs in the one class of languages as a pure *k* and its later substitutes (e.g. Teutonic *h*), in the other class as that same sibilant of many forms (Skt. *ç*, Lith. *sz*, ChSl. *s*), which gave rise to this whole discussion. To me Fick appears to have made out his case, and I believe we may safely add to the list given above of the Indo-Germanic consonants a second *k* with a probably more palatal pronunciation, which, with Fick, I shall write *k̄*. On this point a large number of scholars are now agreed. I may refer the reader to Havet in the 'Mémoires de Linguistique,' ii. 261 ff., Max Müller 'Chips,' iv. 64, Windisch 'Beiträge,' viii. 26 ff., and more particularly to Ascoli 'Studj Critici,' ii. 28¹.

There still exists, however, variety of opinion on the point. Ascoli had, as we saw, assumed a double *g* (Skt. *ḡ*) and *gh* (*h*) as well. This Fick will not admit, as he thinks the number of cases not large enough to prove it. In this matter I side with Ascoli. The *ḡ* of the Skt. root *marḡ* (No. 150) changes in

¹ While this edition has been going through the press the following publications on this subject have appeared: Friedrich Müller 'Die Gutturallaute der indogermanischen Sprachen' Sitzungsab. d. philol. hist. Classe d. K. Akademie in Wien 1878, p. 3 ff. Hermann Möller 'Epenthese vor K-Lauten im Germanischen als Wirkung des velaren oder palatalen Charakters der Wurzelaslaute,' Ztschr. xxiv. 427 ff. Collitz 'Die Entstehung der indoiranischen Palatalreihe,' Gött. 1879. Many of the questions concerned are discussed by Hübschmann 'Iranische Studien,' Ztschr. xxiv. 323 ff., and by Friedr. Kluge 'Beitr. z. Gesch. d. german. Conjugation,' Strassb. 1879, p. 42 ff.

the participle *mrshťá-s* into a sibilant, while that of *jug* (No. 144) shows in *juk-tá-s* the explosive. The same difference may be seen in the ChSl. *mlǔza* (ἀμέλγω) and the ChSl. *igo* (= *jugu-m*). In like manner to the Skt. *qhv* closely corresponds the synonymous ChSl. *qzǔ-kǔ*, while *laghú-s* readily finds a representative in *lǔgǔ-kǔ*. Here too Iranian ranges itself along with Slavo-Lithuanian. Hence we may assign to the primitive Indo-Germanic two *g*'s (*g* and *ǵ*) and two *gh*'s (*gh* and *ǵh*). Hübschmann has in 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 40 ff., 384 ff., confirmed this theory by instances adduced from Iranian and Armenian. Hermann Möller, in his acute work 'Die Palatalreihe im Germanischen,' has attempted to demonstrate that even in the Teutonic languages, particularly Frisian and English, traces exist of the same duality, which in his view furnishes the explanation of the difference between the initials of the two words *guest* and *yesterday*.

This is not the place for a fuller discussion of the main difference between Joh. Schmidt and Fick. The recent discussions of the point have hardly brought any fresh facts to light. On the other hand, it has been implicitly recognized that the preference belongs to that view which reduces the action of 'chance' within the smallest limits. In this connexion I will venture to make a short remark. Those who follow Fick in assigning to the primitive Indo-Germanic tongue two sorts of *k* (*k* and *k̑*), analogous to the *Koph* and *Kaph* of the Semitic languages, limit the action of chance more than Schmidt and his followers. For the latter assume that the single *k* from which they start was from no assignable cause—accidentally, that is—at an early period, and in a sharply defined set of words, attacked by an affection, which spread from its original home over a number of languages, while Fick finds nothing more surprising in the coexistence of *k* and *k̑* than in that of *k* and *ǵ*. If, on the other hand, it be objected to Fick that on his assumption it is also an accident that this second *k* (*k̑*) should have appeared in the form of a sibilant among such widely different peoples, this objection will not hold. For the palatal contains in itself the germ of the later assibilation. It is no more surprising that this germ should have developed into the same growth

on different soils, than the same phænomenon would be in the case of two apple-pips. Moreover, a cursory examination of Ascoli's exhaustive book on phonology will furnish numerous parallels to this process, e.g. on p. 39 (German translation), where he shows how a Latin *c* before an *a* gives the same sound in Lothringian French, and Friaulian, yet there could be no question here of contagion due to neighbourhood. The only accidental, or rather unexplained circumstance in the case is this: how came it that this germ of the *k* remained altogether unfructified in some languages, so that within a large area *k* became identical with *k*? We have, however, the most unmistakeable instances to prove that the abandonment of phonetic differences once existing is not unknown in the history of language—as may be seen in the case of the mediae in Slavo-Lithuanian, and the confusion made between mediae and tenues by uneducated Mid-Germans.

The whole examination of this question bears on Greek etymology only in so far that we have to pay careful attention to the distinctions here referred to when we are comparing words from assibilating languages. For this reason, and also because of the importance of these questions for the study of language in general, I thought they ought not to be passed over in silence. We shall have to recur to them later, when considering the sporadic changes of sound.

Finally, now that we are upon the subject of the consonants of the primitive language, we may mention another *homo novus*. It is indebted for its recognition to the acute discernment of Osthoff, who in 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 87 ff., conjectured that the primitive language possessed not only the universally recognized *s*, which undoubtedly was a sharp, or 'surd' letter, but a soft or sonant *s* as well, a letter now generally denoted by *z*. He concludes this, e.g. rightly as I think, from the relation of the Gk. *μισθός*-*s* (No. 323) to the Zd. *mīzdha*, Goth. *mīzdō*, ChSl. *mīzda*. The *σ* of the Greek word is naturally a sharp one, but as such is due to the influence of the *θ* which has taken the place of the *dh*. There are certainly only a few words which this theory concerns. Similar questions in respect to the vowels will occupy our attention immediately.

The original list of sounds, i.e. the sounds which existed immediately before the division of the languages, has not been retained in its entirety by a single Indo-Germanic language. Among the changes which are to be observed in the single languages we shall do well to distinguish two classes. The one class of sound-change pervades the entire structure of a language, and distinctly gives it its phonetic character. We may call these regular or general changes¹. In the Teutonic languages since the time of Grimm the very appropriate name of 'shifting of sounds' (*Lautverschiebung*) has come into use for a prominent example of changes of this sort. For the Greek language this name is just as appropriate. As in Gothic the old *gh*, *dh*, *bh* is represented by *g*, *d*, *b*, so in Greek it is represented by *kh*, *th*, *ph*, i.e. χ , θ , ϕ . Nevertheless the name 'shifting of sounds' does not serve to denote all the essential or general changes of the sound-system. For, in addition to shifting, we meet also with a 'splitting,' which is, properly speaking, nothing but a partial shifting, e.g. of the Skt *k* to *k̄*, of an original *a* partly to *e*, partly to *o*, and to this must be added in the third place the complete loss of single sounds. We regard then shifting, splitting (*Spaltung*), and loss of sounds as sub-divisions of this essential sound-change. But from this essential sound-change we must be careful to distinguish irregular or sporadic, i.e. such a disturbance of the original relation as presents itself only in a more or less limited number of instances, so that the distinct phonetic character of a language is not determined by it. This is why all the dialects of a language share—although not in the same degree—the regular changes of sound, whereas in the sporadic changes the varieties of dialect are far more prominent. For example, all Greek dialects have ϕ in the place of an original *bh*; we can conceive of no Greek at all without the sound ϕ ; all dialects show the 'splitting' of the short *a* as well as of the
 90 long *a*; but the appearance of a π in the place of an original *k*, as for instance in $\pi\omega\varsigma$ from the interrogative stem *ka*, is sporadic, and hence the new-Ionic dialect has still preserved

¹ Ascoli uses for these changes the name '*traliamento*' (*Fonologia*, p. 26).

the old *k* in *κωσ*. The distinction between these two main classes of sound-change seems to me to be of the greatest importance in etymology. Through trusting to a few examples of correspondence of sound the mistake has very often been made of regarding the interchange of two sounds as universally admissible. Thus, for example, on the strength of certain well-established instances, in which the Greek *π* corresponds to the old *k*, it has been asserted that for every *k* *π* may be expected in Greek, nay even (what is of course a still bolder inference) that for every *p* a *κ* may sometimes be expected in Greek. Every rational scientific process depends simply on the rule being distinguished from the exception, and this is why we here insist upon a complete separation between the two classes of sound-change. In the second book of this treatise we shall have to examine the rule in its far-reaching influence, including the permanence of the Indo-Germanic sounds in the Greek language, and that regular change of them which has become a law. For this reason the arrangement of a lexicon has been chosen for that part. In the third book we treat of the exceptions and endeavour to throw some further light upon a series of unessential phonetic transitions and modifications. It is needless to say that we do not regard either the one or the other class of phonetic change as accidental, but rather start with the opinion that laws penetrate this phonetic side of the language, as they do the whole. But as the students of natural science are wont to distinguish between normal and abnormal phenomena, so also must the students of language. It will not always be possible to discover the reason of the anomaly, but still, by comparison of kindred anomalies, we may discover even in these a certain order, and it is important to determine the extent of that order with statistical exactness.

When we return then to the question, What is the relation of the Greek phonetic system to that of the original Indo-Germanic language? we find that of the vowels *i* both short and long, of the consonants the first two orders of explosive sounds, and the nasals and the liquids, in all 13 out of 23 sounds, have remained untouched. The above-mentioned finer distinctions between gutturals and palatals may be disregarded

here, more particularly as Greek developes no special sound for them. On the other hand, of the vowels *ā* has become *ǣ*, *ū* has become *ǔ*, of the explosive sounds the aspirates have become *tenues aspiratae*. The two *a*-sounds have been 'split'
 91 into the three sounds *a*, *e*, *o*, and of the spirants *j* has disappeared entirely, *v* to a great extent, and *s*, in the great majority of cases where it occurs before a vowel, either has become changed into a simple breathing or has vanished altogether. If we compare with this the phonetic relations of the Italian languages, we meet directly with a point of agreement in the fact that no single primitive sound is changed in the Italian languages which remained untouched in the Greek, and that the difference between the two sorts of *k*, *g*, *gh* are equally absent in both cases. On the other hand, of the 10 sounds which Greek has altered, the Italian languages have kept the long and the short *u* throughout, and the three spirants have as a general rule been retained. A regular transformation is seen then only in 5 sounds, i.e. in the three aspirates, which are completely 'shifted,' and in the two sounds of *a* which have been 'split' as in Greek.

The doctrine of the division of the *a*-sounds has, like the above-discussed variety in the representation of the *k* sounds, passed through several different stages of theoretical explanation. It will be best to mention these in the historical order in which they gradually arose.

The earliest view was that of the three vowels *a*, *e*, *o*, as representatives of the Indian *a* in general were completely equivalent to each other. It was even thought that the original *a* once existed in each of the separate languages, and might be assumed in any case as a starting-point. The first modification of this view was suggested by me in a paper read before the Hamburger Philologenversammlung in the year 1855, in which I called attention to the extensive agreement manifested in this respect between Greek and Latin. I called e.g. *lego, ego* Graeco-Italic forms which, with their present vocalisation, were already in use at the time when the Greeks and Italians, though forming one people, had already separated themselves from the rest of the Indo-Germanic stock. Similarly I held *anemos* to be a Graeco-Italic form, which, retained un-

touched by the Greeks, was long afterwards, within historic times, weakened by the Latins to *animus*. I subsequently made a closer inquiry into the extent of this agreement, the result of which I published in my paper 'Die Spaltung des A-Lauts' (Sitzungsber. der k. s. Ges. d. Wissensch. 1864, p. 9 ff.) The most important result was the establishment of the fact that the splitting of the *a*-sound is common to all the European members of our family of languages, as distinguished from the oriental ones. A similar agreement of the European group was found in more cases than one. At p. 83 we adduced one such instance. Schleicher ('Hildebrand's Jahrb. f. Nationalökonomie 1863,' p. 498) and likewise Pictet in his 92 'Origines' showed several important notions of civilization to be the common property of this group (cp. No. 490, No. 481). In numbers of word-stems we accordingly found the old *a* preserved in all these languages—e. g.

| | | | |
|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| Gk. <i>ἄγω</i> , | Lat. <i>ago</i> , | ON. <i>aka</i> , | No. 117 |
| „ <i>ἄλλος</i> , | „ <i>aliu-s</i> , | Goth. <i>ali-s</i> , | OL. <i>aile</i> , No. 524 |
| „ <i>ἀντί</i> , | „ <i>ante</i> , | „ <i>and</i> , | Lith. <i>ant</i> , No. 204 |

In a still longer list *a* is in the same languages attenuated to *e* or still more so to *i*—e. g.

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|---------|
| Gk. <i>δέκα</i> , | Lat. <i>decem</i> , | OHG. <i>zehan</i> , | ChSl. <i>desętŭ</i> , | OL. <i>deich</i> , | No. 12 |
| „ <i>ἔδος</i> , | „ <i>sedeo</i> , | Goth. <i>sita</i> , | Lith. <i>sędmi</i> , | No. 280 | |
| „ <i>μέσσο-ς</i> , | „ <i>mediu-s</i> , | „ <i>midji-s</i> , | ChSl. <i>meždu</i> , | „ <i>medón</i> , | No. 469 |

In a much smaller one we find in all the dulling of *a* to *o* or further to *u*—e. g.

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------------|-----------------|----------|
| Gk. <i>βοῦ-ς</i> , | Lat. <i>bō-s</i> , | OHG. <i>chuo</i> , | ChSl. <i>gov-ędo</i> , | OL. <i>bó</i> , | No. 644. |
|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------------|-----------------|----------|

In all these examples we recognized a closer relationship between Greek and Latin, but more especially in the fact that these two languages put the duller sound in the place of the old *a* even in cases where this is not done in the northern languages—e. g.

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Gk. | Lat. | OIr. | |
| γί-γνώ-σκ-ω, | gnō-sc-o, | OHG. <i>knā-u</i> , | ChSl. <i>zna-ti</i> , No. 135 |
| ῥί-ς, | ovi-s, | Goth. <i>avi-str</i> , | Lith. <i>avŭ-s</i> , oi, No. 595 |
| ὀκτώ, | octo, | „ <i>ahtau</i> , | „ <i>asztūnŭ</i> , ocht, No. 96. |

This pointed to the fact that the appearance of an *e*-sound—possibly through the intermediate stage of *ä*—by the side

of the *a*-sound, was a phenomenon common to all the European languages, and that the production of an *o*-sound was a process confined to Graeco-Italic.

These conclusions were abundantly confirmed by Fick's excellent work 'Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indo-Germanen Europas¹,' in which this same agreement between the European languages was traced and elucidated in cases of the most different kind. In consequence our common view won numerous adherents. Particularly the existence of a European *e*-sound was regarded as proved. Individual forms which as yet did not admit of a complete explanation could not avail to alter these conclusions, for the number of thoroughly established facts was an overwhelming one.

A new impulse, however, was given to these discussions from a fresh quarter. Hübschmann, in his essay 'Ueber die Stellung des Armenischen im Kreise der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen' ('Ztschr.' xxiii. 5 ff., to which a supplement followed
93 at pp. 400 ff.), proved that the agreement above spoken of between European, and in certain respects between the Greek and Italian languages, was shared to a very considerable extent by the hitherto little examined Armenian language. For instance, with *ἄγω* goes Armen. *atsem*, with *ἄλλος* Armen. *ail*, with *μέσος* and *medius* Armen. *měj*, with *ἐγώ* Armen. *ez*, with *ὄζω*, *odor* Armen. *hot*, with *βοῦ*, *bov* Armen. *kou*, with *βροτός* (from *μωρ-το-ς*) Armen. *mardo*. It is hard to say that such parallels are accidental, and it must at all events be admitted that the wide extension of the *e* and the *o*, though strange to the Indians and Persians, still cannot any longer be regarded as a specifically European peculiarity.

In the end, our science arrived, in the natural course, at a fresh attempt: that, namely, of explaining the differences between the three vowels as something which in its germ at least existed from the earliest times. After a few earlier conjectures had been made in this direction, Brugman ('Stud.' ix. 369 ff.) took the bold step of trying in earnest to distinguish for the primitive Indo-Germanic language an *a*

¹ [Cp. 'Essays and Addresses' (Owens College, Manchester, 1873), pp. 320-325.]

approaching to *e* which he calls a^1 and one approaching to *o* which he calls a^2 . It is clear, however, that this assumption will not suffice. Where should we have to put the *a* which remains *a*, as e.g. in $\alpha\gamma\omega$? The adherents of this theory are consequently bound to carry out still further their system of numerical exponents. Of necessity too the same principle would have to be adopted for the diphthongs as well, and such formulae as a^1u , a^2u &c., would hardly tend to the simplification of the science. Are we not in danger here of constructing for ourselves unnecessarily a labyrinth in which we should lose ourselves in the end? A serious stumbling-block in the way of these attempts lies in the monotony of the Indo-Persian group, which is so persistent in maintaining the simple *a*, while their alphabets show in other cases a greater readiness than other languages in expressing the most various phonetic modifications. The history of vowel developement, as observable within historically attested periods, e.g. in the Romance and Teutonic languages, shows hardly anywhere any appreciable increase, but rather an extensive decrease, in the number of pure *a*-sounds. Are we to suppose that with the Indians and Persians the opposite tendency operated? In general, however, the changeableness displayed by vowels, even within the dialects of a language, is so great that in this matter it is peculiarly difficult to distinguish what is really the oldest form. On no account can any sort of conclusion in this direction be regarded as established until the whole vocabulary of at least one language, Greek for example, has been examined with a view to this question and the applicability of the new theory circumstantially proved. Till then the facts that Greek and 94 Latin in a special and the European languages in a less degree, agree in their vocalisation, remain as much as ever at the service of etymological investigation, and hence I leave unaltered the doctrine formerly expressed as to the division of the *a*-sound.

Those fundamental laws of the Greek language which, like e.g. the expulsion of the sibilant between two vowels, the change of every final *m* to *v*, the very limited number of possible final letters, are universally known and recognized, I shall here omit. Other phenomena of the kind will occupy our attention in the investigations in the third book. Where

and the present stem. With Steinthal ('Philologie,' &c. p. 46) I recognize the principle "the sound is always the secondary factor, the primary factor is the inner mental activity," and it seems to me inconceivable that the relation which comes out so clearly in Greek and in the Slavonic languages, according to which an action viewed as momentary is connected with the shorter stem-form, one viewed as continuous with the extended form, should rest upon pure accident, and that such a distinction only arose after the separation of languages. Pott has recently again expressed himself to the same effect (ii². 668 ff.), and adduces, as a proof of the fact, that the finer distinctions of duration themselves are by no means a product of the reflection of the understanding or of mental cultivation, but rather belong peculiarly to the instinct of language, some remarkable analogies from the dialects of India. With measure, moderation, limitation the Indians in no sense concerned themselves. Their earliest poetry reveals to us an ideal character, averse to reality, and what wonder is it if they early lost the sense for distinctions which had little importance for
 105 them? Delbrück, in his 'Altindische Tempuslehre' (Halle, 1876), shows that the language of the Vedas makes many fine distinctions between the aorist, the imperfect, and the perfect of the indicative, which were afterwards lost.

But inasmuch as certain roots, by virtue of their fundamental idea, were adapted especially or exclusively to denote continuous, or, on the other hand, only incipient action, we find some roots only in the present stem, others only in the aorist, and for this very reason, as we have seen, language was compelled sometimes to unite various defective roots and stems, in order to arrive at a complete verb, bound together by one conception¹, as *ὄραν—εἶδον—ὄψομαι, φέρω—ἤνεγκον—οἶσω, sum—fui, εἰμί—ἔφυν* or *ἐγενόμην—πέφυκα* or *γέγονα, λέγω—εἶπον*

¹ Cp. the discussion of this anomaly by L. Tobler ('Ztschr.' ix. 251 ff.), who falls in with my view.—The tendency to characterize the present stem by methods peculiar to it, was preserved in Greek down to historic times. Thus Atticism limits the use of the root *σκεπ* to the aorist, perfect, and future, and uses in the place of it the derived *σκοπῶ* in the present and imperfect. Kontos, in the *Δόγιος* 'Ερμῆς A, 566.

—ἐρῶ. It is just this primitive wealth of the Greek language which often furnishes us in this respect with the most important conclusions. For, apart from such mixed verbs, it is undoubtedly not a matter of indifference to which class a verb belongs, whether the present, if it has a lengthened stem, is lengthened by nasal or vowel affixes, or it may be by reduplication, or by the inchoative characteristic σκ. On the contrary, all this throws light upon the meaning of the root, and facilitates the difficult task of ascertaining its fundamental idea, especially if we also pay attention to the employment of the individual forms in living use, particularly in the oldest period. For instance, to a root which like the Greek καμ, means when regarded as momentary, 'to make ready, manufacture' (Δ 187 τὴν χαλκῆς κάμον ἄνδρες) and in the middle voice (Σ 341 τὰς αὐτοὶ καμόμεσθα) 'to acquire,' we cannot possibly attach as its fundamental idea that of torpidity or exhaustion, because of the idea of growing weary peculiar to the durative κάμω: though this would have to be the case if, with Benfey ii. 150, we wished to connect καμ with Skt. *çam* 'sedari,' 'cessare.' For the aoristic form of 'make ready, manufacture,' could not be developed from any such fundamental idea¹. Even the distinction of the so-called *genera verbi* is instructive for the determination of meaning. Our judgement as to the funda- 106 mental idea of a verb will vary according as it occurs only in the active, or only in the middle, or in both forms, and according to the meaning which it has developed in the latter. For instance, the fact that both ἀνδάνω and ἡδομαι originate in the root ἄδ (pr. *svad*), by no means favours the derivation of *svad* from *su ad* 'gut essen,' or *su ā ad* 'gut anessen' rejected above on other grounds. Again, as the idea of a verb is brought out, as it were, in various lights by the richness of inflexion, so it is presented in various aspects and situations, so to speak, by the composition of the verb with prepositions. By this means we frequently get additional elucidation. The fundamental meaning is completely ascertained only by surveying all the instances of its composition with prepositions—though

¹ It is a significant fact for the meaning of κάμνεν, that the word in modern Greek means *do*: μὴ κάμῃς τὸ, in Cyprus, is 'don't do that.' Cp. E. Curtius, 'Gött. Anz. 1857,' p. 301.

such distant goals in sight? The comparative investigation of languages has hitherto done this too little; it has but too often lost itself in details, in which each in his way makes
 96 his experiments, often without the least attention to the undertakings of others. For the exploration of this profoundly dark province of the shifting of signification guiding points of view are indispensably necessary.

In order to arrive at these we must be optimists enough to lay it down at starting that there is as a rule a limit even to these changes, that, although in the attempt to seize on the true meaning of a word-stem or a root we may often be inclined to exclaim *quo teneam voltus mutantem Protea nodo?* still in the end the Proteus is obliged to give an answer to the persistent hero. In spite of all change there is also to be seen in language a tendency to conservatism. All the people of our stock from the Ganges to the Atlantic use the sound-group *sta* to convey the idea of 'standing;' to the sound-group *phu* with only immaterial changes they all attach the notion of 'flowing.' This cannot have happened by chance. It was no doubt because there existed between sound and sense an inward bond for the instinct of those nations, that the same idea remained bound for thousands of years to the same sounds; in other words, there existed a tendency to express this idea by means of just these sounds. A great deal of scorn has been poured upon the assertion that the oldest words presume the existence of some sort of relation between the sounds and the ideas to be denoted by them. But it is hard to explain the origin of language without this assumption. At all events the idea dwells like a soul even in the words of quite advanced periods: "The conception," says W. v. Humboldt, 'Introduction,' p. 110, "is just as little able to separate itself from the word as the man can lay aside his features." But what we have to do is to recognize this type of features in the many members of a family of words, and we must practise our eye in observing the changes which as necessarily pass over the features of words in old age as over those of old men. In this sense we may speak of a physiognomy of languages. No help is, however, to be obtained here from logical schemes, but all must depend

on certain just fundamental intuitions in the statement of which the science of language touches upon the ground of Psychology¹, and also on the nice discernment of analogies.

13.

A question which we must ask in these investigations is, 97
How are we to conceive of the oldest vocabulary with respect to signification? Did language arise out of a limited number of simple ideas? In that case we should have to suppose such simple ideas in their natural ramification as in all cases our starting-points. Or was the childhood of a language richer than its later stages? Was it at that time master of a more copious store not so much of ideas as of concrete conceptions—the birth of lively impressions? In that case we should have to be careful how we traced special meanings to general ones. The attempt to refer the motley variety of words back to certain simple primitive ideas has been frequently made. K. Ferd. Becker especially, in his treatise ‘das Wort in seiner organischen Verwandlung’ (Frankf. 1833), lays down 12 cardinal ideas from which he thinks it possible to derive all other ideas and conceptions. But Pott—among other places in his ‘Rassen,’ p. 212 f., and ‘Et. Forsch.’ ii². 238—and Heyse (‘System,’ p. 132) have rightly taken exception to this view. Man forms ideas through abstraction and generalization from individual conceptions, which must necessarily be in existence before he can arrive at the idea (*Begriff*), that is, as the name itself implies, at *comprehension*. Accordingly ideas, as e.g. that of going, presuppose conceptions, e.g. of wandering, walking, striding, creeping, climbing, running, leaping, from which man, in that period in which reflecting thought began to awake, first grasped the simple idea that comprehends them all. In this respect the case is the same with nominal as with verbal ideas. Man could

¹ With this idea L. Tobler in the ‘Ztschr. f. Völkerpsychologie u. Sprachwissenschaft’ i. 350 brings forward his ‘Versuch eines Systems der Etymologie;’ an essay rich in examples, to which we shall occasionally refer.

is derived from *σπάω*, and the substantive is translated by 'cleft, tear,' the verb by 'cleave, tear.' But in reality *σπάω* has only the meaning 'draw, drag, pull,' never of 'dividing' or of 'tearing in pieces;' and this alone would suit the etymology proposed. Occasion for error has been given by the fact that *σπᾶν* may sometimes be translated by 'tear' (*reissen*) in the sense of 'drag to oneself' or 'tear forth.' From the root *an*, which as a verb in Sanskrit means only 'breathe, blow' (cf. *ἀνεμο-s*, *anima*) it certainly appears that Skt. *anala-s* 'fire' is derived; and we may perhaps be right in supposing that the notion of 'flickering' (cf. *πνολῆ* 'Ἡφαίστοιο Φ 355) serves as a link between the ideas of 'breathing' and 'burning.' (Cf. 'Studien,' iv. p. 228). But this by no means justifies us in ascribing to the root itself the meaning 'burn,' and further the more remote idea of 'shine.' With the same justice, on the ground of *φᾶpos*, which probably belongs to the root *φep* (No. 411), we might attribute to this root the by-meaning 'clothe,' and even, as *φῶp=fur* is also derived from it, the further notion of 'steal.' Nouns are always to a certain extent names, which are given from some motive or other, drawn from the object and often fixed upon with bold caprice. We cannot distinguish sharply enough between such isolated offshoots of a root, and the main stem, or, to drop metaphor, between the fundamental idea which is visible throughout and isolated applications and bolder metonymies. The danger of embracing a cloud instead of Hera is one to which the etymologist is always exposed. And in this respect the Indian lists of roots are misleading. If we reflect how hard it is to give the idea of a word, especially of a verb, with brevity, we shall not imagine that we have, in the meanings assigned by grammarians to their roots, anything but approximate estimates. Let any one take any verbs he pleases in our High German literary language, as e. g. *heben* (heave), *schöpfen* (draw), *ahnen* (guess), *helfen* (help), and endeavour to explain them merely by two or three other words, without the help of another language, and without complete definitions, and it will be seen how impossible it is in this way to hit the central point of the meaning. He could hardly do more than set by the side of them some similar words such as *tragen* (bear), *nehmen* (take), *vermuthen* (conjecture), *unterstützen*

(support). Now this is just what the compilers of the Indian lists of roots did. They only state that one verb is synonymous ¹⁰⁹ with another, or that it is a word for the general idea (*nāman* = *ḍvoṃa*) 'go,' 'wish,' 'sound,' &c. Hence Pott especially has justly warned us (e.g. ii². 460) against too hasty a use of these indices; and so also Westergaard ('*Radices linguae Sanscritae*,' p. xi) has uttered the words—which well deserve to be laid to heart:—"caeterum puto cavendum esse, ne illa grammaticorum de potestate radicum decreta nimis urgeantur, nam illis nihil vagius nihil magis dubium et ambiguum esse potest." These lists—to which an additional confusing element is added by the Latin translations of their editors—hardly give us more information than would be gained in the case of Latin verbs if they were divided into *verba declarandi*, *sentiendi*, *eundi*, *splendendi*, &c. We can never arrive at the real meaning of a root, except from its usage, and hence nothing can be done with unauthenticated roots, even if many of them do not rest upon arbitrary assumption. A scholar who aims at exactness, not merely in reference to the sounds, but also to the more metaphysical element of language, will have to guard himself carefully in etymologizing against the *ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα* of the lists of roots.

It is a further departure from the region of the comprehensible and intelligible, when such shadowy forms are created only by abstraction. This is an error, into which Leo Meyer falls. This scholar himself declares, it is true ('*Vergl. Gramm.*' i. 336), that he has taken the trouble to extract only "roots in a less rigorous sense," that is, "those simplest elements, which it has been found possible hitherto to separate from words actually occurring after stripping off parts which belong to a suffix or a prefix:" but he does not always follow his own rule. It might be difficult to prove that in Lat. *saxu-m* the syllable *sax* (p. 399), in *ῥλη=silva* the syllable *sul*, in *νῆσο-s* the syllable *nas* had no suffix still attached to them. But, apart from this, it is quite impossible to see what use is to be made of groups of sounds arrived at in such a purely arbitrary manner. The author himself feels the shadowy nature of these forms, for he does not venture to attach any meaning whatever to *manv*

of them. Pott gives, as a jocose example of such procedure, the root *gen* 'to be a cheek' for *gena* (ii². 929). But there is hardly more sense in assuming for the benefit of the Lat. *facere* (p. 359) a root *bhak* 'make,' for *ἀγαπᾶν* (p. 399) a root *gap* 'love.' We may assert confidently that the root of *sci-o* is *sci*, but what is gained thereby, if we here lay down the abstract idea as the only one? But inasmuch as *sci-sc-o*,
 110 *plebi-sci-tu-m*, *populi-sci-tu-m* also belong to this root, and as in *de-sci-sco* we see the notion of separation coming out prominently, it becomes clear that *sci-o* is identical with *κεῖ-ω* (for *σκέι-ω*) 'cleave' (No. 45 b), and that the meaning 'sever' (*scheiden*) branched off into 'decide' (*entscheiden*) and 'distinguish' (*unter-scheiden*). From the last it is a short step to 'know;' and indeed in German we use the word *gescheit* (discreet) in a similar sense (cp. Döderlein 'Synon. und Etym.' vi. 323): while the Lat. *cernere* offers another parallel instance. The etymon is therefore in this case only found, when, to the form which may be proved to be the most primitive, we attach that meaning which the living usage of the whole group of connected words has shown to be the oldest.

It is self-evident that we may on the whole expect to find both the fundamental meaning and the primitive form of a word first in the oldest language, and that accordingly we have to pay especial attention to the usage in the earliest period of language: and it is hardly necessary to point out the great importance of Homer's diction for Greek etymology. Yet many etymologists in ancient and modern times have paid too little regard to the Homeric usage. The old etymology of *μέριμνα* 'care' from *μερίζειν* 'divide,' "because care distracts the heart," lingered on down to very recent times. This explanation would have little probability in itself, because it would ascribe to language the propounding of a riddle, but it is completely disproved by the consideration, that in Homer the words *μέρος* and *μερίζειν* do not occur at all, and the related *μόρος*, *μοῖρα*, *εἵμαρται* only justify us in attaching to the root *μερ* the meaning 'apportion to,' and by no means the materially different meaning of 'part asunder' (Homer's *δαίειν*, *δαΐζειν*). Hence *μέριμνα* like *μέρ-*

μηρα belongs to the root *μερ* from *smar* (No. 466); from which on p. 103 we explained *me-mor* and *mora*. The same consideration disproves the explanation of *μέροψ* as 'dividing the voice, speaking articulately,' which is now attacked on all sides, and which is in itself improbable enough: it is maintained, however, by Döderlein ('Gloss.' 2479). Christ ('Gr. Lautlehre,' p. 186) derives *φράζω* from the Skt. *pra-vad* 'to say before or to say out.' But even Aristarchus taught ('Lehrs,' p. 93) that the verb in Homer still meant, not 'say,' but 'show' *διασημαίνειν*, whence in the middle, e.g. *σὺ δὲ φράσαι εἴ με σαώσεις* (*A* 83) comes the force 'to show oneself,' 'to make clear to oneself,' 'to consider.' This is alone enough to wreck Christ's theory. It will be readily understood that, on the other hand, the later language also can in its turn often supply its own peculiar explanations, in particular cases, especially in popular and proverbial uses. Even Modern Greek is not to be despised occasionally. Now-a-days *καίρός* means 'weather,' *χρόνος* 'year.' In both words the essential idea remained unaltered: in *καίρός* this is mutability, in *χρόνος* it is duration. We shall be obliged to presuppose this essential notion in the etymon. Fortunately the rich history of the Greek language furnishes us with such facts in abundance¹, and we are very rarely so situated as to be obliged to learn the meaning of any Greek words merely from lexicons and other isolated explanations which might readily lead us astray. Accordingly, where we are thrown back upon such notices, e.g. those of Hesychius, we ought never to forget on what slippery ground we are moving. But it will be permissible to make a cautious use of glosses when their transmission does not in itself lie open to any suspicion. This is certainly less venturesome than to refer rare words

¹ There is a peculiar feature in the development of the meaning of words, called the 'pessimistic' (cp. Bechstein 'Germania,' viii. 330), which occurs occasionally also in Greek, e.g. in *πομπός*, *θράσος*. Max Müller (ii. 249) notices similar instances. But undoubtedly the motive to this pessimism is often the endeavour to give mild names to bad things, i. e. euphemism. Cf. Lobeck *de antiphrasi et euphemismo*. 'Acta Societ. Graec.' ii. 291.

of the kind by doubtful conjectures to the standard of more familiar Greek.

15.

Apart from the assistance in the discovery of the meanings of words, given by the means already indicated, we are exclusively confined to analogy, a great, but unquestionably not always trustworthy teacher. In linguistic investigations analogy has of course demonstrative force only when it is supported by a series of evident instances¹. This is frequently the case with regard to the substitution of sounds. But in the region with which we are at present concerned it is difficult to form a series of any length, because the particular cases are too individual, so that we shall not often find that precisely the same conception is formed more than twice from one and the same original conception. But even a single sure example can throw surprising light on a similar case. Hence
 112 what is especially needed is a careful collection of such analogies: and up to the present time we feel a painful want of this². Hitherto at most one side of the developement of meanings has been regarded, though this is certainly one of the most important, the figurative nature of expression, which runs through all languages. No one can fail to see that language is crowded in every part with metaphors, which shed a poetic fragrance over the simplest forms of speech. On this point much material has been collected. We have already referred (p. 95) to Renan—*De l'origine du langage*. Pott ('Ztschr.' ii. 101) shows how man transfers his own circumstances, relations, and properties to inanimate nature³.

¹ "A series of analogies strengthens conviction as much as the lengthening of the lever strengthens the moving power." Welcker, 'Griech. Götterlehre,' p. 116.

² A collection of the kind here desiderated has been undertaken by Seb. Zehetmayr in his *Analogisch-vergleichendes Wörterbuch über das gesamtgebiet der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen*, Leipz. 1879.

³ Louis Morel, in his Leipzig doctoral dissertation, 'de vocabulis partium corporis metaphorice dictis' (Geneva, 1875), illustrates the metaphorical usage of the words denoting parts of the body by

Indeed grammatical gender is nothing but an attempt of the same kind to assimilate the world of things to the nature of man. Even the ancients did not fail to observe that language itself here paved the way, so to speak, for the poet and the orator. Quint. viii. 6. 4 says that *translatio* is *ita ab ipsa nobis concessa natura, ut indocti quoque ac non sentientes ea frequenter utantur*. Hence he views artistic metaphor as a continuation of the natural process. The same opinion is expressed by Lobeck in the attractive dissertations *de metaphora et metonymia*, which Friedländer has published (Königsb. 1864). Max Müller also (ii. 535) discusses metaphors very thoroughly, dividing them into *radical* and *poetical metaphors*. We cannot overlook the distinction between the unconscious expression of an image which is, for the naïve instinct of language, the most natural way of denoting a thing, and the intentional choice of one which the poet summons in order to reflect in it what he has to denote. But as the language of poetry in general approaches closely to the creative spirit of the people, so from poetical metaphors light may be cast upon those which are instinctive. Thus the student of language will be able to learn from collections such as the extremely rich one of Hense, 'Poetic Personification in Greek poetry with reference to Latin Poets and to Shakspere,' part i. Halle, 1868, continued in two programmes (Parchim, 1874, Schwerin, 1877). In this, e.g. it is explained how numerous the ways are in which expressions like *κάρα*, *κόμη*, *μέτωπον*, *πούς* are used by the poets.

Here, without rigorously distinguishing the metaphorical change of meaning from changes otherwise effected, we may point out some instances of repeated transition. We start with what is directly obvious. It will be readily admitted 113 that the Greek *λέω* 'see' (No. 87), though most closely corresponding to the Skt. *lōk* 'see,' is connected not only with *λευκός*, but also with *lūx*, *lūceo*, if it is remembered that *lumina* and *φάεα* denote the eyes, that *αὐγάζεσθαι* means in

copious examples from Greek literature. — From Teutonic languages, Zimmer ('Nominalsuffix *a*,' p. 113) has collected many instances of transference "from the physical world to the spiritual sphere."

poetic language 'to look upon,' and that also the root $\delta\epsilon\rho\kappa$, as we saw on p. 101, is related to O.S. *torht* 'splendens.' We may therefore here state the compound proportion

$\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\sigma\omega$: $\lambda\upsilon\kappa$ = *lumina* : *luceo*

= $\phi\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\alpha$: $\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$

= $\alpha\upsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$: $\alpha\upsilon\gamma\acute{\eta}$

= $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\kappa\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$: *torht*.

—We are surprised to find in three languages another root for 'to see,' giving rise to the conception 'opening, hole:' $\acute{o}\pi\text{-}\acute{\eta}$, Lith. *aka* 'hole in the ice;' Ch.-Sl. *ok-no* 'window.' We may compare also $\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\text{-}\omega\pi\acute{o}\text{-}s$, and the Italian *occhi* 'opening or holes in a piece of embroidery' (cp. below, No. 627). [So too *eye* of a needle, hook and *eye*, and *window*, i. q. *wind-eye*: cp. Skeat's Dict. s.v.]. — Even the much-decried old etymology '*lūcus* a non *lucendo*' has been so far justified that it has been asserted that *lucus* meant properly 'clearing,' and so far corresponded to the Lith. *lauka-s* 'field,' and indeed also to the O.H.G. *lôh* (Fick i³. 757). There is an analogy for this according to Fick, i³. 534, in the O.Ir. *ciad* 'wood' [Welsh *coed*] beside Goth. *haiþi* 'field,' connected in meaning by the Lat. *bū-cētu-m*, and not improbably compared with O.N. *heidh* 'brightness,' and O.H.G. *heit-ar* 'bright.' In modern German too the word *Heide* 'heath' is often found with the meaning of 'wood' (Grimm's 'Wtb.') [as conversely the English 'forest' often is a treeless district].

The Greek $\beta\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}s$ with its derivatives (No. 255 b) has only the meaning of slowness: it is only the form $\beta\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\omega\nu$, explained by Hesychius as $\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, which might lead us to assign a different fundamental idea to the adjective. But the Skt. $mṛd\acute{u}\text{-}s$ (from *mardu-s*), for which, as soon as metathesis came in, we have to expect, according to Greek phonetic laws, an initial β , has preserved the earlier meaning 'soft, tender,' which occurs also in the Ch.-Sl. *mlad-ŭ*. Now, if we further compare the Lat. *lentu-s*, identical with the German *lind*, with *leni-s* we have the proportion

$\beta\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ 'slow': Skt. $mṛd\acute{u}\varsigma$ 'soft' = *lentu-s* : *leni-s*.

(Cp. Fick i³. 750). The form closest to the Greek is the O.Ir. *mall* (Z. 41) *lentus*, *tardus*. The old world, which honoured even its Achilles above all things as being $\pi\acute{o}\delta\alpha\varsigma$

ᾠκύς conceived of slowness as an accident of weakness and soft effeminacy. — But the idea of softness was reached by language from that of rubbing away, for the Skt. *mrdú-s* points as clearly to the root *mard*, 'rub, rub away,' as the Greek τερύ- ἀσθενές, λεπτόν (Hesych.) points to the root τερ, τείρω (No. 239). — Again from the same fundamental notion 114 of rubbing away is developed that of age. The root *gar* in Sanskrit unites both applications 'to rub away, to make small,' and 'to cause to grow old' (senio conficere). The fundamental physical idea has been preserved in *grā-nu-m* and γῦρι-s 'fine meal,' the metaphorical idea in γέρ-ων, γῆρας (No. 130). Max Müller even unites in a similar way the conception of death with that of rubbing away, and identifies the root *mor* (*mori* No. 468) with a root *mar*, which has retained, he thinks, its original force in μύλη, *mola*: according to this view γέρων: *grānu-m* = *mori*: *mola*. This comparison is confirmed by the O.N. *starfa* 'to exhaust one's self,' 'to rub one's self away,' beside the Eng. *starve* and the O.H.G. *sterpan* (sterben) 'to die' (Zimmer 'Suff. a,' p. 311). Similarly καμόντες beside κάμνω (cp. p. 105). — The notion of dirt is developed from that of wetting, moistening: for as no one can fail to see the connexion of ἄρδα 'dirt,' ἄρδαλος 'dirty,' ἄρδαλουν 'to dirty,' with ἄρδεν 'to wet,' the connexion of *pol-lu-o* with *lu-o*, *lav-o* is also made clear, and the two furnish an adequate analogy for the comparison of the Gr. μύδος 'wetness, rottenness,' and μυδάω with the M.H.G. *smuz* (No. 479) 'smut.' — Language conceives of colour as a covering, for as *color* is connected with *celare*, *oc-cul-ere*, so the Skt. *vārṇa-s* (colour) is with the root *var* 'cover, conceal,' the Gk. χρώμα with χρώς 'skin,' and also the Skt. *khavi-s* (root *sku* No. 113 'cover') means both skin and colour. — The ground it denoted as 'the trodden,' for as the Skt. *padū-m* and the Gr. πέδο-ν (No. 291) with the Ital. *Pedu-m* point to the root *pad* 'tread,' similarly βά-θο-ν and βά-σι-ς to the primary meaning of βαίνω. — The notion of a meal is derived in many ways from the idea of portioning out. Thus δαί-s, with δαίω, δειπνον, as every one can see, is to be compared, not only with *dap-s*, but also with *δαπ-άνη*, and both with the Skt. *dāp*, the causative of the root *dā* 'give' (No. 261): then again φαγεῖν 'eat' (No. 408) is related to Skt. *bhaḡ* 'portion

out, receive as a portion, enjoy,' whence *bhāg-ā-s* 'share.' Hence *φαγεῖν* means properly 'to get one's share,' and it was therefore limited to the expression of a point of time. I am inclined to think with Grassmann that the Skt. root *aç* 'eat' (pres. *aç-nā-mi*), the Greek representative of which will be *ἀκολο-s* 'bit' (ρ 222), is in the same way akin to *aç* acquire (present *aç-nō-mi*).—Jacob Grimm ('Gramm.' ii. 60) derives the Goth. *figgr-s* (finger) from *fangen* (*fahan*). This analogy is sufficient to justify us in connecting *δάκτυλος* (No. 11) which, as being a diminutive form, points to a lost *δακτο-s*, as *digitus* to *dec-etu-s*, not with the root *δικ* (*δείκνυμι*), to which it could be linked only by means of the intermediate form *doc-eo* (Fick ii². 121), but (in spite of Pott's protest, ii. 220) with the

115 root *δεκ*: the meaning of this root, employed only in the middle forms *δέκομαι*, *δέχομαι*, is there used in such an abstract manner, that there is something surprising in the idea of the connexion. But this scruple vanishes when it is remembered that *empfangen* (receive, take to oneself) is a compound of *fangen* (take), and that *δοκό-s* 'beam,' *δοκάνη* 'fork,' *δοχμή* 'span,' belong to the same root.—To us the notion of 'quiver' does not seem to come very near to that of 'bear,' inasmuch as many other things are borne, beside this particular article. Certainly nations thought otherwise in those old times when no 'carried thing' was so necessary as this, hence

φάρετρα: root *φερ* = Ch.-Sl. *tǎlǎ* 'quiver': root *tul* 'bear.'

πέλας and *πλησίον* 'near' are derived from the root *πλα*, to which we must assign the meaning 'strike, hit' (cp. No. 367). This root has been retained without any change of meaning in the Ch.-Sl. *pra-ti* 'strike.' If we remember the German 'prallen' (bounce) and 'anprallen' (fly against), though these have nothing to do with the root phonetically, the connexion in sense will be regarded as a natural one. But as *πλη-σίον* is to *πλα* so is the equivalent *ἱκ-ταρ* to the root *ικ*, Lat. *ic-ere* (No. 623).—*θυ-μός-c* 'passion, spirit' belongs to *θύ-ειν* 'rush, rage,' whence the Thyiads have their name (No. 320), as well as the Ch.-Sl. *du-chǎ* 'spiritus.' The same relation exists between the root *kup*, which in the Skt. *kup-jā-mi* means 'to be in motion, in agitation,' and then 'to be angry,' but in the Lat. *cup-io* only 'desire,' and the hypothetical root

kvap, which we must assume from the Lith. *kvápa-s* 'breath,' *kvěp-ti* 'breathe, reek.' From this, with the loss of the *v*, we have *καπ-νό-s* (No. 36) and Skt. *kap-t-s* 'smoke of frankincense,' so that *θυμό-c* is related to the Skt. *dhūmá-s* 'smoke' (= *fū-mu-s*) just as *kup-já-mi* is to *καπνό-s*. — In the 'Ztschr.' xiii. 399, I have shown with reference to *farcio* and *φράσσω* by the side of *frequens*, with the fundamental idea (No. 413) retained in the Lith. *brukù*, how the notions *crowd*, *stuff*, *protect* are often attached to one and the same root, also that *frequentes* is to *φράσσειν* as *saepe* is to *saepire*, and as *ἀλέντες* to *ἐλεῖν*. — Verbs of saying frequently originate in words of pointing, so *φά-vai* from the root *φα* (*φαίνω* No. 407) *dicere* from the root *dik*, *δείκνυμι* (No. 14), *φράζειν*, which still in Homer means 'to point.' — Mention has been made above of the repeatedly recurring connexions between the ideas 'separate' and 'recognize' (p. 109). — Even some appellations which appear at first sight quite arbitrary and originating rather in a witty fancy, recur to our surprise more than once in entirely independent regions of language. Poets have indeed called the windows the eyes of the house,—as conversely the eye a window of the soul—but the window is explicitly called by the Goths *augo-dauro*, properly the 'eye-door,' by the Indians *grhāksha-s* from *grha* 'house,' and *aksha-m* 'eye.' The O.N. *vind-auga* along with the English *wind-ow* is somewhat specialized (cp. Pictet ii. 254), as is *gavākshá-s* properly 'cow's eye,' then round window, *œil de bœuf*. The ChSl. *ok-no*, which, according to Miklovich, means also 'shaft' (of a mine), and hence probably 'opening' generally, is mentioned above on p. 113. — We shall have therefore to pay good heed to these and similar analogies of the transition of meaning in the consideration of individual etymologies.

16.

Our principle of undertaking the etymology of no word without having thoroughly instructed ourselves as to its meaning from the living usage of the Greek language, is met by great difficulties in the case of certain kinds of words. In the first

place there is the case of isolated words which cannot be said to have any usage at all. The ancients distinguished these words, so difficult of interpretation, from the rest of the stores of language, by the name *γλῶσσαι*. The explanation of these words, which we must regard as being for the most part remains of an older usage, representatives of extinct families, has given the learned world plenty of occupation from the work of Democritus, *περὶ Ὀμήρου, ἢ ὀρθοεπείης καὶ γλωσσέων*, to the latest times. Even the connexion in which these words are introduced, especially in Homer, often tells us very little about their meaning. In the Homeric epos many epithets are as traditional as the figures of gods and heroes: and therefore we may conjecture for *μέροπες, ἀλφησταί, διερός* according to the connexion any epithet which suits the nature of man, and for *ἥνοψ, νῶροψ*¹ any which suits the qualities of brass, provided it does not contradict the Homeric conception. Hence in cases like these a special meaning is given us only by the grammarians. And we must certainly guard against putting too low a value on the grammatical tradition. The Alexandrians possessed in the older literature accessible to them, in the collections of the old *γλωσσογράφοι*, in their own collec-
 117 tions of dialectic expressions, certainly drawn in part from living usage—as in fact Aristophanes of Byzantium gathered
 222 *Λακωνικὰ γλῶσσαι*—materials denied to us for the explanation of Homeric glosses, from which perhaps many a word could be at once interpreted. The recently discovered Cyprian records with their *ἀνώγειν, πτόλις* as quite common words, show us how much that is ancient lay hidden in the dialects. Since the work of the pioneer in this field, Lehrs *de Aristarchi studiis homericis*, no one can enter upon the task of explaining Homeric words without having at least ransacked the Venetian scholiasts and Apollonius Sophista, if he does not wish to expose himself to the just charge of superficiality.

¹ The most recent comparison of *ἥνοψ* is that of Bezzenberger 'Beit.' i. 338, with the Zd. *qēñg* 'sun,' though this is an extremely isolated form, hence 'bright-looking:' *νῶροψ*, Fick i³. 828, compares with O. N. *snarp-r* 'sharp;' certainly the sharpness of brass is not at all in question in the Homeric passages (e. g. A 16 *ἔσαντο περὶ χροὶ νῶροπα χαλκόν*).

Even when we employ all the aids accessible the difficulties with this class of words are very great, and the determination of the meaning of a word merely from its etymology is always a 'periculosae plenum opus aleae.'

It is much the same with proper names, the very words for which the etymologist is called upon most constantly and most zealously to give his aid. It is demanded of him imperatively that he should solve by his art the riddle of the history of nations, the foundation of cities, the beliefs as to the Gods: and men are often not ill-disposed to estimate the whole art low, if their warm desires are met by the coldness of the investigator. Pott has based his extremely rich, inexhaustible book on Personal Names upon the principle that 'there are for the etymologist, as a matter of primary belief, absolutely no nomina propria, but only appellatives' (p. 1). This must be so far allowed, that certainly every proper name has arisen from an appellative, and in countless instances, the fundamental meaning may be ascertained with ease and certainty. This is most easy in the case of the names which form the proper matter of Pott's book, i. e. personal names, inasmuch as these have been formed, at least in great measure, in times known to history, were in part intelligible at the time to their own nation, and were derived from circumstances of life familiar to other nations, even though not always explicable at first sight¹. But for all this,¹¹⁸ with every proper name the etymological operation is by one degree more difficult than with an appellative. For having to do in etymology with three factors generally, form, meaning, and origin, we are furnished in the case of appellatives with the first two of these, but in the case of proper names only with the first. Hence in the case of the latter we have to deal,

¹ Some remarks as to the giving of names are to be found in my dissertation on the Delphic inscriptions discovered by Wescher and Foucart ('Berichte der k. sächs. Ges. der Wissensch.,' 1864, p. 234).—The work of Fick on 'The Greek Personal Names' (Göttingen, 1874) opens up new paths for the understanding of personal names. He shows there that in most Indo-Germanic languages personal names are based essentially on composition: whether this is so, as exclusively as Fick maintains, is to me doubtful, but the principle of 'pet names' or shortened names, e. g. *Zeûξis* = *Zeûξινπος*, is a very fruitful one. Cp. 'Stud.,' vol. viii. and ix.

so to speak, with two unknown quantities. It is therefore especially difficult to conjecture the meaning of proper names, and above all of local and mythical names. We do not refer here to the fact that in respect of both classes, even a man who is inclined to explain the Greek nation, Pelasgians as well as Hellenes, entirely from itself and its early history, cannot entirely disregard the influence of foreign stocks and nations. But even if, as is certainly the case with the great majority of names, Greek stems and roots lie at their base, difficulties enough are left remaining. In names of places we are helped by exact knowledge, by the aspect of the locality, which may be so characteristic that the meaning of the name at once becomes clear. But this is proportionately seldom the case, and there are so many motives for naming a place, natural, historic, mythologic, derived sometimes from the situation itself, sometimes from its inhabitants, that as a rule not one but many possibilities are furnished¹. It is still more difficult with mythological etymologies. For in order to discover the meaning in such cases we must have some mythological conception as a basis from which to start. Are we to look for the occasion of the names of Gods in natural phenomena, or in ethical conceptions, in Greek localities, or in common natural circumstances, in the splendour of the morning and its beams, or the cloud-mountain and its rain-torrents? Are we to seek the source of the names of the heroes in historical and human, or on the other hand in physical facts, or indeed, in many cases, outside the Indo-Germanic world altogether? From the stand-point of language it is often quite impossible to come to a decision, especially as we find here a circumstance which creates great difficulties in the whole sphere of Greek etymology, i. e. the number of homonyms in Greek. In consequence of the extent to which the Greeks lost the three spirants *j* *v* and *s*, often without having any traces of them left, many words and stems originally distinct in sound became identical in their form. For instance a final *-ov* might equally well represent any one of the original roots

¹ Ernst Curtius ('Gött. Anz.,' Nachr. 1861, p. 143 ff.) treats of 'geographic onomatology,' and especially of the names of promontories.

ak (ὄψομαι) 'see,' *vak* (ὄψ) 'call, speak,' *ap* (ὀπ, Lat. *opus*)¹¹⁹ 'work,' *vap* (ἔπ) 'to be busy:' the syllable *id* might be referred equally well to *vid* 'see,' or to *svid* 'sweat.' In fact even before the distinctively Greek stage of the language there were homonymous roots, such as *sak sequi*, ἑπεσθαι and *sak dicere*, ἐνισπ-εῖν, even after the gutturals were divided into two classes. But it is just this plurality of meanings in a word which is a main cause of its difficulty. Hence etymological science in such cases can often only determine the sphere within which the meaning may lie, and not actually furnish it. For instance, linguistically the name 'Αχι-λεύ-ς may in its second part be traced back equally well to the stem *λαο* 'people,' as in *βασι-λεύ-ς*, *Λευ-τυχίδης*, or to the stem *λαα* 'stone,' as in *λεύ-ω* 'stone.' One who regards the heroes as historical personages will prefer the former hypothesis; one who views them as humanized deities who originated in natural conceptions, will prefer the second, seeing in Achilles a river-god. But we cannot allow what Preller—following earlier scholars—appears to regard as possible (by grouping together in 'Myth.' ii². 400 'Αχιλεύ-ς and 'Αχελῷο-ς), that the former part of the word denotes 'water' and may be compared with the Latin *aqua*. For in the place of *aqua*, which corresponds to the Goth. *ahva* of identical meaning, we can hardly assume any other form in Greek than *ἀπ*, a form which seems to be preserved in the names *Μεσσαπιοι*, i. e. *Μεθύδριοι*, *Μεσσαπέαι*. But even the identification of the first element 'Αχι- with the extremely common 'Εχ-, e. g. in 'Εχέ-λαο-ς, 'Εχέ-στρατο-ς, 'Εχέ-δημο-ς, is not without its difficulty, now that we have learnt how rarely the Greek language, especially before explosives, wavers between *α* and *ε*. We might rather be tempted to connect 'Αχι- with *ἄχος*, *ἄχυνμαι*. But if any one desired with Benseler to translate the name 'Painer' (*Schmerzer*), he would find the final syllable a hard nut to crack: and any one who was attracted by the old explanation 'troubler of the Ilians,' which Pott 'Ztschr.' ix. 211 endeavours to bring into favour again, would find the *F* and the long vowel of *Ἔλιος* an insuperable obstacle in his path. Can we be surprised to find that after so many unsuccessful attempts, some others have made their appearance, according

to which 'Αχιλλεύς is not a compound at all? Sonne 'Ztschr.' x. 98 interprets the name as 'clear-shining,' regarding the *ἀ* as prothetic, and taking χελ (No. 197) as the root. Fick ii³. 8 translates 'Achilles' in precisely the opposite way as 'the dark,' and compares the word with ἀχ-λύ-s. This example may serve to show how little there is which is impossible in such a case.—It very often happens that the science of language can at least interpose a decided veto. This is the
 120 case, for instance, with the comparison, formerly much in favour, of Ἥρα with the Lat. *ĕra* (*hĕra*), seeing that we now know that the oldest form of the Latin word was *esa* (Gust. Loewe 'Acta Soc.' Lips. ii. 472), for Lat. *s* never corresponds to a Greek *ρ*: and it is the same with the connexion of this name with ἔρα 'earth' (Welcker 'Götterl.' i. 363), because, to say nothing of the difference in quantity, the *spiritus asper* for the *lenis*, though not indeed unexampled, still hardly ever occurs without leaving traces of another initial sound in some dialect or other or in some related form. We must as decisively reject the frequently repeated derivation of the name Ἀητώ from λαθεῖν, so far at any rate as the name is maintained to be Greek. For it is wholly inconceivable that by the side of Ἀῆθος, Ἀῆθη, the *θ* should in this name change without any provocation into a *τ*. On the contrary it is one of the chief characteristics of the Greek language to hold firmly to the gradations of the mutes, and from this there are but few exceptions, and these of a definite kind and confined to narrow limits. I cannot agree with either Benfey (Höfer's 'Ztschr.' ii. 117) or with Welcker ('Götterl.' i. 300) that 'the etymological relations of sound are not to be pressed in all their rigour in the case of proper names.' On the contrary without such rigour all attempts at etymology are impossible. For this very reason it is much to be desired that historians, topographers, mythologists and ethnologists should make themselves acquainted with the simple principles of comparative philology, in order to have the instruments it supplies always at their command, and to avoid coming into collision with it.

But mythological etymology has other dangers peculiar to itself, which it is the more necessary to mention, because comparative mythologists of later years in particular have not

always succeeded in avoiding them. In the attempt to connect Greek mythical names with the Indian, they have too often neglected to regard the Greek in connexion with the family of words to which they belong, and in the meaning which they have outside the pale of mythology. Thus Max Müller in his able essay on 'Comparative Mythology' (Oxford Essays, 1857, p. 81, now reprinted in his 'Chips,' vol. ii) compares the Greek *ἥρως* with the Skt. *árvan*, *árushī*, *arushá*, which forms, as he shows, starting from the original meaning 'runner, horse,' denote the Sun-god. We pass over the doubts which might perhaps arise against the supposition, which Müller brings out so poetically, that love is denoted as the rising sun. But how can we separate *ἥρως* from *ἥρως*, *ἥραμαι*, *ἥρῶ*, *ἥρατός*, *ἥρατεινός* and other words, which are all of old date, and in fact Homeric? They could not have arisen from the name *ἥρως*, and if we suppose their origin to be the same ¹²¹ root *ar*, to which we should be obliged to give the original meaning 'go, run, strive,' then *ἥρως* would mean something like 'striving, impulse,' and it would be hard to show that the cognate *ἥρως* had originated in the precise meaning 'horse, sun-horse,' assumed for the Sanskrit words quoted. I hold the same opinion of the explanation of the *Χάριτες* as the Skt. *haritas* (the name given in the Vedas to the horses of the sun), at first sight attractive, and approved also by Leo Meyer ('Bemerkungen,' p. 39), but rejected by Sonne in his exhaustive essay on *Charis* ('Ztschr.' x. 96 ff.) and by Pott ii². 897, W. ii. 1. 209. For what are we to do with the appellative *χάρις*, and with *χαρά*, *χαίρω*, *χαρίζομαι*, *χαρίεις*? Max Müller (ii^o. 418) now endeavours to derive both these words and the Sanskrit *har-ít* 'yellow, pale,' from the root *ghar*, to which he assigns the fundamental meaning of 'glittering brightness:' *χάρις* as a substantive would then originally mean 'brightness,' *harít* as an adjective 'bright ones.' But the assumption of an adjective is still very bold in the case of Greek, and the explanation that 'one of the derivatives of the root was carried off by the stream of mythology' would excuse this, only if a more decided parallel really existed in the Greek conception between the *Χάριτες* and the horses of the sun: and this Müller himself does not altogether assume. But further, we

cannot banish from Homer all personifications of abstract ideas: Δειμός, Φόβος, Ἔρις, Ἄτη, Ἥβη show this. I believe therefore that the mythical Χάρις was never distinct from the χάρις of real life. With respect to the physical basis of this conception, to which we shall recur in No. 185, Sonné's thorough discussion should be consulted. The attempts to refer a mythical name to a definite object, and the simple use of the appellative may not always agree well together; as e.g. Leo Meyer himself feels in his explanation of νύμφη and Νύμφαι ('Bemerk.' p. 66). But as certainly as class-names are older than proper names, so certainly must we regard as unsatisfactory any etymology of the latter which leaves unexplained a class-name evidently connected with it. As we must by no means exempt mythological etymology from the necessity of paying attention to phonetic laws, so we can as little excuse it from the duty of looking at every word in connexion with its family of related words. Purely linguistic etymology is in relation to mythology and other studies that need the explanation of words a kind of *topic* science. It teaches how to find in accordance with phonetic laws and the analogies of
 122 the change of meaning, the *place* where the etymon of a word may be sought, and how to avoid the errors in which etymological dilettantism with its dim glimmer of 'similarity in sound' and not less dull light of 'connexion of meaning' must always lose itself, and especially when despising linguistic studies, it seeks in names merely the confirmation of the views of things which it has already formed. Still the meanings of difficult words can frequently only be discovered by a lucky dive into the stores of a knowledge of the subject, and always resemble to a certain extent conjectures in the realm of text-criticism. Just as grammar or palaeography cannot be required to restore to perfect correctness the texts of authors, so etymology as a branch of study cannot be expected to solve all the riddles offered by words. But it furnishes by the evidence of phonetic laws, by an abundance of examples, and by placing together what is mutually connected, the indispensable tools for etymological divination: and this is the sense in which I give to this attempt the name of 'Principles of Greek Etymology.'

II.

SECOND BOOK

REGULAR REPRESENTATION OF SOUNDS

Ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι τοῖσι ἐμφανέσι τὰ μὴ γιγνωσκόμενα τεκμαιρόμενος.

Herod. ii. 33.

1

Transliteration of the Sanskrit Alphabet.

| Vowels. | Di-phthongs. | CONSONANTS. | | | | | |
|---------|--------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|
| | | Gutturals. | Palatals. | Linguals. | Dentals. | Labials. | Liquids. |
| अ a | ए ē | क k | ख ḳ | ट ṭ | त t | प p | र r |
| आ ā | ऐ āi | ख kh | ख̣ kḥ | ठ ṭh | थ th | फ ph | ल l |
| इ i | ओ ō | ग g | ग̣ ḡ | ड ḍ | द d | ब b | ळ ḷ |
| ई ī | औ āu | घ gh | घ̣ ḡh | ढ ḍh | ध dh | भ bh | Aspirate |
| उ u | | ङ ṅ | ङ̣ ṇ̇ | ण ṇ | न n | म m | |
| ऊ ū | | | य j | श sh | स s | व v | |
| ऋ ॠ | | | ऌ ॡ | | | | |
| ॡ ॢ | | | | | | | |

Anusvāra (a slight appended nasal) is represented by an inverted comma placed below the preceding vowel (ṇ).

[In the Skt. Alphabet ḷ = li, ṛ = rī, ॠ = rī, ṅ = ng in *king* ḳ = ch in *church*, ḡ = j in *judge* (so commonly pronounced : but cp. p. 27), ṇ̇ = gn in *Campagna*, j = y in *yes*, ḡ = ch in Germ. *Sichel* (see p. 32), ṭ, ḍ, ṇ are commonly pronounced as t, d, n but they were produced originally by the influence of a neighbouring r : the lower surface of the tongue should be brought against the palate in pronouncing them : v = probably the Eng. w. kh, th, ph are pronounced almost as in *inkhorn*, *pothouse*, *topheavy*, gh, dh, bh as in *loghouse*, *madhouse*, *Hobhouse*.]

In the transliteration of the **Zend Alphabet** I follow Justi, 'Handbuch der Zendsprache' (Leipzig, 1864). The most important points to be noticed are

j = Skt. ḡ [Eng. j], y = Skt. j [Eng. y], c = ḳ [Eng. ch].

For the sounds of the *Iranic languages* and of *Armenian*, cp. Hübschmann 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 1 ff. — gh, dh are in *Zend* spirants of a later origin.

Transliteration of the Cyrillic Alphabet.

(Cp. Schleicher 'Beitr.' i. p. 30 ff.)

| | | |
|----------------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| Ѧ a | М m | Ѣ ŭ (dull, light u) |
| Б b | Н n | Ѧ y |
| В v (German w) | О o | Ѣ ĭ (light i) |
| Г g | П p | Ѣ e (long e) |
| Д d | Р r* | Ю ju |
| Е e | С s | Ѧ ja |
| Ѧ ž (French j) | Т t | Ѣ je |
| З z (soft s) | У u | Ѣ ě (in in the French <i>fin</i>) |
| И i | Х ch (German ch) | Ѣ ję |
| Й j | Ц c (German z) | Ѣ ą (on in the French <i>on</i>) |
| К k | Ч c (tsch) | Ѣ ją |
| Л l | Ш s (sch) | |

* r in Bohemian words has the sound of r followed by a French j.

Lithuanian.

The nasalized vowels are denoted as in Slavonic by an inverted comma subscript (ą ę ĭ ų), which does not affect the pronunciation.

e denotes an open e (ä).

ė a closed long e appended to i, as in the Germ. See.

ė a diphthongal sound, lying intermediate between ea and ia, written by others ie and arising out of i.

ū is to be pronounced like o with a following a.

y is a long i.

z is a soft s as in Slavonic.

ž is a French j as in Slavonic.

sz = ChSl. š is the Germ. sch [Eng. sh].

The Grave accent denotes an accented short vowel (sèkti), the Acute an accented long vowel (žolė).

(Cp. Schleicher 'Lit. Gramm.' p. 7 ff.)

Irish.

The needful remarks with regard to the Irish consonants will be found at the head of the several sections. Cp. Stokes 'Ir. Gl.' p. 160. Here follow some remarks as to the phonetic laws of the vowels in Old Irish. Cp. Ebel 'Beiträge' i. 163, Windisch 'Beitr. z. Gesch. der deutschen Sprache' iv. 204.

The accent over the vowels only denotes their length.

In most words the earliest demonstrable form of the intensification of *i* and *u* is a long *é* and *ó*, for which, however, we find, even in the earliest authorities, the *ia* and *ua* which appear with constantly increasing frequency where a syllable with a broad vowel follows or followed. Rarer forms of the intensified *i* are *oi oe ai ae* (never alternating with *é*), in the place of which the modern language presents us throughout with *ao* (*aon unus*, in the place of the old *oin oen ain aen*). The appearance of *au* (alternating with *ó*) as an intensification of *u* is still rarer. An original *ava* or *va* seems as a rule to occur as a long *ú*. A long *í* can only be proved with certainty for the *I*-row in the few cases in which an *i* originally short has suffered compensatory lengthening: it has also occasionally arisen at the beginning of a word from an original *ja*. A long *é* is not always of diphthongal origin, but has often arisen by the compensatory lengthening of an *a*.

It is a well-known fact that we have in Irish (the later the authority the more this appears) the endeavour to assimilate the vowels of neighbouring syllables. In this respect the influence which *i* (and *e*) exert backwards is especially important. Either it assimilates to itself the vowel of the preceding syllable, and then an *a* becomes an *i* (*e*), or it forces its way bodily into the preceding syllable. Thus arises a series of secondary diphthongs and triphthongs:—

a becomes *ai ei (oi) ui*,

é becomes *eí* if of diphthongal origin, *éiui éui íui éoi* if it has originated from compensatory lengthening,

e o u á ó ú ia ua become respectively *ei oi ui aí ói úi iai uai*.

In the old language *u* has, though to a less extent, the same influence backwards. It assimilates *a* and the weakened forms of *a* to *u* (*o*) or it forces its way bodily into the preceding syllable. Usually *au eu* and *iú* have arisen in this way. A following *a* changes *i* and *u* in the preceding syllable into *e* and

K

130 A Greek κ has in etymology two different values. It corresponds:—

(1) To an Indo-Germanic *k*. In Sanskrit this is represented by *k*, *kh*, or *ḱ*, in Zend by *k*, *kh*, *c*, in Latin by *c* (*k*), *qu*, seldom by *g*, in Gothic by *h*, or *hv*, in the middle of words also by *g*, in Church-Slavonic by *k*, *ḱ*, *c*, in Lithuanian by *k*, in Old Irish by *c*, between vowels by *ch*, *g*, in the British languages either by the same sounds as in Irish, or by *p* (*b*).

(2) To an Indo-Germanic *k̑*. This is represented in Sanskrit and Zend by *ç*, in Church-Slavonic by *s*, in Lithuanian by *sz*, but in Latin by *c* (*k*), seldom by *g*, in Gothic by *h*, in the middle of words also by *g*, in Old Irish and the British languages by *c* (*ch*, *g*).

$\sigma\kappa$ corresponds to an Indo-Germanic *sk*, Skt. *ḱh*, Lat. *sc*.

-
1. Root $\alpha\gamma\kappa$ *ἀγκ-ών* bend, *ἀγκ-ύλο-ς* crooked, *ἀγκ-ύλη* noose, *ὄγκ-ο-ς* bend, hook, circumference, *ὄγκινο-ς* hook.

Skt. rt. *ak̑* *āṅk-ā-mi* I bend, *ank-ā-s* lap, hook. —
Zd. *aka* (M.) a rivet.

Lat. *anc-u-s* (qui aduncum brachium habet *Paul* p. 19, 15), *unc-u-s* ad-*unc-us*, *unc-īnu-s*, *ung-ulu-s*.

Goth. *agga* (*hals-agga* nape of the neck), OHG. *angul* hook.

Lith. *anka* the noose which holds the sail-yard (Nesselm.).

Ir. *écath*, *écad* hamus.

Benf. ii. 22, P. W. under *ankas* and *ak̑*. Pott W. iii. 119, Fick i². 6, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 309. — The rest of the related words in Greek readily occur. *ἀγκάς*, *ἀγκάλη*, *ἀγκοίνη* correspond remarkably closely to the meaning of 'arm' which is established for *anká-s*. For the meaning of *ὄγκο-ς* the fem. *ὄγκη γωνία*, *μέγεθος* (Hesych.) must be noticed.

— The neuter *ank-as* 'bending,' agrees perfectly in sound with *ἄγκ-ος* 131 'ravine,' while *ankuṣā-s* 'hook' agrees in meaning with *uncu-s*, as with the OHG. *angul*. It is probable that *angulu-s* has the same relation to *ancu-s*, as *ungulu-s* (*anulus*), that was held to be an Oscan word (Mommsen 'U. D.' 306), and was an Old-Latin one (Fest. 375), had to *uncu-s*.

2. Root *ἄκ* *ἄκ-αχ-μένο-s* pointed, *ἄκ-ωκ-ή* point, *ἄκ-όνη* whetstone, *ἄκ-ων* (st. *ἄκοντ*) javelin, *ἄκ-αυο-s*, *ἄκ-αυα* thorn, *ἄκ-ρο-s* pointed, *ἄκρῖ-s*, *ὄκρῖ-s* mountain peak, *ὠκ-ύ-s* swift.

Skt. *āc-an* sling-stone, stone, *açāni-s* missile, *āçú-s* swift, *-açra-s* (in compounds) -cornered, *āçri-s* corner.

Lat. *ac-u-s*, *acu-o*, *ācer*, *acu-ped-iu-s*. — *ōc-ior*, *ōc-iter*. ONorse *egg-ja* sharpen, excite. [Eng. *egg on*.]

Lith. *asz-t-rū-s*, ChSl. *os-t-rŭ* sharp.

OCymr. *ocet* raster, *auc* (= *ὠκ-*) in *di-auc* segnem, Corn. *di-oc* piger (Z². 149, 894).

Pott W. i. 491, Benf. i. 155 ff., Roth 'Ztschr.' ii. 46, 'P. W.' i. 510, Joh. Schmidt 'Die Wurzel *ak*,' Weimar, 1865, Stokes 'Beitr.' iv. 414. — *acupedi-us* (Paul. 'Ep.' p. 9) 'dicebatur cui praecipuum erat in currendo acumen pedum.' Cp. Plac. gl. *acu pedum* velocitate pedum. For *acer* (st. *acri*), Old-Lat. *acru-s*, Charis. i. p. 117 K. On the Umbrian stem *okri*, which corresponds to the Latin *ocri* (nom. *ocri-s*, mons confragosus), and the diminutive *Ocriculu-m*, see A. und K. 'Umbr. Sprachdenkm.' ii. 64. — *Oci-or* can hardly be a borrowed word, but has the same change of vowel that the Gk. word has. — *ἄκ-μή* identical in meaning with *ac-ie-s*, approaches most closely to the Lith. *asz-mŭ* (st. *asz-men*) 'sharpness.' — The meanings *sharp*, *pointed*, *swift*, with the common idea of penetrating (Doederl. 'Gl.' 180), are united in this root (cp. *ὠκίδες ἐνώρια* Hes.). From the amplified root *aks* (cp. Skt. *aksh* 'reach,' 'hit') is derived *ὠξύ-s* 'swift,' perhaps also *as-tū*, *astū-tu-s* with *s* for *x*, as in *Ses-tius*, *tes-ta*, *tes-tu* (No. 235); further Cymr. *awch* 'edge,' acc. to Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 309, also *ochyr*, *ochr* 'margo' (Z². 827)? The Ir. *aichr*, Cymr. *egr* 'acer,' must be borrowed.

3. *ἄκ-μων* (st. *ἄκμων*) anvil, thunderbolt.

Skt. *āc-mā* (st. *açman*) stone, thunderbolt, *aç-ma-rá-s* made of stone.

ONorse *hamar-r* (saxum, malleus), OHG. *hamar* (malleus).

Lith. *ak-mŭ* (st. *ak-men*), ChSl. *ka-menŭ* stone.

Bopp 'Gl.', Grimm 'Gesch.' 400, Pott W. i. 502. — In German as in Slavonic metathesis has taken place. — Roth 'Ztschr.' ii. 42 shows, starting from the meaning *stone*, how first that of 'sling-stone, thunder-bolt' was derived from it (Hes. 'Theog.' 722 *χάλκεος ἄκμων οὐρανόθεν κατιών*); secondly, that of 'anvil' and 'hammer'; thirdly, that of the 'vault of heaven,' thought of as stone. Hence Zend *açman* 'stone' and 'heaven,' and likewise Hesych. *Ἄκμων Οὐρανός, ἀκμονίδαι οἱ οὐρανίδαι: Ἄκμονος ὁ Οὐρανός Ἄλκμῶν* ap. Eustath. p. 1154, 25. — The meaning 'stone' is evident in *ἄκμονα ἀλετριβανον* (pestle) *Κύπριοι* (Hesych.). The root seems to be No. 2. — Cp. Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' v. 135 f.

- 132 4. *ἀκχό-s* (*ᾠμος* Hesych.) shoulder. — Lat. *ā-la* (for *ax-la*), *axilla*. — OHG. *ahsala*, *uohsa* shoulder.

Otherwise Benf. i. 352, who connects also Hesychius's gloss *ἀκαλιβᾶρ κράββατος* with *ἀκχός*; this Lacomian word cannot, however, be separated from *ἀλιβᾶρ νεκρός*, and seems to mean 'a bier,' — *ἀκχός* itself indeed is not firmly established, for in the manuscript *ᾠμός*, not *ᾠμος*, occurs (Mor. Schmidt 'Hesych.' s. v.). J. Grimm Dict. s. v. *Achse* conjectures relationship with *ἄξων* (No. 582), and origin in the Root *ἀγ* (No. 117), in the sense of turning round, cp. Pott W. iii. 376. — Corssen 'Ausspr.' i². 641, Goetze 'Studien' ii. 170; Osthoff 'Forschungen' i. 193; Fick i³. 478. — It is better not to connect the Ir. *asil*, Corn. *esel* membrum (Cymr. *aylant* membrum, Z². 842 ?), as the Brit. *s* does not usually correspond to a Lat. *x*.

5. *ἄλκη* elk. — Skt. *ῥῥᾱ-s*, *ῥῥῖᾱ-s* the buck of a kind of antelope. — Lat. *alce-s*. — OHG. *elaho*. Norse *elg-r*. — ChSl. *losʹ* elk.

Pott W. ii. 2, 456. — A. Weber 'Ztschr.' vi. 320, where, however, the Latin *hircu-s* is wrongly compared with it, for the *h* in it is shown by the Sabine *fircu-s* (Varro L. L. v. 97) to belong to the stem. — On the mistake in connecting it with *ἄρκτος* and the relationship to *ἐλαφος* cp. *ἄρκτος* No. 8. — On the *a* that has been introduced in OHG. v. Kirchhoff 'Ztschr.' i. 39. — Dietrich 'Jahn's Jahrb.' 81, 38, considers the Latin and Gk. word to be borrowed from the German. — Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 146.

6. *ἀλκυών* (st. *ἀλκυον*) sea-kingfisher. — Lat. *alcēdo*. — OHG. *alacra*.

Förstemann 'Ztschr.' iii. 48. The *spir. lenis* is established by I 563, and authenticated by other passages too; the *spir. asp.* is only Attic, and is rightly explained by Förstemann as the result of the similarity of the sound with that of *ἄλς*, whence the etymology *παρὰ τὸ ἐν ἄλὶ κυεῖν* (E. M.). — The genuine Latin *alcedo* (Varro L. L. vii.

§ 88 'haec avis nunc graece dicitur ἀλκῶν'), and the OHG. form prove that the word began with a vowel. — Hence Benfey's explanation ii. 165 is a wrong one. — Here we have words with the same stem and the same meaning, and with different suffixes.

7. Root ἀλκ, ἀρκ ἀλ-αλκ-εῖν to keep off, ἀλκ-ή defence, strength, ἀρκ-έ-ω I keep off, suffice, ἀρκ-ιο-s sufficient, safe, ἀρκ-os protection.

Lat. rt. *arc arc-e-o*, *arx*, *arc-a* chest, *arc-era* covered waggon.

OIr. rt. *arc du-imm-aircthe* artabatur, *itimm-aircnib* in carceribus, *du-m-es-urc-sa* defendo me (Z². 881-884).

Pott W. ii. 1, 100; 2, 455. — An amplification of ἀλκ by means of a vowel is ἀλέξω, which corresponds to the Skt. *raksh* (for *rak-s*, *ark-s*) *rākshāmi* 'defend,' 'protect;' cp. p. 64, Nos. 24 and 581. — In the root ἀρκ the positive meaning, 'suffice,' 'hold good,' is prominent, in ἀλκ the negative one, 'to keep off.' But Simonides Ceus fr. 102 B ἤρκεσαν = *arcuerunt*. Lat. *arc-s* 'defence,' Mommsen 'Rom. H.' (i. 39). — Perhaps the Goth. *alh-s* *vaðs*, *teþón*, AS. *ealh-stede* 'palatium' belongs here, as being a protected place (Delbrück 'Ztschr. f. deutsche Philo- 133 logie' i. 133), as also the AS. *ealgian* 'shelter,' 'protect,' and the Lith. *rakinti* 'shut,' according to Fick i³. 22. — The Ir. *orcaid* 'occidit,' and probably *frith-orcun* 'offensa,' *na frid-oirced* 'ne offendat,' belong to a rt. *org* (Z². 61); cp. Skt. *raksh* 'protect,' and *raksh* 'injure.'

8. ἀρκτο-s bear, also ἀρκο-s, ἀρκ-ιλο-s young bear. — Skt. *rksha-s* bear (from *arksa-s*). — Lat. *ursu-s* (from *urcsu-s*).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott i¹. 85. — On ἀρκος and ἀρκιλος cp. A. Nauck 'Aristophanis Byzantii fragm.' p. 111, 115. — Kuhn 'Hoefers Ztschr.' i. 155, regards the root *ark* 'shine' (No. 24) as the root (cp. M. Müller ii. 361), more correctly, however, the PW. the root *arç* (*riç*) 'hurt' = ἀλεε cp. p. 61). Likewise Pictet i. 427. — Kirchhoff's and Förstemann's connexion of the word with OHG. *elaho* (No. 5), 'Ztschr.' i. 39, 493, cannot be allowed on account of the difference between the animals.

9. Root δακ δάκ-ν-ω I bite, δάκ-os a biting beast, δῆγ-μα bite.

Skt. rt. *daç* *dac-ā-mi* I bite, *dac-a-s* *dac-man* bite.

Goth. *tah-ja* lacero, OHG. *zdh-i* tough (Germ. *zähe*).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 506. — Lat. *lac-er-o* belongs to No. 86. Miklosich 'Lex.,' Fick i³. 611 connect the ChSl. *desna* 'gums.'

10. δάκρυ, δάκρυ-ο-ν tear, δακρύ-ω I weep. — Lat. *lacruma*. — Goth. *tagr* tear, *tagr-ja* I weep; OHG. *zahar*, NHG. *Zähre*. — OCymr. *dacr* lacrima (Z². 827); OIr. *dér*.

Grimm 'Gesch.' 300 refers it to Skt. *daç*, *δακ* a tear 'bites.' — Pott W. ii. 2, 509. — There is a trace of an Old-Latin initial *d* for *l* in Paul. 'Ep.' p. 68 'dacrinas pro lacrimas Livius saepe posuit,' and Bergk is undoubtedly right in reading in Ennius's epitaph 'nemo me dacrumis decoret' [Cic. 'de Sen.' 73] ('Philol.' xiv. 187). — The connexion with the Skt. *açrà* and Lith. *aszarà*, is, in spite of the similarity of meaning, doubtful on account of the initial letter, especially as both words may have been formed from the root *aḱ* 'be sharp,' in a similar way to that in which the words here brought together were formed from the root *daḱ*. Cp. Aufrecht 'On the Uggvaladatta' p. 277 n.

11. δάκτυ-λο-ς finger. — Lat. *digitu-s*. — AS. *tā*, OHG. *zēhā* toe.

Grimm 'Gesch.' 403. — δάκτυλο-ς is a secondary form, the prototype of which must be sought in *dig-itu-s*. The latter word has *g* for *c*, like *viginti* (No. 16), and comes from an older *deceto-s*. A shorter form occurs as the base of the Teutonic words. The root I hold to be *δεκ* (*δεχ*) in *δέκ-ο-μαι*, and its meaning has the same relation to the root as that of Germ. *Finger* 'finger,' to *fangen* 'catch' (p. 113). A more physical meaning of the root *δεκ* is to be seen in the Homeric *ὁ δ' ἐδέξατο χεῖρί*, and in *δεξιός* (No. 266), *δοκός* 'beam,' *δοκάνη* 'fork,' *δοχή*, *δοχός*, *δοχείον* 'vessel,' *δεξαμενὴ* 'cistern' (that which has caught), 'reservoir,' and *δοχμή* 'span,' on which cp. Lobeck 'Paralipp.' 395. By this the doubts expressed by Corssen ('Beitr.' 47, cp. ii². 208), are removed; he takes *digitu-s* to be the 'pointer,' but leaves the Gk. and Teutonic words unexplained. *δέκα* too (No. 12), the sum of the fingers, is related to this root. — Otherwise Pott ii¹. 220, Fick i³. 611.

- 134 12. δέκα ten. — Skt. Zd. *dāçan*. — Lat. *decem*, Umbr. *deçendu-f* duodecim. — Goth. *taihun*, OHG. *zēhan*. — ChSl. *desętŭ*, Lith. *dėszimtis*. — OIr. *deich(n)*, OCymr. *dec*.

Bopp 'Gl.' &c. On the formation of the Slavo-Lithuanian form see Schleicher 'Kirchensl.' 98. OIr. *deich(n)* points to a prehistoric form *dec-in*, the final nasal is kept e.g. in *deich m-bai* 'decem vaccae.' The simple form *dec deac* (Z². 304) has not yet been explained. — Cp. No. 11.

13. Root *δεκ* *δέκ-ο-μαι* I see, *δέργ-μα* look, *δράκ-ων* (st. *δρακ-οντ*) dragon, *δορκ-άς* (st. *δορκ-αδ*) gazelle.

Skt. rt. *darç* (from *dark*) see, perf. *da-dārç-a*, *darç* eye.

OS. *torh-t* splendens, OHG. *zoraht* bright, clear.

OIr. rt. *dere con-derear* conspicitur, *ad-con-dare* conspexi (= δέδορκα, Z². 448), *dere* eye, *air-dirce*, *ir-dirce* conspicuus.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 531 Grimm 'Gesch.' 402, Sonne 'Ztschr.' xii. 351. — δράκων παρὰ τὸ δέκω, τὸ βλέπω ὁξυτερκὲς γὰρ τὸ ζῶον E. M., so also *δφω* from root *dek*, *δπ* (No. 629). — Cp. above, p. 101. — Perhaps Pott is right in supposing for *ὑπόδρα* (ii². 938, W. i. 137) a shorter root *dar*, *dra*, which may be compared with the Skt. *dar* (*ā-dar* 'to take care'), and the Lith. *dýr-o-ti* 'to gape.' Perhaps the Lat. *rec-ens* (for *drec-ens*, as *dr* is avoided at the beginning of a word) belongs here, with the meaning of the OSax. *torht* 'bright.' — Fick i². 106 also connects ASax. *gi-trah-t-ian*, OHG. *trahlon*. In formation this would correspond to *δροκτάζεις* περιβλέπεις Hesych.

14. Root *dik* (δεικ) *δείκ-νυ-μι* I show, *δείξι-ς* a pointing out, *δείγ-μα* something pointed out, *δίκ-η* justice.

Skt. rt. *diç*, (*diç-ā-mi*) show, exhibit, point out, *diç*, *diçā* judgement (of men and gods).

Lat. rt. *dic*, *dic-o*, *causi-dic-us*, *in-dic-o*, *jūdex*, *dic-is causa*.

Goth. *teih-a* nuntio, OHG. *zihu* accuse (Germ. *zeihen*), *zeigōm* show (Germ. *zeigen*).

OIr. *do-decha* = *dicat* (?) (cf. Windisch Kurzgef. Ir. Gr. p. 114), (Hy. 5, 81).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 511 Grimm 'Gesch.' 403. — *δίκη* has kept, both in the tragic acc. *δίκην* 'after the fashion,' and in the Homeric *αὐτῇ τοι δίκη ἐστὶ θεῶν* (τ 43, cp. ω 255), the old meaning of 'way.' As to the later use cp. *ju-dex* (= *jus-dex*) and the German *Recht weisen* 'to put into the right way.' *dic-io* is also related; it calls to mind the Skt. *diç* 'regio;' the verb *diç* has in Skt. also the meaning 'command' which appears in *dictator* (cp. Περ-δίκκα-ς), *dishā-m* is *fatum*. Further *con-dic-io* (Corssen i². 52), properly an agreement. Sonne 'Ztschr.' xv. 52 gives some interesting groupings of words related to this root, among which, however, I cannot allow *δικεῖν* 'to cast,' to have a place. — With the isolated Ir. *do-decha*, Stokes 'Beitr.' vii. 47, and viii. 310, connects the isolated futures *in-dia* and *a[d]-dēos*.

15. Root *dek* *δοκ-έ-ω* I am valued at, am of opinion, *δόξα* value, opinion. — Skt. *dāç-as-* fame, grace (by the side of *jāças*). — Lat. *dec-et*, *dec-us*, *dig-nu-s*.

Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 265, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 310. — *daças* occurs only in the derivative *daças-jámi* 'to be gracious.' Grassmann assumes a primary form *djaças*. Cf. below, p. 611. — OIr. *doich* 'verisimilis' ('Beitr.' viii. 310, 'Stud.' vii. 377) has the by-form *toich* (Z². 234), which proves it to be a separate word. Cp. Zimmer 'Ztschr.' xxiv.

15 b. Root *δύκ* *δα-δύσσε-σθαι* *ἐλκεσθαι*, *σπαράττεσθαι*, *δαι-δύσσε-σθαι* *ἐλκεσθαι* (Hesych). — Lat. rt. *duc*, *dux* (*dŭc-is*), *dūco* (OLat. *ab-douci-t*). — Goth. *tiuha*, OHG. *ziohu* I draw (Germ. *ziehe*).

Roscher 'Stud.' iv. 199. — The Greek words which are also brought forward in the E. M. to furnish *δοῖ-δύξ* 'pestle,' with a derivation which is a very doubtful one, have indeed an abnormal reduplication; but the meaning *ἐλκεω* comes so near to that of the Latin and Teutonic words, that I bring them forward here as long missed representatives of the latter in Greek. Roscher holds *ὀδυσαίης* as well to belong to the same root.

16. *εἰκοσι(ν)*, Boeot. *ῥίκατι*, Lacon. *βείκατι* twenty. — Skt. *vīṣati*, Zd. *vīṣaiti*. — Lat. *vīgintī*. — OIr. *fiche*, gen. *fichet* (for a pre-hist. *vicent-as*); OCymr. *uceint*.

Bopp. 'Comp. Gr.' ii. 87, &c. Ahrens 'D. Aeol.' 170, 'Dor.' 45: on *εἰκοσι* and the traces of the *f*, Knös 'De digammo' p. 62. *ἔικανω* *εἰκοσιν* Hes. remarkable on account of the preservation of the nasal in the middle of the word. The diphthong in the first syllable seems to be a mistake (Ahrens 'Philol.' xxiii. 202). — The primitive *c* occurs in *vicesimus*, *vicies*. — Cp. No. 277. — Benfey 'Zahlwort zwei' 34 f.

17. Root *ῥικ* (*ικ*) *εἰκω* yield, *ἔχ-ρος* trace(?). — Skt. rt. *vik* (*vi-ná-k-mi*) to separate, winnow(?). Lat. *vī-to* for *vic-(i)-to* avoid.

Bopp 'Gl.' [But cp. Corssen 'Ital. Sprachk.' p. 32.] — The connexion of *vī-ta-re* with this root, which is upheld 'Ztschr.' ii. 153, I hold to be correct, notwithstanding Corssen's objections and attempts at a different derivation ('Beitr.' 18, 'Nachtr.' 55). *Vitoria* = *Victoria* is a certain example of a *c* driven out before a *t*. — From the Teutonic languages, ON. *vik* 'move,' 'turn,' OHG. *wīchu* 'give way' (Germ. *weiche*), and, as Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' vii. 127, and Schleicher xi. 52 hold (cp. Pott ii². 339), OHG. *wēh-sal* exchange (Germ. *Wechsel*, cp. Lat. *vi-ces*, *vic-issim*), *wēhha* 'week,' seem to belong to this root. The *f* is proved by clear traces especially in *ἀπόεικε*, *ὑποείκω*, &c. (Knös p. 122) in Homer, by *εἰξε* in Alkman (fr. 31 B.³), and by *γίξαι χωρήσαι* Ahr. 'D. Aeol.' p. 171. Cp. Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' vii. 129. On the

χ of ἔχρος cp. p. 502. Zimmer ('Suff. a') supposes a by-form *vinke* to account for the absence of the regular shifting in the Teutonic words. — Stokes 'Beitr.' iii. 161 connects with Lat. *vices* the OIr. *fecht*, *fect* 'time(s),' in *fect so* 'nunc,' *oin-echt* 'semel,' *fechtn-ben* 'once,' Cymr. *gweith*, *unweith* 'semel' (Z². 68; 321).

18. ἐκατόν hundred, διακόσιοι, Dor. διακατίοι. — Skt. *catá-m*. — Zd. *gate-m*. — Lat. *centu-m*, *du-centi*. — Goth. *hund*. — Lith. *szimta-s*, ChSl. *sŭto*. — OCymr. *cant*, OIr. *cét*.

Bopp 'Gl.' &c. On διακατίοι Ahr. 'Dor.' 281. — The prefixed ε must be the numeral *én*.

19. Root *φεκ* (έκ) ἐκ-ών (st. ἐκ-οντ) willing, ἐκ-η-τι for 136 the sake of, ἐκ-η-λο-s willing, calm.

Skt. rt. *vaç* (*vác-mi*) to will, to desire, *vác-a-s* will, wish, *a-vaç-á-s* invitus, *uç-ant* willing. — Zd. *an-uç-añt* unwilling.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 574, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 132. The *f* betrays itself not only in ἀ-έκων, ἀ-έκτητι but also in (Hesych.) γέγκαλον ἥσυχον, γεκαθδ ἔκουσα (Ahr. 'Dor.' 53), also in the Homeric εὔκηλος (Buttm. 'Lexil.' i. 146), perhaps for ἐφέκηλος, ἔφηκηλος (p. 582). ἐκών in ἐ. οὐκ ἂν τις ἔλοιτο (Γ 66, cp. Η 198), to which Aristarchus's διπλῇ must have referred, is a genuine participle 'even if he wished.' — ἀ-έκ-η-τι: ἐκ=ἀμαχ-η-τί: μαχ. — Ascoli 'Ztschr.' xiii. 157 has shown the probability that *uxor* belongs here (Skt. *vaçā* 'wife'). H. A. Koch (Fleckeisen's 'Jahrb.' 101, 285) finds traces of the fuller form *voxor* in Plautus. [Cp. Ritschl 'Praef. Plaut. Trin.' p. lviii.]

20. ἐκυρός father-in-law, ἐκυρά mother-in-law.

Skt. *çvácçura-s* socer, *çvaçrŭ-s* socrus. — Zd. *qaçura* (*q=sv*) socer.

Lat. *socer* (st. *socero*), *socru-s*.

Goth. *svaíhra* (st. *svaíh-ran*) socer, *svaíhró* socrus.

ChSl. *svekrŭ* socer, *svekrŭvŭ* or *svekry* socrus, Lith. *szészura-s* socer.

Corn. *hweger* mother-in-law, *hwigeren* father-in-law (Z². 124, 1068).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. iii. 85, &c. — Skt. initial ç stands here as often for s (cp. Grassmann 'Ztschr.' ix. 2) so that the primitive form is *sva-kura-s*, the connexion of which with the stem *sva* 'one's own' is very probable. Cp. Pictet ii. 370. Perhaps we may with him and others refer -κυρο-s to No. 82 and translate the word ἴδιος κύριος. P. gives analogous instances for this polite designation of the *beau-père*. — Lat.

so=sva- as in *somnu-s*=Skt. *svápna-s* (No. 391); the Gk. *spir. asp.* is here, as in the pronoun-stem *é=sva* (No. 601), the representative of *σφ*.

21. *ἐλίκη* (Arcad.) willow. — Lat. *salix* (st. *salic*). — OHG. *salaha*. — Ir. *sail*, Corn. *heligen* (Z². 1077).

Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 129, Pictet i. 194, Fick i². 796, 'Corm. Gl. Transl.' p. 154. — The relationship with *ἐλιξ*, *διίσσω*, which viewed only with reference to Greek seems probable, cannot be maintained in the face of the kindred words above quoted, since the rt. of *ἐλιξ* is *fel* (No. 527). — Ir. *sail* may, according to Irish phonetic laws, be= Lat. *salix*.

22. Root *felak* *ἐλακω* I draw, *ὀλή*, *ὀλό-s* a drawing, a line, *ἐλακ-η-θ-μό-s* a dragging.

ChSl. *vlék-a*, Lith. *velk-ù* I draw, *válk-s-mas* fishing-line.

Schleicher 'Kirchensl.' 135, Pott. W. iii. 281. — To this root belong also the Homeric *ὠλξ* (st. *ὠλε*) 'furrow,' by the side of *αῖλαξ*, Dor. *ὠλαξ*, Att. *ἄλοξ*, of which *αῖλακ* arose from *ἀφλακ* by vocalization, *ἄλοκ* 137 from *ἀφλοκ* by expulsion of the *f*, both being provided with a prothetic *â*. Cp. p. 579. The form *favλαξ* given by Legerlotz 'Ztschr.' x. 371 has no authority. No sufficient explanation has been given of the relation of *ὀλό-s* to the Lat. *sulcus* and AS. *sulh* of like meaning, on which Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 135 may be referred to. — The augment of *ἐλκων* (for *ἐ-felk-on*) establishes the *f*, other traces of which (*κατὰ ὠλεα* N 707) are discussed by Knös p. 183. — Corssen 'Beitr.' 46 with Leo Meyer compares Lat. *lac-io*, *laqu-eu-s*, the stem of which he supposes to have arisen from *vlak* with the loss of the *v*. Whether the German *locken*, however, has anything to do with this root is still doubtful. Cp. note to No. 89.

23. *ἐλκος* ulcer. — Lat. *ulcus*.

G. J. Voss 'Etymologicum linguae latinae' p. 564, Pott W. iii. 285. — The Latin word is too frequently used, has developed its meaning in too special a line, branching as it does into *ulcerare*, *ulcerosus*, &c., for it to be suspected of being borrowed from the Greek. — Connexion with No. 22 is doubtful. — Other conjectures in Benf. i. 51.

24. *ἡλέκ-τωρ* sun, beaming, *ἡλεκ-τρο-ν* shining metal and amber, *Ἠλέκτρα*, *Ἠλεκτρών*.

Skt. rt. *ark* to beam, *ark-â-s* beam, sun, *arkîs* glitter.

P. W. i. p. 419. — The connexion here stated (cp. Fick i². 22) rests chiefly on the similarity of meaning between the Skt. *ark-â-s*

'sun,' also 'sun-god,' and the Homeric ἡλέκ-τωρ, which stands sometimes by itself and sometimes as an epithet of Hyperion. As root I take ἄλκ=Skt. *ark*, the *ε* was developed later, as in ἀλέξω from root ἄλκ (No. 7), the *a* lengthened into *η*, as in τηλε-θά-ω i.e. τάλ-θά-ω (root θαλ). Walter 'Ztschr.' xi. 431. — Pott (cp. W. iii. 590) 'Ztschr.' vi. 357, Benf. i. 105, compare Skt. *rāj* 'to shine' (No. 121).

24 *b*. Root *ικ* *ικ-μά(δ)-s* moisture, *ικμα-λέο-s* moist, *ικμαίν-ω* I wet, *ικμα-ῖο-s* the wetting (god). — *ἰχῶρ* blood of the gods.

Skt. *siḥ* *siṅk-ā-mi* pour, wet, *sék-a-s*, *sék-ana-m* wetting, sprinkling, *sék-tar* adspersgens, maritus. — Zd. *hic* (*hiñcaiti*) to wet.

OHG. *sīh-u* colo, MHG. *sīh-e* sieve, colum, *sīh-te* low [Germ. *seicht*.]

Lith. *sunk-iù* I filter (?), *séki-s* low ground, *sèk-ti* to get low (of water), to fall (?), ChSl. *šc-a-ti* mingere.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott. i. 234, 'Ztschr.' vii. 85, where the names ἱμάλιο-s (Cretan month) and ἱξίων are referred to this root. — Benfey's objections (i. 439, ii. 354), founded on a supposed *f* in *ικμάs*, which rely only on P 392, are of no weight, because an isolated hiatus of that kind occurs in Homer even before a number of words which certainly begin with a vowel. — The original sibilant has left behind it here, as elsewhere, only a spir. len. Cp. Nos. 208, 518. — On the aspirate of *ἰχῶρ*, which Clemm 'Stud.' ii. 45 ff. connects with this rt., cp. p. 685.

24 *c*. Root *fik* *ἴκ-ω*, Dor. *εἴκω*, *ικ-νέ-ο-μαι*, *ικ-ά-νω* come, reach, *ικ-έ-τη-s*, *ικ-τήρ*, *ικετή-σιο-s* coming for protection, *ικ-ανό-s* coming far enough, sufficient, *ἴκ-μενο-s* coming towards, favourable.

Skt. *viç* (*viç-ā-mi*), enter, come, *upaviç* to approach 138 reverently. — Zd. *vīç* come, Mid. to do homage.

Bopp. 'Gl.,' Benf. i. 350, Gust. Lange 'Quaestionum hom. specimen' (Berl. 1863). — The only traces of the *f* are found in *ἀ-ικ-το-s* 'not to be approached' (H. in Merc. 346) and in Sappho fr. 109 B³, if we there with Schneidewin, and in spite of Ahrens 'Aeol.' 27, read οὐκέτι φίξω πρὸς σέ, οὐκέτι φίξω instead of the more ordinary ἤξω, and thus remove the awkward hiatus. — Perhaps *προ-ἴκ-τη-s* 'beggar' (p 352) belongs here too, (*ὁ προῖκνούμενος*) (Phot. Lex.), also *προῖσσομαι* 'I entreat' (Archil. fr. 130 B³). — Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' xxii. 49 refuses to accept this connexion, mainly because, though Homer often uses the

verb he gives us no trace of a *f*. But this is not the only Homeric word which has lost its digamma. To Leo Meyer's and Fick's (i³. 4) view, that *ικ-νέ-ο-μαι* corresponds to the Skt. *aç* (*aç-nō-mi*) 'reach,' 'obtain' (cp. No. 424) there are two objections: firstly, the invariable *i* in the face of the Skt. *a*, to which I know of no parallel in a verb of many forms where the vowel is not followed by a double consonant, and secondly, the meaning. *ικέτης, προύκτης, ἱκτωρ* have none of them anything to do with 'obtaining,' while the Skt. *viç* has certain uses that suit these Gk. words. Otherwise, Brugman 'Stud.' vii. 212. On *εἴκω, ἦκω* cf. 'The Greek Verb' pp. 154 and 394.

25. Root *καδ* *κε-καδ-μένο-s* (Pind. 'Ol.' 4. 27), *ἐ-κέ-κασ-το, κε-κασ-μένο-s* (Hom.), pres. *καίνυσθαι* distinguish oneself, shine, *κόσ-μο-s* ornament, arrangement.

Skt. *çad* shine, distinguish oneself (*çā-çad-mahē = κεκάσμεθα*).

OCymr. *cadr* decorus, Arem. *kaer* formosus, pulcher (Z². 102).

P. W. — Fick i³. 545. Cp. *κάδμος* *δόρυ, λόφος, ἀσπίς* Κρήτες Hesych. It is hard to account for the diphthong in the present. Cp. *φαίνω* rt. *φάδ*. — Perhaps *Κόδ-ρο-s* belongs here.

26. *καθ-αρό-s* pure, *καθαίρ-ω* I purify, *κάθαρ-σι-s* purification, expiation, *Κασταλία*.

Skt. *çudh*, *çúndhāmi* purify, *çúdh-jā-mi* become pure, *çuddhā-s* pure.

Lat. *cas-tu-s* for *cad-tu-s*.

ChSl. *čis-tŭ* pure.

Grimm 'Gesch.' 401, Pott i¹. 252. Benf. ii. 169 conjectures that Skt. *çudh* comes from a form *kvadh*. — *Cand-idu-s*, *candor* seem to be related to *castus*, but they must be separated from it because of *candere, candela*; for these cp. 'Ztschr.' i. 32.

27. *καί*, Cypr. *κάs*. — Skt. *ka*. — Lat. *que* and.

Pott W. iii. 64. The form seems to be the locative of the pronoun-stem *κα, κο*, which has here kept its demonstrative force (Leskien compares the ChSl. *ce kaj taŭta*). — From the same stem comes *τε* with *τ* for *κ*, on which see below p. 487. — On *κάs* cf. 'Stud.' vii. 336, x. 221.

27 b. Root *κακ* *κακ-ό-s* bad, *κακό-ω, κακ-ύν-ω* harm, spoil, *κάκ-η* badness, *στομα-κάκη* pain in the mouth, *κηκ-ά-s* (late) mischievous, abusive. — Lat. *Cacu-s* (?). — Lith. *kank-ŭn-ti* to torment, *kenk-ti* to injure.

Fick i³. 516. The Skt. *kankara-s* compared by Gust. Meyer ('nasale Praesensst.' 63) is of no authority, and there are difficulties about *kak̐kara-s* 'dirty,' 'bad.' Cp. also Brugman 'Stud.' vii. 204.

28. *κάκκη* dung, *κακκά-ω*. — Lat. *cac-o*. — Lith. *szikù*. — OIr. *cacc* dung, *cac gabhar* goats' dung (Ir. Gl. 1075).

Benf. ii. 159, Pott W. iii. 140. — The number of its derivatives in Latin proves that the word was not borrowed. — Fick i³. 55 adds the Skt. *cák-an*, *śák-ṛt* 'dung.'

29. *κάλαμο-s* reed, *καλάμη* stalk, *καλαμεύ-s* reaper, fisherman, *Κάλαμοι* (the name of a place), *Κάλαμυς*.

Lat. *calamu-s* stalk, reed, *culmu-s* stalk.

OHG. *halam*, *halm* stalk.

ChSl. *slama* *καλάμη*.

Cymr. *kalaf* (sing. collect.) calami, stipulae, Arem. *coluenn* stramen (Z². 821).

Grimm 'Gesch.' 399, Miklosich 'Lex.' 856, Pott W. ii. 1, 180. — Lat. *cal-a-mu-s*: *cul-mu-s*=OHG. *hal-a-m*: *hal-m*. But perhaps the former is borrowed (Dietrich 'Jahn's Jahrb.' 83, 38, Corssen 'Nachtr.' 275). It is possible that this root may exist in the Lat. *cel* (*cel-su-s*, *ex-cello*), Lith. *kėl-ti* 'lift up' (No. 68). — Since the Slavonic *s* points to *k*, it is hard to connect the Skt. *kalāma-s* 'a kind of rod,' 'writing reed.' Fröhde in Bezzenberger's 'Beitr.' i. 329 thinks, with Fick, that it was borrowed from the Greek (?), and connects with the parent root the Skt. *śarā-s* 'reed.' We must not, however, leave Skt. *śalā-s* 'staff,' *śalāka-s* 'rush,' out of consideration. — There is no proof that the Celtic words were borrowed from Latin.

29 b. *καλέ-ω* call (*κέ-κλη-κα*, *κλη-τό-s*), *κλη-τήρ*, *κλή-τωρ* one who calls or summons, *κλή-σι-s* call, summons, *κλη-τεύ-ω* I summon.

Lat. *calendae*, *cal-ā-re*, *inter-calā-ris*, *con-cil-iu-m*, *nomenclā-tor*.

OHG. *hal-ôn* to call, NHG. *holen*.

OIr. *cailech* gallus.

Grimm 'Gesch.' 401, Schweizer 'Ztschr.' i. 559, Corssen 'De Volsco-rum ling.' p. 24, Pott W. ii. 1, 187. — On *calendae* from an obsolete *calere*, Varro L. L. vi. 27 'primi dies mensium nominati ab eo quod his diebus calantur eius mensis Nonae, quintanae an septimanae sint futurae.' The Romans themselves (Quintilian vi. 1, 33) connected *classis* with this same *calare*, which, however, as Pott has seen (i¹. 214,

ii². 376) by its *ss* proves that it could not possibly have come directly from the root *cal*, *cla* by addition of the Suffix *ti*. The word is either (cp. *bassis*) borrowed from what we may suppose to have been the Doric form of the Gk. κλησις, i. e. κλάσις (Mommsen 'Röm. Gesch.' i². 81: but he now derives it from *calare* 'R. G.' i⁶. 90) or, as Corssen i². 496 supposes, arose from an intermediate verbal stem *cla-t*, like *fassio* from *fa-t*. In any case, *classis* means 'a mustering,' 'a summons,' (Dion. Halic. 'Antiq.' iv. 18). The etymon may still be discerned in *classicum* (Quint. i. 6, 33). — κελ-ο-μαι, κελ-εύ-ω with the prominent
 140 meaning 'urge on' (cp. No. 48) I put aside, and still more decidedly *calu-mn-ia*, which cannot be separated from *calv-or*. — It is certain though that *clā-mor* and *clā-māre* are formations from the same root (Corssen 'Beitr.' 241). — Ir. *cailech* for a pre-historic *calicos*, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 310.

30. καλῖδ hut, store-room, bird-cage, καλῖό-s, καλῖά-s
 (st. καλιαδ) cottage, dim. καλίδιο-ν.

Lat. *cella*.

Kuhn in Weber's 'Ind. Studien' i. 360. — 'Ind. lect. Kiliens. aest. a. 1856' p. iv, where the form and meaning of the words are discussed. The long *i* needs further investigation (first short in Theocr. 29. 12 καλῖαν). — In opposition to my view that Lat. *cella* is a diminutive form for *cel-ula*, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' v. 454 holds that *cella* stands for *celia*. — He also connects the Low Germ. *hille*, in Holstein *hilgen* 'place over the cow-stalls, where hay and the like are stored,' for which there is also a form *hilde*. — The rt. is καλ, Lat. *oc-cul-e-re*, *cēlare* (cp. *domi-cil-iu-m*), OHG. *hēl-an*, OIr. *celim* 'celo,' the same rt. from which comes also the Goth. *halja*, OHG. *hella* 'hell.' — Cp. Döderlein 'Gloss.' 2109, Pott. W. ii. 1. 196. — Since the *k* of this rt. *kal* appears as *qu* in the OLat. *oc-quoitod*, the Skt. *qālā* 'house,' 'stable,' cannot belong here, and we cannot be sure about the Skt. *khala-s* 'threshing-floor.' The ChSl. *kilē-iti* δῶμα, ταμείον agrees better with κλι-σία. The Skt. *kulāja-m* 'basket-work,' 'nest,' which Fick i². 527 connects here, shows a different meaning.

31. κάλο-s beautiful, comp. καλλ-ίων, κάλλος, καλλονή
 beauty, καλλύν-ω I adorn, clean.

Skt. *kal-ja-s* healthy, pleasant, *kaljāṇa-s* beautiful,
 striking.

Goth. *hail-s* sound, healthy.

ChSl. *cělŭ* totus, sanus.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Schleicher 'Ksl.' 101. — Assimilation of *lj* to *ll* occurs in the comp. and superl. and also in κάλλος, and in compounds with καλλι-, also in the Dorian καλλά=καλώς Apoll. 'De adv.' 565, 14 (cp.

Ahrens 'Dor.' 102, Lobeck 'Path. El.' i. 468). The length of the *a* in the earlier language is also a remnant of the double consonant. — Benfey's connexion of the word with Skt. *kāru-s* 'pleasant,' 'charming' ('Ztschr.' vii. 115), which is approved of by Pott ii². 723, 828, is less consistent with *καλλύνειν, κάλλυντρο-ν* 'broom,' where the idea of *cleaning* is apparent (*κάλλιστον ὕδωρ* Φ 158, *Καλλιπρόη*). This idea is closely connected with Germ. *heil*. — Goth. *hail-s* arose from *hal-ja-s* as *χείρων* did from *χερ-ων* (Scherer 472). Cp. No. 74. — Bréal 'Mém.' ii. 381 finds an Italian representative of the same root in the Lat. *cali-du-s, λευκομέτωπος* ('Gloss. Philox.' cp. Isidor. 'Orig.' xii. 1, 52). In that case the primary meaning would have been 'clear.' He also compares the Umbr. *buf caleduf*, which he interprets to be *boves albos*.

31 a. *καμάρα* vault, covered waggon.—Skt. rt. *kmar* to be crooked, Zd. *kamara* vault, girdle.—Lat. *camuru-s* bent inwards.

Benf. ii. 283, Pictet ii. 247, Pott W. i. 503. — Here belongs *μελαεθρο-ν* (cp. *θύρ-ε-τρο-ν*), which Pamphilos according to Herodian ('Et. M.' 521, 29) marked as a gloss with the explanation *σημαίνει τὰς δοκοὺς* 'timber-work' (cp. M. Schmidt ad Hes. ii. 496). The Homeric *μελαεθρο-ν* has often been compared with it. Fick i³. 519 compares Zd. *kameredha* 'head,' 'skull,' where the connexion would lie in the meaning 'vault.' He assumes a rt. *kam* 'arch oneself,' from which he derives *κάμ-ῖνο-s* and the Goth. *him-in-a-s*, OSax. *him-il*. — Lat. *camera* (also *camara*) must, in spite of *camurus*, have been borrowed from the Greek.

31 b. *κάμπ-η* caterpillar. Skt. *kap-andā* worm, caterpillar.

P.W. — The root is doubtful, for while we are tempted to compare it with Gk. *κάμπ-τ-ω*, we cannot thus arrive at an explanation of the Skt. word, since Skt. *kamp* 'to tremble' can hardly be compared with the Gk. word. Cp. however Fick i³. 519.

32. Root *καν κανάξω* I sound, *καναχή* noise, *καναχής* sounding, *κόναβο-s* noise.

Skt. *kan-kan-ī* an ornament with a little bell on it, *kin-kinī* a little bell, *kan, kvan* to ring, sound.

Lat. *can-o, can-tu-s, can-oru-s*.

OIr. *canaid* canit, *for-chun for-chanim* doceo, prae-cipio, *tair-chechuin* praedixit, *for-cital* doctrina.

Corn. *cheniat* cantor.

Benf. ii. 63, Bopp 'Gl.,' Grassmann 'Ztschr.' ix. 13. — *κόνα-βο-s* with

suffix *βο* = Skt. *va* (Pictet 'Ztschr.' v. 323). — That *κύ-κν-ο-ς* as well — reduplicated like *κύ-κλ-ο-ς* — comes from this root and gets its name from the sound it makes, like the OHG. *svan* (Skt. *svan* 'sonare'), and consequently corresponds, as far as its root goes, to the Goth. *hana*, OHG. *huon* (Grimm 'Gr.' ii. 989), seems to me probable in spite of the different views of Förstemann 'Ztschr.' iii. 52 (*κύ-κν-ο-ς* = *ci-con-ia*) and Pictet i. 391 (= Skt. *kóka-s* 'cuckoo,' 'goose,' Pers. *cūcah* 'swan.' — The authorities for the Keltic words may be found in Z². 428, 448, 800, 839.

33. *κάνναβι-ς* hemp. — Skt. *ῥαῖά-s* cannabis. — ONorse *hanp-r*, OHG. *hanf*. — ChSl. *konoplja*.

Grimm. 'Gesch.' 407, Bopp 'Gl.' Pictet i. 316, who holds the Skt. *kanapa-s* 'a kind of lance' to be also related, as being manufactured from the hemp-stalk. — Kuhn 'Beitr.' ii. 382. Both consider the Greek word borrowed from the East, and the Teutonic one from the Lat. *cannabi-s*, which certainly made its way from thence. The Slavonic word must have come from the Teutonic. — Hehn 'Kulturpflanzen und Haustihere' 168 shows it to be probable that both plant and name came from the East (cf. Hdt. iv. 74).

34. Root *καπ κόπ-η* handle. — Lat. *cap cap-ulu-m*, *cap-i-o*, *cap-ax*. — Goth. *haf-ja* (Germ. *hebe*) I lift, OS. *haft* captus, MHG. *haft* vinculum, *hefte* handle, haft. — OIr. *cacht* servus.

Benf. ii. 158, Grimm 'Gesch.' 400. — In the three words *κόπη*, *capulum*, *Heft* (cp. *λαβή*) the relationship is evident; the further development of the meaning in *cap-io* and *haf-ja* has taken a separate course of its own. Lat. *capi-s* (st. *capid*) 'bowl with a handle' = Umbr. *kapiŕ* (Aufr. and Kirchh. ii. 409) is compared with the Greek *καπίθη*, but this word appears from Xen. 'Anab.' i. 5, 6, to be Persian. Froedhe 'Ztschr.' xiii. 452 connects the former with No. 109. — *κάπτειν* 'eat,' *κάπη* 'crib,' ought perhaps, as Van. thinks, to be connected with this root. — On the Ir. *cacht* cf. Windisch 'Beitr.' viii. 16.

142 35. *κάπ-ηλο-ς* peddler, fem. *καπηλί-ς*, *καπηλεύω* hawk wares, *καπηλεία* retail trade, peddling.

Lat. *caup-o* peddler, innkeeper, *cōp-a* bar-maid, *caup-ōna* inn, *caupōnari*.

ChSl. *kupiti* buy, *купѣцѣ* merchant.

Benf. ii. 158, Schleicher 'ChSl.' 96. — Goth. *kaupōn*, OHG. *koufan*, *koufōn* must be held to be borrowed, on account of the irregularity of letter change. Corssen i². 352 takes No. 34 as the root, and

refers to the fundamental meaning of *em-ere*. — On the relation of Lat. *au* to Gk. *ā* cp. also Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 397.

36. Root *καπ* *καπ-ύ-ω* breathe forth, *κε-καφ-η-ώς* gasping, panting, *ἐγ-κάπ-τ-ει* Hesych. *ἐκπνέϊ*, *καπ-νό-ς* smoke, *κόπ-ρο-ς* dung.

Skt. *kap-ís*, *kapi-lá-s* incense (?).

Lat. *vap-or* (for *evap-or*) vapour, fragrance, *vapor-are* to exhale vapour, *vap-idu-s* evaporated, flat, *vappa* flat wine.

Goth. *hvap-ja* I choke (?).

Lith. *kváp-a-s* breath, fragrance, evaporation, *kvep-iù* breathe, smell, *kvėpalai* perfume, *kvėpoju* pant. — Bohem. *kopet* smoke, soot, ChSl. *kop-rě* anethum.

The root is *kvap*, the form in which it occurs in Lith. (cp. p. 114), the fundamental meaning 'breathe forth' (cp. Hes. *κέκηφε τέθυκε*), whence the meanings 'breathe' (Hes. *κάπος ψυχῇ πνεῦμα*), 'evaporate,' 'smoke,' 'smell,' are developed. Precisely similar changes are to be found in the case of the rt. *θν* = *dhū* (No. 320). Pott ii. 205. — The query is put to the Ind. words on account of the variety of their other meanings, to the Goth. because of the final letter of the stem. — Here would belong *καπανεύς* either as the 'snorter' (*βακχεύων ἐπέπνει* Soph. 'Antig.' 136), cp. Passow 'Philol.' xx. 606, or as 'the man of smoke and fire.' Pott 'Ztschr.' vii. 324 explains the word by *καπάνη* 'chariot.'

37. *κάπ-ρο-ς* boar, also *κάπριο-ς*, *καπράω*, *καπρίζω* am rank, lustful, *καπρία* the ovary of the sow.

Lat. Umbr. *caper* (st. *capro*) he-goat, *capra* she-goat.

ONorse *hafr*, AS. *hāfar* buck.

ChSl. *veprě* boar.

Grimm. 'Gesch.' 35, 36, Pott i¹. 256, who gives No. 36 as the root, — 'the snorter,' 'the stinker,' Pictet (i. 348) who with less probability takes as base the root found in the Skt. *kap-alá-s* active. Otherwise Fick i³. 519. — Cp. also Hesych. *κάπρα αἶξ* *Τυρρηνοί*. — Lat. *aper* = AS. *eapor*, OHG. *ebur* belongs elsewhere (Corssen 'Nachtr.' 32, cp. 'Studien' i. 260).

38. *κάρα* (st. *κρα-ατ*, *καρη-ατ*), *κάρ*, *κάρη-νο-ν* head, *κόρση* head, temples.

Skt. *çira-s* (for *çaras*), *çirsh-á-m*, Zd. *çara*, *çárañh* head.

Lat. *cere-bru-m*, *cer-n-uu-s*.

- 143 Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. i. 141. Fick i³. 547. — The rare word *κάρανος* 'head,' 'ruler,' (Xen. 'Hellen.' i. 4, 3) and Aeschylus's *καρᾶνώω* 'I complete' (cp. *κορυφώω*), and also *κορυφή* 'summit,' *Κόρινθο-s* (= *Ἐφύρα* 'watch-tower') belong here, perhaps *κρή-νη* (Aeol. *κράννα*) the 'caput fontis,' whence *Κραννών*. E. Curtius 'Gr. Quellen-Inschriften' p. 2 compares mod.Gk. *κεφαλάριον*, Förstemann after Schweizer 'Ztschr.' xiii. 229 OHG. *houbit*. — *Cere-bru-m* is, according to Fick and Brugman, 'Stud.' ix. 393, for *ceres-ru-m*. *κόρσ-η* formed, except as to gender, like the Skt. *çirsh-á-m* is also a derivative from *çaras*. On this word and on *κόρρη* see 'Stud.' i. 248, on *cernuu-s* Bugge 'Stud.' iv. 342. — The Goth. *hwair-n-ei* *kravíon*, OHG. *hirni* the *hv* (= *k*) shows not to be related. They belong to *κράνος* 'helmet,' properly, 'hollowing,' and *κρανίον* 'skull' (cp. *κέρνος* 'dish,' Fick i³. 523).

39. Stem *καρδ*, *κῆρ*, *κέαρ*, *καρδ-ία*, *κραδ-ίη* heart.

Skt. *hṛd* (for *hard*), *hṛd-aja-m* heart. Zd. *zared-haya* heart (?).

Lat. *cor* (st. *cord*) dim. *cor-culu-m*, *cord-atus*, *vē-cors*.

Goth. *hairt-ô* (st. *hairtan*), OHG. *hërzâ*.

Lith. *szird-î-s*, ChSl. *srŭd-ŭ-ce* heart.

OIr. *críde cor* (Z². 230).

Bopp 'Gl.,' 'Accentuationssystem' 232, Schleicher 'Kirchensl.' 98. — The fundamental form is *kard*, which I refer to the rt. *κραδ* 'swing,' 'start' (No. 71); the initial letter in Skt. may perhaps be explained by an intermediate form *khard*. — The Epic *κῆρ* (cp. Skt. *hṛdi* by-form of *hṛd* Grassmann, 661) we must not with Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' v. 369 derive from the later *κέαρ*: *η* is only a lengthening of the *a* after the loss of the *δ*. The tragic and lyric form *κέαρ* for *καρδ* seems to have arisen by a peculiar modification from *καρδ*: 'Ztschr.' vi. 82. Teutonic *h*, Lith. *sz*, Slav. *s*, consistently point to an original initial *k*. — Lat. *Card-ea*, *Carn-a* dea viscerum Preller 'Röm. Myth.' 604.

40. *καρκ-ίνο-s* crab, *καρκινά-s* a sort of crab.

Skt. *kark-á-s*, *kark-î-s*, *kark-aṭa-s*, *kark-aṭa-ka-s* crab.

Lat. *canc-er* (st. *cancro*).

Bohem. *rak* crab.

Pott W. ii. 1, 155, Bopp 'Gl.,' Förstemann 'Ztschr.' iii. 52, Fick i³. 46. — *καρί-s* too (st. *καρίδ*) 'sea-crab' seems related and only to lack the second *κ*. The relation of the st. *cancro* to the assumed form

καρκο (cp. *κάρχαι*· *καρκίνοι* *Σικελοί* Hesych.), from which again *καρκ-ίνο-s* is formed by a suffix often occurring (cp. No. 171) in the case of names of animals, has been variously explained. — Düntzer 'Ztschr.' xiii. 9, Benfey 'Or. u. Occ.' ii. 384, are perhaps right in supposing reduplication to have happened; the former, who gives the st. *kar* as the base, adduces *δέν-δρε-ον* (No. 275). Cp. Brugman 'Stud.' viii. 283. Havet 'Mem.' iii. 196 assumes that *cancro* came by metathesis from *karkno*. Pictet i. 517 is no doubt right in supposing connexion with the Skt. *kar-kar-a-s* 'hard' (No. 42 b).

41. The connexion which I formerly maintained of the rt. *καρπ*, *κραπ*, *καρπ-άλιμο-s*, *κραιπνός* 'swift,' with Teutonic or Slavonic words is untenable, for the Goth. *hlaup-an* shows a divergence in both its vowel and its final consonant, the ChSl. *krěp-ŭ*, according to Joh. Schmidt 144 'Vocal.' ii. 492, differs in meaning, if we may judge from that which the word has in most of the Slavonic languages.

42. *καρπός*-s fruit, *κάρπ-ιμο-s* fruitful, *καρπός-ω* bear fruit, *κρώπ-ιο-ν* sickle.

Lat. rt. *carp*, *carp-o*, *carp-ti-m*, *carp-tor*.

AS. *hearf-est* autumn, harvest, OHG. *herb-ist* autumn (Germ. *Herbst*).

Lith. *kerp-ù* I cut, shear, *át-karp-ai* chip.

Grimm. 'Gesch.' 400. — Since *l* so often takes the place of *r*, perhaps Skt. *kalp-aka-s* 'barber,' *kalp-ana-m* 'cutting' (cp. Skt. *kṛp-āna-s* 'sword'), may be compared here. Cp. No. 332. — Pollux x. 128 mentions *κρόπιον* as an old synonym for *δρέπανον* in Pherekydes, whence no doubt the Att. deme *Κρωπία* *Κρωπίδαι*. As regards the sound *κέ-κροψ* may belong here (cp. *κέ-κραξ*), and for the son of *Ἐριχθόνιος* ('Good-land') 'Much-crop' (Vielschnitt) would not be an unsuitable name. — *ω* as in *κώπη* rt. *καπ* (No. 34). — Fick ii³. 55 gives a somewhat different account of the word.

42 a. *κάρτ-αλο-s* basket, *κροτ-ώνη* excrescence on trees, *κλώθ-ω* spin, *Κλωθ-ες*, *Κλωθ-ά*.

Skt. rt. *krat* (*kṛ-ná-t-mi*) twist the thread, spin.

Lat. *crāt-e-s* (st. *crāti*) wicker-work, *cartilago*, gristle, *crassu-s*.

Goth. *haurd-s* door, OHG. *hurt* wicker-work, hurdle.

ChSl. *krat-ŭ* tortus.

Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' i. 122, Fick i³. 525, Van. 147. On *κάρταλλον*, a by-form of *κάρταλος*, Hesych. says *τὸ πλεκτὸν ἀγγεῖον ἐν τοῖς ὀψαρτυτικοῖς*. The rest of the Gk. forms may be explained through metathesis, dulling of the vowels, and aspiration (cp. p. 498).

- 42 b. *κάρ-vo-v* nut, kernel, *καρύα* nut-tree. — Skt. *kār-aka-s* cocoa-nut, *kar-añka-s* cocoa-nut shell, skull.
— Lat. *carīna* nut-shell, shell, keel [cp. Eng. *hull*.]
— Corn. *crogen concha*, skull (Z². 1074).

Benf. ii. 154, Pictét i. 131, Schweizer 'Ztschr.' xv. 314, Hehn³, p. 192. — With the latter I regard *kar* as the root, which underlies many words with the common notion of hardness. These words we must now divide into two groups, those with *k* (*kh*) and those with *ḳ* (*ç*). To the first group belongs *κάρ-καρ-οι* (Hes.) = Skt. *kar-kar-a-s* (cp. *κάρ-χαρο-s*) 'hard,' as a subst. 'bone,' 'hammer,' 'pea-stone,' clearly related in the last-mentioned use to *εἰ-cer κριὸ-s ὀροβιαῖος*, 'chick-pea,' and *κέγ-χρο-s*; further the Skt. *khara-s* 'hard,' 'rough,' 'sharp,' Skt. *kāraka-s*, in the sense of *hail*, cp. Engl. *hailstone*. On the other hand *karañka-s*, used for 'skull' reminds us of *κράνιον* (No. 38). *κρά-vo-s* 'helmet' too, and *κραν-αό-s* 'rocky,' 'rugged,' 'steep,' *κραταί-λεω-s* 'with hard stones,' *κραταί-πεδον οὐδας* ψ 46 and Goth. *hardu-s*, OHG. *harti* are perhaps to be regarded as derived from the same root. We made the same conjecture for *καρ-κ-ίνο-s* No. 40. To the second group belong Skt. *çarka-rā* 'flint,' 'potsherd,' *κρόκη*, *κροκάλη* 'flint,' along with the Lat. *calx*, *calculu-s*, and the Goth. *hallus πέτρα*. *k* and *ḳ* are here
145 very closely connected. — Otherwise Corssen i². 516. — From Celtic we get also the related words Cymr. *carrec* 'lapis,' 'rupes,' Ir. *carrië*; Cymr. *calet* 'durus,' Ir. *calad*; Ir. *cloch* 'stone.'

43. *κάσι-s* brother. — AS. *hise* man (?).

Grimm 'Gesch.' 401. In Eurip. also *ἡ κάσις* 'sister' occurs. That *κασίγνητος* like *ἀδελφός* denoted only a brother born of the same mother is proved by *κασίγνητον καὶ ὄπατρον* in Δ 257.

44. Root *καυ*, *καF* *κα-ί-ω*, *κά-ω* burn, *καῦ-μα* heat, *καυ-σ-τηρό-s* burning, *κη-ώδη-s* fragrant.
Skt. *çõṇa-s* (for *ḥau-na-s*) flame-coloured.

The earlier explanations of *καί-ω* Pott i¹. 272 (otherwise ii². 343), Benfey i. 33, from Skt. *çush* 'to dry,' are mistaken. Rather *çu-sh*, *çu-bh*, *çu-ḳ* 'shine,' Zd. *çuc* 'burn,' 'kindle,' seem to be expansions of a rt. *ḥu*, 'burn,' 'shine,' from which, too, comes *çõ-ṇa-s*. All comparisons of words from other languages are open to doubt. Cp. Fick i². 61.

45. Stem *κει* *κεῖ-μαι* lie, *κοί-τη* bed, *κοι-μά-ω* put to bed, put to sleep, *κῶ-as* fleece (?).

Skt. *çī* lie, *çē-tē*, Zd. *ça-étē* = *κεῖ-ται*, *çaj-ana-m* bed.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. i. 542, Grimm 'Gesch.' 401, Fick i². 550. — All

the other words which I formerly compared are doubtful. Since *k*, *ç* never produces a subsequent *v*, the Lat. *qui-ē-s* is out of the question. The *k* in the ChSl. *po-kaj* 'rest' also makes it doubtful, and for the same reason we must omit the Lith. *kéma-s* 'courtyard,' 'village,' *kaim-ýna-s* 'neighbour,' which cannot be separated from the Goth. *haim-s*, and the synonymous *κώμη* (for **κῶμη*, as the Aeol. *Κύμη*, Cumae, shows). Finally, though the Lat. *cīvi-s* = Osc. *keu-s* comes in sound near to the Skt. *çéva-s* 'trusty,' Goth. *heiva-franja* 'lord of the house,' OHG. *hīwo* 'wife,' still the derivation from the rt. *çi* is not clear. The words for 'village,' 'settlement' are derived by Fick i³. 803 from a rt. *ski*, which is to be seen in *κτί-σι-s* and the Skt. *kshē-mas* 'inhabitable,' 'comfortable.'

- 45 b. *κεί-ω*, *κε-άζ-ω* split, *καί-ατα* clefts in the ground, *κέ-αρ-νο-ν* axe. — Skt. rt. *Khā* (*Khjá-mi*) cut off, cut up. — Lat. *de-sci-sc-o*, *sci-o*. — Ir. *scian* knife, Cymr. *ysgïen*.

The root has lost in Gk. and Skt. an initial *s* which the Lat. has kept. We may assume it to be *σκε*, *σκα*, so that Skt. *Kh-jāmi* has the same relation to *κε-ί-ω*, as *d-j-ā-mi* has to *δαί-ω*, 'I divide' (No. 256), and this root may be compared with *σκεδ*, *σκιδ* (No. 294). — *εὐ-κέατο-s* ε 60, Theokr. 25, 248, 'easily split,' has the same relation to *κεάζω* that *θανατά* *ἔργα* has to *θανμάζω*. — From the Laconian word *καίατα* Lacedaemon gets the epithet *καιεράεσσα* (δ 1), as Zenodotus read the line, according to Eustathius, *ῥωχμούς ἀπὸ σεισμῶν ἔχουσα* (E. Curtius 'Peloponnesos' ii. 308). Hence *καιάδ-α-s* = *βάραθρον*. Fick ii³. 265 makes it very probable that *κῆ-το-s* 'gulf' (cp. *μεγαλήτης*), 'sea monster,' also belongs to these words, by bringing forward the Lat. *squa-tu-s*, *squa-ti-na* 'shark.' — The meaning of *de-sci-sc-o* (properly 'I tear myself away') has the same relation to that of *κείω* that *σκιδ-να-μαι* has to *σχίζω*. On *scio* cp. above, p. 110. — *κέ-αρ-νο-ν* has a double suffix like *σκέπ-αρ-νο-ν*, Lat. *cav-er-na*. — Also *κε-σκι-ο-ν* 'tow' (what is 146 separated from flax), *κο-σκι-νο-ν* with an *i*-sound like *sci-o*, belong here. — Ascoli 'Ztschr.' xvi. 207 derives Lat. *sec-a-re*, OHG. *sah-s* 'knife,' and Lat. *saxu-m* from the rt. *ska*, which seems to occur in Zend as well (*vi-skā* 'decide' Justi), and certainly *sak* : *ska* = *man* : *mna* = *τεμ* : *τμη*. — The Skt. *kas* ('to split,' 'open,') is compared with *κείω* by Delbrück 'Ztschr.' xvii. 80. — Gust. Meyer 'Beiträge' i. 82 starts from a rt. *ski*. In that case, *κῆτος* and other words would have to be kept apart. — The Celtic words (Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 312) seem to contain the rt. *ski* (primary from **sci-anā*).

46. *κελ-αινό-s*, *κελαι-νεφής* black, *κηλί-s* stain.
Skt. *kal-anka-s* stain, *kāla-s* black, stain.

Lat. *squal-or*, *squal-idu-s*.

ChSl. *kal-ǎ lutum*.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 1, 195, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 14. — We may assume the root to be *skal*, from which perhaps also the Skt. *khaluḡ* 'darkness' comes, on which however see the P.W. In no case can this word be compared directly with *cālīgo*; *cālīgo* points rather to an adjective stem **cālo* (=Skt. st. *kāla*), to which it is related as *rubīgo* (for *rubrigo*) to *rubro* (*ruber*), cp. κηλ-ήνη μέλαινα Hes. — On κελαι-νεφής, i. e. κελαινο-νεφής, Döderlein 'Gloss.' 2156. — The meanings 'black' and 'stain' meet also in μέλας and its related words (No. 551). Phonetically the two words have nothing in common.

47. κέλ-ευ-θο-ς way, Hom. pl. κέλευθα, ἀ-κόλουθο-ς companion. — Lat. *calli-s* path. — Lith. *kélia-s* way, *keliájū* I travel.

Benf. ii. 319, whose conjecture as to the root I do not share. — Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *kar*. The Gk. form points to a derived form κελεύω, whose identity with κελεύω 'command' is not probable. ἵππο-κέλευθο-ς Π 126, an epithet of Patroklos, must come from a verb-stem κελευθ 'go' with affixed θ.

48. Root κελ κέλ-η-ς (st. κελητ) a racer, κελητίζω run a race, βου-κόλ-ο-ς cattle driver.

Skt. *kal* (*kalājāmi*) urge on.

Lat. *cel-er*, *Celeres*, *celeritā-s*, *cel-ox* yacht.

Pott W. ii. 1, 175, who supposes a different root; that here proposed is established by P. W. ii. p. 150, where *kalājāmi* is mentioned as especially used of horses ('at full speed'). I am not quite certain whether κλόνο-ς and *pro-cella* are to be brought under this head (Corssen ii². 158); *pro-cella* may perhaps be connected with the stem of *percellere*, perhaps with κέλλω, ἐκέλλω 'run ashore,' which on their side remind us of *kal* 3 in P. W. ii. 151. — Otherwise Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *kal*. — Several related Gk. words resemble the Skt. rt. *kar* 'go' in sound, especially κίγ-κλ-ο-ς 'a water-bird' with quickly moving tail (also κίγ-καλο-ς), and κιλλ-ουρο-ς 'wagtail' resemble the Skt. *karā-s* 'moveable' and (subst.) 'wagtail,' *mota-cilla*. It has also been attempted to connect *col-o* with these words. Cp. Benfey 'Ztschr.' viii. 92, Pictet ii. 12, Fick i³. 527 f.

49. κενέ-ς, κεινó-ς, κενό-ς empty, κενεών the flank.

Skt. *śūnjā-s* empty, desolate.

147 Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott ii¹. 53, Benf. ii. 165. Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' vi. 164. — The Greek forms, to which may be added a doubtful Aeol. κέννο-ς

(Ahr. 'Aeol.' 55), point to the st. *κεφειο*, Skt. *cūñjā-s* to the st. *kvanja*.

50. *κέρας* horn (st. *κερα-τ*), *κεραό-s* horned, *κριό-s* ram (?).

Lat. *cornu*, *cervu-s*.

Goth. *hauru* horn, OHG. *hrind* ox, *hiruz*, AS. *heorot* stag. [Germ. *Hirsch*, Eng. *hart*.]

Ir., Cymr. and Corn. *corn* horn; Ir. *cornaire* horn-blower; Corn. *cherniat* cornicen; Cymr. *karu* nom. pl. *keyru* cervi (Z². 282).

Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *gr̥iga*, Förstemann 'Ztschr.' i. 501, Grimm 'Gesch.' 400. — The stag then and the ox get their names from their horns. *κεραό-s*, r 24, epithet of the stag, must be for *κεραφό-s*, i.e. *κεραφο-s*, whence (Paul. 'Epit.' 54) *cervus*, which points to a shorter form than *cornu*, which form has survived in *κέρας*. Along with Lat. *cornu* go *κάρνος*, perhaps for *καρυφ-ο-s*, *βόσκημα πρόβατον* (Hesych.), and *κάρτην τὴν βοῦν Κρήτες*, perhaps, inasmuch as *κάρνος* probably only stood for the ram, 'horned beast,' perhaps too proper names like *Καρνάσιον*, 'Ἀλικαρνασσός' 'Little sea horn' (?). On 'Ἀπόλλων Καρνείος' cp. Preller ii². 198, Welcker 'Götterl.' i. 471, where other forms that belong to this stem are discussed. — If the Zd. *gr̥va* 'nail,' 'horn,' *gr̥va-ra* 'horned,' belong here, this will prevent us comparing the Lith. *karve* 'ox,' ChSl. *krava* 'cow' (Fick i². 547). — Ir. *corn*, etc. are proved to be genuine Celtic by the gloss. *κάρνον τὸν σάλπιγγα Γαλάται* (Hesych.).

51. *κέρ-ασο-s* cherry tree, *κρά-νο-s*, *κράνο-ν*, *κράν-εια* cornel-tree.

Lat. *cornu-s* cornel-tree, *cornu-m* cornel-berry.

ChSl. *črěšnja* cherry.

Benf. ii. 174. — Pott and Rödiger 'Kurdische Studien,' 'Ztschr. f. Kunde des Morgenl.' vii. 108, give connected words from other sources. Pictet i. 244. — According to Hehn², p. 351, the cherry-tree gets its name from the horny hardness of its wood, accordingly from *κέρας* (No. 50).

52. *Κερά-ων* Spartan hero of cooks. — Skt. rt. *gr̥ā*, *çir* cook, *çr̥i* mingle, mix, *ā-çir* milk mixed with Soma-juice.

Pott W. i. 13, Benf. ii. 167, P. W. under *çr̥i* 2. — It is probable that *κέραμο-s* terra *coctilis* is connected with this root. *κέρ-vos* 'dish' is compared by Fick i². 44 with *κρά-vos*, by Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 493, with the ON. *hverna* 'basin,' and other words. Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *gr̥ā*,

Pictet ii. 260, Sonne 'Ztschr.' xv. 372, compare other words: they are right in holding the rt. *κρα* (*κρα-τήρ*), *κεράν-νυμι* 'mix,' to be related. Corssen i². 443. — Perhaps this is the root of OIr. *cuirim*, gen. *corma*, Corn. *coruf*, Cymr. *cwrw*, OBrit. *κοῦρμι*, *κόρμα* 'beer' ('Auslautsges.' 227, 'Beitr.' viii. 437). To the ON. *hver-r* 'kettle' (cp. Ved. *karú* 'kettle,' 'pot'), belongs the Ir. *coire* 'kettle,' Cymr. *pair*, Corn. *per* 'lebes,' cp. 'Beitr.' viii. 44.

148 53. Root *κερ* *κείρω* consume, shear, *κορ-μός* log, *κέρ-μα* a small slice, small coin, *κουρά* shearing, *κουρεύ-ς* shearer, *κεραΐζω* demolish, *κηραίνω* damage, am in need, *κήρ* destruction.

Skt. *kr-ṇā-mi*, *kr-ṇō-mi* injure, kill, *kar-t* (*krnt-ā-mi*) cut, split, *kart-rī*, *kart-anī* shears. — Zd. *kar* cut, *kareta* knife.

Lat. *cur-tu-s*, Sabin. *curi-s* lance (?).

Goth. *hāt-r-u-s*, OS. *hēr-u*, ON. *hiör-r* *μάχαιρα*, *cardo*.

Pott W. ii. 1, 157, Corssen i². 350, Fick i³. 238. The OHG. *skir-u* 'shear,' OI. *coscarad* 'destruere,' *coscéra* 'destruet' (Z². 452) point to *skar* as the original form of the root. An expansion of *kar* gives the Skt. *kar-t* which resembles the Lith. *kertū* 'hew,' ChSl. *kratū-kū* 'short,' perhaps too in *cort-ex* (cp. Skt. *kṛt-ti-s* 'skin,' 'bark of a kind of birch,' Lith. *karná* 'bast'), and *κέρτ-ομο-ς* (Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' vi. 15). *ἀ-κερσε-κόμης* 'with unshorn hair,' formed like *περσέ-πολι-ς*, can have come just as well from *κερ* as from *κερτ*. The Skt. *grṇā-mi* 'break,' belongs to *κλάω* 'break.' — The metaphorical meaning 'harm,' 'hurt,' is remarkable, not only in the Skt. *kar* 'kill,' *kāra-s* 'death-blow,' but also in *κεραΐζω* (from *κεραφο* ?), *κηραίνω*, *Κήρ*, *ἀκήριος* 'unhurt,' *κάρ-νη* *ζημία*, *αὐτό-καρνο-ς* *αὐτοζήμιος* Hesych., and in the Lat. *car-ē-re*, 'Greek Verb' p. 497, perhaps too in *car-inā-re* 'abuse' (cp. Cymr. *keryd* 'reprehensio,' OIr. *cairigedar* 'reprehendit' Z². 82; 439). — I also tried to prove related to this root, and explicable by the custom of cutting the hair at the time of puberty and before marriage, 'Studien' i. 1, 250. But *κορφα* has since been discovered on an apparently Thessalian inscription, and this seems to be the primary form of *κούρη* (Fränkel 'Archaeol. Ztg.' 1876, 30 ff.).

54. *κεφαλή* head (*κέβλη*, *κεβάλη*), *Κέφαλο-ς*, *κεφαλαῖο-ς*. Skt. *kapāla-s*, *kapāla-m* shell, potsherd, skull.

Lat. *cap-ut*, *cap-it-āli-s*, *Cap-it-ōliu-m*.

Goth. *haub-ith* head (Germ. *Haupt*), AS. *heáfod*.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Grimm 'Gesch.' 400. Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 137 only allows

the relationship of *kapd̄las* and *caput*. But as there are undeniable cases of Gk. *tenues* being aspirated, *κεφαλή* cannot be separated from *caput*, to which it is related, as AS. *heafola*, *hafela* is to the synonymous *heáfod*. The Ir. *capat* is most probably borrowed from the Lat. *caput* (Pictet i. 307). Otherwise Grassmann 'Ztschr.' xii. 128, 133. *κέβλη* in Alexandrian poets, *κεβάλη* in Hesych., cp. *στρόβιλο-s* from the rt. *στρεφ*. — The meaning 'shell,' 'potsherd' is doubtless the primitive one and hence connexion with rt. *καπ* (No. 34) is probable. Cp. No. 38. Also the Skt. *kharp̄ara-s*, which Fick¹ 183 compared with *κάλπη*, *καλπίς* 'pitcher,' and the Lat. *calpar* 'cask,' means 'potsherd' and 'skull,' as does the vulgar-Lat. *testa*. [Cp. 'Owens College Essays' p. 314]. — Hehn³ p. 174 is doubtless right in placing here *κάπ-ια* *σκόροδα* *Κερυνῆται* (Hesych.) and Lat. *cepe* (caepa capitata—cp. Germ. *Korflauch* 'head-leek'), a remarkable testimony to the existence of a *π* in the Gk. word.

55. *κῆλο-ν* missile.—Skt. *çalja-m* arrow-head.

Benf. ii. 175, Pott W. ii. 1, 202. — *κῆλον*, with the meaning of 'missile' (the only one in Homer and Hesiod), is quite a distinct word from *κᾶλον* (*καμπύλα* *κᾶλα* Hes. 'Op.' 427). The missiles of 149 Apollo and Zeus can hardly be called 'timbers.' Pindar too ('Pyth.' i. 12) would not have called his songs *κῆλα δαιμόνων* if so vulgar a meaning had made itself felt in the word. After the fashion of the grammarians' petty explanations the lexicons persist in giving the meaning 'wooden shaft, hence arrow itself.' — The root is to be found perhaps in Lat. *cellere* 'strike,' 'hit,' Lith. *kāl-ti* 'to forge.' — Cp. No. 534.

56. *κῆπο-s* garden. — OHG. *hof*.

Grimm 'Gesch.' 401, Pott i¹. 141, ii². 280. According to him and Pictet ii. 266 *σκαπ* 'dig' is the root (No. 109), and so connexion with Lat. *camp-u-s* (*Campāni*) and Osc. *Kapua* (Capua) is probable. Otherwise Fick i³. 519.

56 b. *κηρό-s* wax, *κηρίο-ν* honey-comb. — Lat. *cēra*. — Lith. *kóri-s* honey-comb.

Pictet i. 409, Fick i³. 523. — The Ir. *céir* (Ir. Gloss. 225), Cymr. *kuyr*, Corn. *coir* 'cera' (Z². 97), are borrowed from the Latin.

57. Root *κι κί-ω* I go (*μετ-ε-κί-α-θ-ο-ν*), *κί-νν-μαι* move myself, hasten, *κί-νέ-ω* move, set going.

Skt. *çi*, by-form *çā* whet, sharpen.

Lat. *ci-o*, *ci-e-o* move, excite, *cī-tu-s* in motion, swift, *excito*, *incito*.

Bopp 'Gl.' under the unattested verbal-stem *kaj* (*kaj-ām-i* 'eo').

Grassmann 1389, Fick i³. 55, Vaniček 151. — In Homer only *ἐ-κι-ο-ν*, *κί-οι*, *κι-ών*, etc., which forms are related to *κί-νυ-μαι* as *ἀρ-έ-σθαι* to *ἄρ-νυ-μαι*: *κί-νυ-μαι*: *κί-νυ-μαι*: *κί-νυ-μαι* only Aesch. 'Choeph.' 666 Herm. *ἐκί-ατο* *ἐκινέ-ιτο* Hesych. *μετ-ε-κί-αθε*. — *κι-νέ-ω*: *κι=κῦ-νέ-ω*: *κν*; the present stem then became the verbal stem. An expansion of *κῖνυ* gives *κῖνύσσεσθαι* 'sway,' *κῖννυμα* (Aesch. 'P. V.' 157). It is probable that *ὄνο-κῖν-δ-ιο-ς* 'donkey-driver' (Pollux i. 185) also belongs here. A reduplicated form is perhaps to be found in the aor. *ἐκί-ξα* (Aristoph. 'Ach.' 869 *ἀπέκί-ξαν* 'depulerunt.' — According to Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 313 the Corn. imperat. *ke* 'go' (Z². 586) belongs here.

57 b. *κλάδος* twig. — AS. *holt*, OHG. *holz* wood, timber.

— OIr. *caill* silva, *ola-chaiill* olivetum (Z². 855).

Fick 'Ztschr.' xxi. 368. — Irish forms, like *isin chaiillid* (dat.) 'in the wood,' point to a stem *caldet*.

58. Root *κλεπ*, *κλέπ-τ-ω* steal, *κλώψ*, *κλοπ-εύ-ς*, *κλέπ-τῃ-ς* thief, *κλοπ-ή* theft. — Lat. *clep-o*. — Goth. *hlif-a* steal, *hlif-tu-s* thief. — Pruss. *au-klip-t-s* hidden.

Pott W. ii. 1, 197, Grimm 'Gesch.' 401. The Indo-Germanic root which we arrive at is *klap*. — Pictet ii. 441 gives other conjectures. — Fick³ 541 compares Skt. *kharp-ara-s*, which means, among other things, 'thief,' 'rogue.' But for this the root is European only. Several attempts have been made to connect *κρυβ*, *κ(α)λύπ-τω*.

59. *κλη-ῖ-ς*, *κλείς* key, *κληῖ-ω*, *κλεί-ω* shut, *κλοιό-ς* a dog-collar, *κλει-θρο-ν* bar. — Lat. *clāvi-s*, *clā-vu-s*, *clau-d-o*. — OHG. *sluiz-u* I shut. — ChSl. *klju-ě* uncus, *clavis*, *ključati se* convenire. — OIr. *clú* = Lat. *clavus*, Cymr. *cloeu* clavi (Z². 285).

Benf. ii. 289, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 14, Pott W. i. 684, Van. 1123. — We may give *sklu* as the root. The Lat. and Teutonic verb show us a *d* affixed, the Slavonic words a *k*, such as appears in the Dor. *κλάξ* (Ahr. 'Dor.' 140). This stem is confined to the European languages. I cannot see any force in Bréal's explanation ('Mém.' i. 406), according to which the *d* of *claudio* has nothing to do either with that of the Greek words, or with the *z* of the OHG., but comes from the rt. *vidh* (*di-vid-ere*), so that *clau-dere* is to be taken as **clavi-vid-ere* 'isoler par une fermeture.' The Teutonic words, he holds, were borrowed from *excludere*. — The OIr. *clú* may be deduced from the nom. pl. *clúi* 'nails,' acc. *na-clu* 'clavos' (Gild. 'Lor. Gl.' 153).

60. Root *κλι* *κλί-ν-ω* lean, bow down, *κλί-νη* bed, *κλί-μα* situation, climate, *κλί-μαξ* ladder, *κλι-σί-α* tent, *κλί-τύ-ς* slope of a hill.

Skt. *çri* (*crājā-mi*) lean, support, prop up, *çri-tā-s* situated, *nī-çrajanī* ladder.

Lat. *cli-vu-s* slope, *cli-tellae* saddle, *clinare*, *inclinare*, *declinare*.

OHG. *hlinē-m* lean, Goth. *hlain-s* hill, *hlaiv* (n.) tomb, cairn, *hli-ja*, *hlei-thra* (f.) tent, AS. *hlāder* ladder.

Lith. *szlē-jū* bend, lean, ChSl. *kloniti* incline.

OIr. *clóin*, *clóen* iniquus.

Pott W. i. 476, Grimm 'Gesch.' 401, Fick i³. 552, P. W., Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 251, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 313. — The rt. *κλι* appears most distinctly in the Homeric *κε-κλί-σται*; the Aeol. pres. is *κλίνω*, cp. 'Greek Verb' p. 172. — Corssen 'Beitr.' 371 explains *clitellae* and compares ('Ztschr.' iii. 261) the proper names *Cliternum*, *Clitumnus*. But his attempt (i². 463) to separate *κλισίη*, *κλίσιον* and even *ἐκέκλιτο* from this root and to refer them to a rt. *klī* 'cover,' is a complete failure. Passages like σ 213 *παρὰ λεχέεσσι κλιθῆναι*, K 472 *ἔντα κατὰ παρὰ αὐτοῖσι χθονὶ κέκλιτο*, the use of *κλίμα*, etc. prove that *κεκλίσθαι* never means anything but 'lie,' 'be in a certain condition,' and the P. W. gives striking parallels to this from the use of the Skt. *çri*. Bréal 'Mém.' iii. 248 connects *clēmens* (*clē-men-(t)-s*). — The Ir. *clóin* (Z². 31) has the same primary form as the Goth. *hlain-s*. Further the OIr. *clíath* 'crates,' OCymr. *cluit* = MedLat. *clēta* (Z². 18, 97); OIr. *clé* 'left,' Cymr. *cledd* with Goth. *hleiduma* 'left,' all belong here ('Beitr.' viii. 431).

61. *κλόνι-s* os sacrum, *κλόνιο-ν* hip, *κλονιστήρ* *παρὰ μῆριος μάχαιρα* (Hesych.). — Skt. *çrōṇi-s*, Zd. *çraoni* buttocks, hips. — Lat. *clūni-s* buttocks, *clunaculum* hip-knife. — ON. *hlaun* buttocks. — Lith. *szlauni-s* upper part of the leg, hip. — Cymr. *clun* hip, Corn. *pen-clun* buttocks (Z². 1067).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Benf. ii. 170, who also compares *γλου-τό-s* 'buttocks,' and Skt. *crōṇā-s* 'crooked,' Fick i³. 554. — *κλό-νι-s* for *κλοφ-νι-s*, base-form *klau-ni-s* (cp. No. 122). On account of the long *ū* and *clunaculum* = *κλονιστήρ* Paul. 'Epit.' 50 ('culter sanguinarius dictus vel quia clunes hostiarum dividit vel quia ad clunes dependet'). — Pott W. i. 554 holds the Lat. *crūs* to be related as well. — This is one of the few words which are common to all the main Indo-Germanic languages.

62. Root *κλυ* *κλύ-ω* hear, *κλυ-τό-s* renowned, *κλέ-ος* fame, *κλε-ί-ω* make famous, *κλέ-ο-μαι* am famous, *κλε-ιν-ό-s*, *κλει-τό-s* renowned.

Skt. and Zd. *ṣru* hear, Skt. *ṣru-tá-s* heard, famous, *ṣráv-as* fame.

Lat. *clu-o*, *clu-e-o* hear, am called, *cli-ens* one who listens, a dependent, *in-clu-tu-s*.

Goth. *hliu-ma ákoþ*, OHG. *hlû-t* loud, *hlo-s-ê-m* hear.

ChSl. *slu-ti* nominari, clarum esse, *slov-o* (st. *sloves*) word, *slav-a* fame, Lith. *szlovė* honour, *klau-s-áũ* hear.

OIr. rt. *clu*, *clú* rumor, gloria, *cloth* famous, *clunim* hear, OCymr. *clot* gloria; W. *clus*, *cloor* audio, *roclus* auditum est, *clúas* ear.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Benf. ii. 179, Grimm 'Gesch.' 401, Schleicher 'ChSl.' 98, Pott W. 1, 713. — The shortest and oldest form appears in *κλύ-θι*=Skt. (Ved.) *ṣru-dhí*, and *κλυ-τό-s*, Ir. *cloth*, Lat. *in-clu-tu-s*; *κλέ-os*, i. e. *κλέf-os* (so C. I. No. 1), is formed by vowel-intensification and corresponds exactly to the Skt. *ṣráv-as*, and the ChSl. *slov-es*, Ir. *clú*; *κλε-ί-ω*, *κλέ-ο-μαι* are also to be referred to this strengthened stem. — Lat. *cli-ens* most likely (as Corssen ii². 740 holds) from *clu-i-ens* (cp. *in-ciens* No. 79). We may add *clu-vior* 'nobilior,' Loewe 'Prodr.' 364. — Lat. *gloria* is compared by Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iii. 398 ff. with the Skt. *ṣravas-já-m* 'fame,' 'famous deed' (cp. Pott i¹. 214), and it is argued that as from *jūs* came *injūria*, so *glōria* for *glosia* could have come from *glōs*=*klavas* *κλέfos*; *g* for *k* as in *glocio* *κλώζω* (Corssen 'Beitr.' 53, otherwise Pictet ii. 204). — The verb in OHG., Lith., and Ir. contains a formative affixed *s* like the Skt. *ṣru-sh*, *ṣrush-ti* 'obsequiousness' (acc. to Roth; cp. No. 546). — Does also *ἀ-κρο-ά-ομαι*, keeping the *r*, belong here? The authorities for the Ir. words and for verbal-forms from the British languages in Z². 25, 502, 604, 839; the Ir. *clúas* comes from a **claus-tā*, cp. Cymr. *clusteu* 'aures' Z². 285. — The primitive form of the root is *kru*.

63. Root *κλυ* *κλύ-ζω* wash, *κλύ-δ-ων* wave, *κλυ-σ-μό-s* splashing, *Κλυ-μένη* name of a Nereid (?).

OLat. *clu-ēre* purgare, *clo-āca*.

Goth. *hlu-t-r-s* pure, OHG. *hlûtar* (Germ. *lauter*.)

The OLat. *cluere* is vouched for by Pliny xxv. 29, 36 'cluere antiqui purgare dicebant.' This gives us quite enough reason for setting down *κλυ* as the root: the primitive form would therefore have been **klu-jā-mi*. In Skt. *klid* 'humectari,' 'madescere' the difference of vowel forbids us to suppose a relationship. — Jurmann 'Ztschr.' xi. 398 (so too Fick i². 552) regards *klu* as the primary and *klud* as a

secondary root; the Teutonic form came from the latter. — From this rt. *clu*, come, according to Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 314, the OKeltic river-name *Clōtā*, κλώτα, Engl. *Clyde*, Ir. (*claud*), gen. *cluade* in *Ail cluade*, *Strath cluada*, Strath Clyde, O'Curry's 'Lect.' p. 591.

63 b. κνήμη shin, κνημίς greave, κνημόν mountain forest. 152

OHG. *hamma* hind-leg, ham, LGerm. *Hamm* mountain forest.

OIr. *in chnámái*, st. *cnámi*, ossa (Z². 236).

Fick 'Ztschr.' xxi. 368, Stokes 'Ir. Gl.' 269.

64. Root κοφ ξ-κο-μεν ἤσθόμεθα (Hesych.), κο-έ-ω, κον-ρέω

I observe, Κό-ων, θνο-σκόο-ς looker on at a sacrifice.

Lat. *cav-e-o*, *cau-tu-s*.

Goth. *us-skav-jan* be careful, OHG. *schauôn* look (G. *schauen*), Goth. *us-skav-s* careful, *skau-u-s* beautiful (G. *schön*).

Schweizer 'Ztschr.' iii. 373, Kuhn iii. 433, Ebel iv. 157, Pott ii². 841, W. i. 658; in 'Ztschr.' iv. 238 ff. I have discussed a number of other less common forms. — The original root is *skav*; Ebel rightly recognises a trace of the σ in θνο-σκόο-ς, the primitive meaning is preserved in the Germ. *schauen* 'look'; the Goth. *skav-s* comes near to *cau-tu-s*. The proper names in -κων, such as Λαο-κό-ων (Λαφοκόων Prisc. i. 22, vi. 69), Δημο-κό-ων, Ἱππο-κό-ων, fem. -κώσα, Εὐρυ-κό-α-ι, suit the meaning well. — κον-ρέ-ω for κοφ-ρέ-ω in Aesch. 'Suppl.' 164, cp. κο-θεῖ αἰσθάνεται, νοεῖ. — It is probable from Hesych. κοφ' ἀκούει, πείθεται that ἀκούω likewise belongs to this root. See Introduction p. 100. Others it is true, e. g. Delbrück 'Ztschr.' xvi. 271, connect ἀ-κού-ειν (cp. ἀκουσ-τά-ς) with the Goth. *haus-jan* 'to hear.' — The Teutonic words prove that the idea of self-protection can come from that of looking. — Perhaps, with Fick i². 815, we may add here κοῦα ἐνέχυρα, κύωσ' ἐνέχυρον Hesych. It is doubtful whether we ought to connect Skt. *kut-i-s* 'thinker,' 'poet,' 'sage,' ā-kū 'contemplate.'

65. κόγχη, κόγχος mussel, κογχύλη, κογχύλιον. — Skt. *ḡāṇkhā-s*, *ḡāṇkhā-m* concha.

Bopp 'Gl.', Pott W. iii. 111, Förstemann 'Ztschr.' iii. 53. Cp. above p. 86. — κόχλος, κοχλίων, κοχλίας 'snail,' 'mussel' must be derived forms for κόγχ-λον etc. It may be that κάλχη 'purple snail' and κάλχα, καλχαῖνω are related. Cp. Siegismund 'Stud.' v. 214.

66. κόκκυξ (st. κοκ-κῦγ) cuckoo, κόκκυ cuckoo's cry, κοκ-κύω cry like a cuckoo, crow.

Skt. *kōkīlā-s* the Indian cuckoo.

Lat. *cucūlu-s*.

Lith. *kukūti* cry like a cuckoo, ChSl. *kukarica* cuckoo.

Ir. *cuach*, Cymr. *cōg* cuckoo.

Pott W. iii. 141, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 314. In Gk. the last κ is softened to γ . I do not venture to say whether or not *καυκαλίας* ἄρουραις Hesych. is related. The root seems to be *ku*, Skt. *kū* (*kāu-ti*) 'to scream,' *kō-kū-ja-tē* intensive of the same, not far removed from *κακύ-ω* and Lith. *kaūk-ti* 'howl.'

- 153 67. *κολεκάνο-s*, *κολοκάνο-s* lean, *κολοσσό-s* a great statue.
Skt. *karṣ* to become lean, *krśá-s* lean, slim.
OLat. *crac-entes* graciles, Lat. *grac-ili-s*.

Pott W. iii. 497. — *κολεκάνοι* Hesych. ἐπὶ μήκουσιν σύν λεπτότητι, *κολοκάνοι* εὐμήκεισιν καὶ λεπτοῖς. Strattis fr. 65 Meineke. — Hehn² p. 273 compares *κολοκ-ύνη* 'gourd,' so called, he says, 'from its colossal size.' — *cracentes* Ennius 'Annal.' 497 (Vahlen): 'media regione cracentes.' — *κολοσσό-s* for *κολοκ-jo-s*. Perhaps related to No. 68.

67 b. *κόλλα* glue, *κολλᾶν* to glue. — ChSl. *klīj*, Lith. *klījei* (plur.) glue.

Fick i². 529. Primary form *kalja*.

68. *κολ-ωνό-s*, *κολ-ώνη* hill, *κολ-ο-φ-ών* summit.
Lat. *cel-su-s*, *ex-cel-lo*, *col-u-mna*, *cul-men*, *colli-s*.
OS. *holm* hill, height, Eng. *hill*.
Lith. *kėl-ti* lift, *kál-na-s* height, *pra-kil-nū-s* elevated.

Pott W. ii. 1, 181. — The change from λ to ρ suggests also *κορυφή*, *κόρυθος* and No. 38. — *colli-s* perhaps for *col-ni-s*. Cp. No. 29. — Glück ('Beitr.' v. 97) connects with these words the old Gallic *celicnon*, together with the Goth. *kēlikn* (πύργος, ἀνώγειον) borrowed from the Celtic, cp. Becker 'Beitr.' iv. 136.

- 68 b. Root *κοπ* *κόπ-τ-ω* hew, strike, tire, *κόμ-μα* incision, *κοπ-ή* cutting, *κοπ-εύ-s* chisel, *κόπ-ανο-ν*, *κοπ-ί-s* knife, sword, *κόπ-ι-s* chatterer, bore, *κόπ-ο-s* fatigue, *κοπ-ιά-ω* I am tired, *κοπά-ζω* I tire, *κωφ-ό-s* blunt, dumb, deaf, *κάπ-ων* capon.

Goth. *hamf-s* mutilated, ON. *ham-la* mutilate, NHG. *Hammel* wether.

ChSl. *skop-i-ti* castrare, *skop-ŷcŷ* eunuchus, Lith. *kap-ó-ti* cut, *kapó-nè* mattock.

Pott i¹. 140, Benf. i. 193, Grimm 'Gesch.' 401. — The ϕ in $\kappa\omega\phi\acute{o}\text{-}s$ (cp. *obtusus*) is, as the Goth. *hamf-s* shows, of later formation. — *skap* seems the primitive form, and hence $\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\pi\text{-}\alpha\rho\text{-}\nu\omicron\text{-}\nu$ 'axe' (cp. No. 109) seems to be related. — The meaning of $\kappa\acute{o}\pi\omicron\text{-}s$ suggests the German *zerschlagen*, *abgeschlagen sein* 'to be knocked up.' $\kappa\omicron\pi\text{-}i\text{-}s$ 'chatterer' is more remarkable. — In $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\text{-}\omega\upsilon$ (cp. Lat. *capo*, *capu-s*), which is only given in Glossaries (cp. Stier 'Ztschr.' xi. 227), the older *a* is preserved. — For other explanations see J. Grimm 'Ueber Diphthongen' p. 15 f., Clemm 'Stud.' iii. 325, who brings $\kappa\acute{\iota}\beta\eta\lambda\omicron\text{-}s$ under this root; otherwise Fick i³. 550.

69. $\kappa\acute{o}\rho\text{-}\alpha\acute{\xi}$ raven, $\kappa\omicron\rho\text{-}\acute{\omega}\nu\eta$ crow. — Skt. *kāraṇa-s* crow(?).

— Lat. *cor-vu-s* raven, *cor-n-i-x* crow. — OHG. *hrab-an*, *hruoh*. — Pol. *kru-k* raven. — Ir. *crú feichta* corvus praelii.

Bopp 'Gl.', Pott i¹. 213, Benf. ii. 132, Förstemann 'Ztschr.' iii. 45, 47, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 315. — The stem of the words is the Indo-Germanic *kar* (cp. $\kappa\rho\acute{\omega}\xi\iota\upsilon$ 'croak'). Pott compares *jū-n-i-x* = *juven-ca* with *cor-n-i-x*; the *c* is paragogic, and a stem-form *cor-na*, *cor-ni-s* may accordingly be assumed which approaches more nearly to the Gk. $\kappa\omicron\rho\text{-}\acute{\omega}\nu\eta$. The derivation of the Skt. *kāraṇa-s*, which is not vouched for except in the lexicons, from the interrogative-stem *ka*, and *rava-s* 'sound' is manifestly false, because the *v* is clearly derivative. Cp. above p. 39.

69 b. $\kappa\omicron\tau\text{-}\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta$, $\kappa\acute{o}\tau\text{-}\nu\lambda\omicron\text{-}s$ cup, $\kappa\omicron\tau\nu\lambda\eta\text{-}\delta\acute{\omega}\nu$ a cup-shaped 154 hollow. — Skt. *kat-vāla-s* pit. — Lat. *cat-inu-s* cup, dish, dim. *cat-illu-s*.

Fick i³. 516. — Perhaps it belongs to Skt. *kat* 'hide,' in the sense of preserve. $\kappa\omicron\tau\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta$ acc. to Hesych. means 'hole' as well ($\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\gamma\lambda\eta$), $\kappa\omicron\tau\nu\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ 'pit,' the former in general $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \kappa\omicron\iota\lambda\omicron\nu$.

70. $\kappa\omicron\chi\text{-}\acute{\omega}\nu\eta$ $\kappa\upsilon\sigma\acute{o}\text{-}s$ Hesych. hinder part.

Skt. *kāksha-s* arm-pit, side, *kukshá-s*, *kukshí-s* belly.

Lat. *coxa*, *coxendix* hip-bone, *cossim*.

OHG. *hahsa* bend of the knee.

Benf. ii. 24. — The original meaning of the Skt. *kāksha-s*, according to the 'Ptsb. Wtb.', is 'hiding place,' hence it is transferred to various hidden parts of the body. $\kappa\omicron\chi\acute{\omega}\nu\eta$ must be for $\kappa\omicron\acute{\xi}\acute{\omega}\nu\eta$ (cp. p. 700). — *cossim* Pomponius (Ribbeck 'Comici' 129): 'hoc sciunt

omnes qui cossim cacant.' — Joh. Schmidt 'Vocal.' i. 153 comes to the conclusion that the root is *kak* 'to bend,' to which the Skt. *kākana-m* 'string,' Goth. *hahan* (to hang), and Lat. *cingere, cing-ulu-m* belong. Fick i³. 576 connects *κο-χώνη* with Skt. *ga-ghāna* 'hinder parts,' 'pudenda.' — With the Lat. *coca* Z². 103 identifies Cymr. *coes* 'femur,' OIr. *coss* 'pes.'

71. Root *κραδ* *κράδ-η* swing, twig, tip, *κραδά-ω, κρα-δαίνω* swing.

Skt. *kūrd* spring (f. *kard*), *kūrd-ana-m* springing.

Lat. *card-o* (st. *card-en*) hinge, pole, revolution.

ON. *hrata* to waver.

'Ind. Lect. aestiv. Kil. a. 1856' p. viii, Pictet ii. 471, Fick 'Ztschr.' xx. 164. — *κραδαίνω* was connected by Voss in the 'Etymol.' p. 108 with *cardo* 'in cardinibus enim janua agitur vertiturque.' The original meaning is 'to swing,' whence *κράδῃ* is explained, — according to Pollux iv. 129 the suspended machine used in comedy for making actors appear in the air, whence the saying *κράδῃς ῥαγείσῃς* Plut. 'Prov. Alex. Cent.' ii. 16 ἐπὶ τῶν προφανέντων αἰφνιδίως. — Perhaps too *κορδύλη* 'a club,' and the dance *κόρδαξ* are related. — The verbal meaning of *cardo* comes out plainly in expressions like 'tanto cardine rerum' (Verg. 'Aen.' i. 672). The form *κλαδάσαι σείσαι* Hesych. is perhaps only a denominative from *κλάδος* 'twig.' — Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 315 connects these Celtic words: Ir. *ceird* 'journey,' Corn. *kerd* 'iter,' OCymr. *credam* 'vado,' which however remind us more of the OS. *scrīdan* 'stride.' Nearer in meaning are the Ir. *fo-cheird* 'deponit,' 'jacit,' perf. *fo-chaird* 'dejecit' ('Tur. Gl.' 131); *fo-cheirt* Z². 1000 for *cheird* cp. Z². 60. — Cp. No. 39.

72. Root *κρα, κραν, κραίν-ω* I complete, *κράν-τωρ, αὐτο-κρά-τωρ, κρείων, κρέων* ruler, *Κρόνο-s*.

Skt. *kar* do, make, *kār-man, krijā* deed, holy action, *karṭṛ* (*kar-tār*) completer, creator.

Lat. *cer-u-s, Ceres, pro-cēr-u-s, cre-o, caeri-mon-ia*.

Lith. *kur-iù* build (?).

Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *kr*, where he compares more or less correctly many 155 other words, Pott W. ii. 1, 130, Benfey ii. 170, Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 387. — *κραίν-ω* i. e. *κραν-ῖω* comes from a stem with affixed *ν* which suggests the Vedic *कृणो-मि*, the Homeric forms *ἐκραιναον, κρήνον, κεκράανται* on the other hand point to a stem *κραϊαν*, which must be denominative, so that *κραϊαίνω* is related to a conjectural **krajā* 'deed' (cp. *krijā*) as *κραδαίνω* is to *κράδῃ*. *κρείων* is a present form with *κρ-όνο-s* suggests the Skt. *karanā-s* 'making,' 'dexterous.' G. Hermann

(‘de theol. Graec. antiqu.’ p. 176), and after him Schoemann (‘Opusc.’ ii. 112), interpreted the name ‘Perficus.’ — *Ceru-s manus* (*bonus creator* Paul. ‘Epit.’ 122) is like *Ceres* (*a creando dicta* Serv. ad ‘Georg.’ i. 7)—which however Pott i¹. 197, Bopp ‘Comp. Gr.’ i. 282 explain otherwise (cp. Corssen i². 473)—formed directly from the rt. *kar*, but *create* from the same stem **krajā* (*crejā*) which we used to explain *κραίνω*. The inchoative to *creo* is *cre-sc-o*. The *ae* in *caerimonia* is similar to that in *saep-io* (cp. *σηκός*). Otherwise Corssen i². 376. — *ναύ-κρα-ρο-s* ‘ship-maker’ (?) (Gust. Meyer ‘Stud.’ vii. 179). — The words derived from *κρα* with a suffixed *τ* form a group by themselves—*κρα-τί-s* ‘strong,’ *Κρατύλο-s*, *κρατύν-ω* ‘strengthen,’ *κράτος*, *κάρτος* ‘strength,’ *κρατίω* ‘I have power,’ *κατερός* ‘powerful,’ *κραταίος* ‘strong.’ The Vedic *krātu-s* ‘force,’ ‘hero’ (Grassmann) corresponds to these. — On *κρα-ταί-λεω-s* cp. No. 42 b. — The Celtic words Cymr. *cerdd* ‘art,’ pl. *cerddeu* ‘carmina’ (Z². 139), OIr. *cerd* (once *cert* Z². 60) ‘aerarius,’ ‘faber,’ ‘poeta,’ *cerddchae* ‘officina,’ which are connected by Stokes ‘Ir. Gl.’ 218 and Ebel Z². 1000 with the Skt. *kar*, contain a rt. *cerd* like the Gk. *κέρδιαιος*, *κέρδος*, Lat. *cerdo*. We have no ground for assuming a connexion with the *cert* mentioned under No. 76.

74. *κρέας* flesh, *κρέιον* (Ion. *κρήιον* Hesych.) meat board, dresser.

Skt. *kravja-m*, *kraví-s* raw flesh; *krū-rá-s* sore, bleeding.

Lat. *caro* (st. *caren*) (?), *cru-or*, *cru-entu-s*.

Goth. *hraiiv* (?), OHG. *hréo* (st. *hréwa*) cadaver.

ChSl. *krāvŭ* cruor, Lith. *kráuja-s* blood, *krūvina-s* bleeding.

OIr. *crúu* blood.

Bopp ‘Gl.’ Pott W. i. 680, Schleicher ‘Ksl.’ 96, Pauli ‘Körpertheile’ 25. — Kuhn ‘Ztschr.’ ii. 236 explains the *ι* in the Homeric *κρείων* as the remains of the *i* or *j* retained in the Skt. words, and holds accordingly that *κρέας* is for *κρεfjas* st. *κρεfjar*. This is not so simple as Merzdorf’s comparison (‘Stud.’ ix. 224) of *κρέας* with *kravís*, so that *ει* (or *η*) is due to the influence of the *f*. Thus we get to an Indo-Germanic stem *krav*, *karv*; but *krav* points to the shorter *kru*, retained in *cru-or* and the Lith. *krūv-ina-s*, as the root (No. 77). Blood gets the name from its curdling, and flesh from the blood which it contains. — Scherer ‘z. Gesch.’ 472 explains the Gothic diphthong here as in other cases (cp. No. 31) by epenthesis. — Fick ii². 53 and Bréal (‘Mém.’ ii. 381) separate *caro* (for *carv-o* ?) and put it with *κείρω*. Otherwise again Darmesteter ‘Mém.’ iii. 74. — With the Lat. *caro* are connected the

OIr. *colinn*, gen. *colno* 'corpus,' 'caro' (Z². 249), Cymr. *celein* 'cadaver' (Z². 828), also the Cymr. *calon* 'heart,' Corn. *colon* (Z². 824) (?)

75. *κρέμα-μαι* hang (intr.), *κρεμάννυμι* hang (tr.), *κρημνός* precipice. — Goth. *hram-jan* to crucify, OHG. *rama* sustentaculum.

Benf. ii. 307, Pott W. ii. 1, 171. — Lith. *kar-iù* 'hang' (tr. and 156 intr.) may be related in stem, in which case the nasal in Gk. and Goth. would have to be regarded as a derivative suffix (Intr. p. 65).

Several words related with *κλίνω*, and referable to a rt. *kar* (Skt. *gar*), are discussed by Bugge 'Bezenb. Beitr.' iii. 117, e.g. ON. *hall-r* 'bending forwards.' Also *Hal-dæ* 'gallery in a mine,' and Lat. *clī-vu-s* belong to the same root. (So too Heyne in Grimm's 'Dict.').

76. Root *κρι* *κρί-ν-ω* separate, decide, *κρί-μνο-ν* coarse ground barley, *κρι-τή-s* judge, *κρί-σι-s* decision, *κρι-τήριο-ν* rule, test.

Skt. *apa-skara-s*, *ava-skara-s* excrement.

Lat. *cri-bru-m* sieve, *cer-n-o* sift, *cer-tu-s*, *ex-cre-mentu-m*.

Goth. *skeir-s* pure, *skeir-ein-s* interpretatio, AS. *hri-dder*, OHG. *rīterā* sieve, riddle, ON. *skil-ja* separate.

Lith. *skir-iù* separate, sort, choose.

OIr. rt. *cri criathar* cribrum, OCymr. *cruitr* pala; rt. *scar* OIr. *scaraim* (st. *scaraja*) secedo, *etar-scaraim* I separate; *scuirim* (st. *scoria*) I unyoke.

Pott W. ii. 1, 161, Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *kř*. Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 146 gives *skar* as the orig. form, with which *σκῶρ* st. *σκαπτ* (No. 110) is connected. Benf. ii. 171, Corssen 'Beitr.' 451, i². 177, Delbrück 'Ztschr. f. d. Phil.' i. 18. — Bugge 'Stud.' iv. 333 conjectures the original identity of this root with No. 53. — *κρί* and *κριθή* 'barley' on the other hand he refers to a rt. *ghardh* on account of *hord-eu-m* and OHG. *gers-ta* (cp. Pott i¹. 143, otherwise Kuhn 'Ztschr.' xi. 385). — Pictet ii. 285 is perhaps right in connecting with the meaning 'separate' *κόρο-s* 'broom,' *κοπέω* 'sweep,' which is by others (Corssen 'Beitr.' 403) connected with Skt. *karsh* 'draw' and Lat. *verr-o* (for *cvers-o*). — The metaphysical meaning of *κρίνω*, *κρίμα*, *κριτής* agrees with that of *certu-s* and the Goth. *skeirein-s*. The frequentative *certare* (cp. *decernere*) corresponds to *κρίνεσθαι* (e.g. Ἀρηι B 385) along with *ἀπο-κρίνεσθαι*, *ὑποκρίνεσθαι*. See 'Berichte d. Sächs. Ges. d. W. 1866' p. 148. *crimen* (cp. *discrimen*) is properly τὸ κρινόμενον, something

'sifted' or 'separated,' as *sē-men* is τὸ σπειρόμενον. Cp. Corssen 'Ital. Sprachk.' 229. — For the authority for the Celtic words see Z². 782, 831, 874. The Ir. *cert* 'justice,' *etar-cert*, *-ceirt*, 'interpretatio,' *co-ceirt* 'emendatio' must also belong here, but if so, must be separated from *fo-cheird*, *fo-ceirt* 'deponit' (see under No. 71), with which Ebel Z². 1000 connects them.

77. Root *κρυ* *κρύ-ος* frost, *κρυ-μός* frost, *κρύ-ο-μαι* am freezing, *κρύ-ει-ς* making one shudder, *κρυσταίνω* make to freeze, *κρύσταλλο-ς* ice.

Skt. *krū-rá-s* sore, bleeding, stiff. — Zd. *khṛá-ra* frightful.

Lat. *cru-s-ta*, *crū-du-s*, *crūdeli-s*.

OHG. *hrāo* (gen. *hrāwes*) raw.

Ir. *cruaid* hard, *cródatu* durities (Z. 23, 257).

Benf. ii. 178, Grimm 'Gesch.' 401, Fick i². 539 f., Corssen i². 359. The fundamental notion of the root is 'to be hard,' 'to curdle,' probably it is connected with No. 42 b and No. 74, the words which denote frost are perhaps to be referred to a stem expanded by an added *s*. Cp. Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 340. — ὀκρυνόσεως Z 344, ὀκρυνόεντος I 64, with the same meaning as the forms without *δ* may well have arisen in both passages from pure mistake, if it is held that the genitives¹⁵⁷ that precede them were originally pronounced *κακομηχάνοο*, *ἐπιδημίοο*, (Jahn's 'Jahrb.' Bd. 67. p. 9. — On *cru-s-ta* see Corssen 'Beitr.' 416.

77 b. Root *κταν*, *κτεν* *κτείν-ω* (*κτίννυ-μι*) kill, *κτόνο-ς* murder, *καίν-ω* kill. — Skt. *kshan kshan-ṭ-mi* injure, wound, (partic. *ksha-tá-s* laesus), *ksha-ti-s* damage, destruction.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. i. 489, Benf. i. 179. — The *η* in the Skt. is only euphonic for *n*. Skt. *ksh* = Gk. *κτ* as in *tákshan* = τεκτον (No. 235). In the language of Homer we find the shorter stem *κτα* (*κτά-μεναι*, *κτέ-ω-μεν*, *κατα-κτά-ς*), which is related to *κτεν* as *γα* is to *γεν* (No. 128), and *τα* to *τεν* (No. 230). Cp. 'Greek Verb' pp. 114, 130, for *καίνω* p. 216. — Fick i². 802 gives the original root as *skan* (whence the Goth. *skatha* 'scathe'), and regards *καίνω*, with no reason, as far as I can see, as a separate word altogether.

78. Root *κτι* *ἐν-κτί-μενο-ς* well built, *περι-κτί-ον-ες*, *ἀμφικτί-ονες* neighbours, *κτίζω* settle, found, *κτί-σι-ς* founding.

Skt. *kshi*, *kshi-j-āmi* dwell, *ksháj-ā-mi* possess, *ksháj-a-s*, *kshítí-s* dwelling. — Zd. *khshi* dwell.

Pott W. i. 482, where *κρί-λο-ς* 'tame' is also compared. Benf. ii. 185, Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' vii. 288. — The fact that *κτ* corresponds to *ksh* (from *ks*) has been mentioned under No. 77 b. Cp. on No. 45. — To the older form, preserved in the Skt. *-ksha* 'living,' *kshā* 'dwelling,' belongs *κτά-ο-μαι* 'acquire,' *κτῆ-μα*, *κτῆ-σι-ς*, and, since *ksh* comes from *sk*, the ChSl. *sko-tū* 'possession,' 'cattle' (*κτῆνος*), Goth. *skatt-s* 'money.' Fick i². 203, Zimmer 'Suffix a,' 294.

79. Root *κυ* (*κυ-έ-ω*, caus. *κυίσκω*) be pregnant, *κύ-ος*, *κύ-μα* fetus, *κύ-αρ*, *κύ-τ-ος* cavity, *κοί-λο-ς* hollow, *κοιλ-ία* belly, *καυ-λό-ς* stalk.

Skt. *ḥvā* (*ḥvāj-ā-mi*) swell up, part. p. *ḥvānā-s* swollen, *ḥvāna-m* a void, *ḥv-ḥu-s* the young of animals.

Lat. *in-ci-ens* pregnant, *cu-mu-lu-s*, *cav-u-s*, *cau-li-s*, stalk, *cau-lae* hollows.

Goth. *us-hul-ōn* hollow out, *hul-undi* cavity, OHG. *hol* hollow.

Lith. *káu-la-s* bone, Lett. *kaul-s* bone, stalk.

Cymr. *cwn* altitude, *cynu* surgere, *er-chynu* elevare, 'Αρ-κύνια ὄρη (Z². 92, 895); OIr. *cúach* cup.

Bopp 'Comp. Gram.' i. 232, where the Lat. *cre-sc-o* which belongs to No. 72 is wrongly compared. — Pott W. i. 702. — Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 315. — A very wide-spread root with two essentially distinct shades of meaning (Grassmann 1409). (1) Negative: *to be swollen, hollow*. Here belong *κύ-αρ*, *κύ-α-θο-ς*, *κύ-τος*, *κύ-λα* (τὰ ὑποκάτω τῶν βλεφάρων κοιλώματα Hesych.), *Κύλων*, *κύ-λη*, *κύ-λιξ* 'cup,' perhaps *Κυλλήνη* (for *κυλ-φ*.) 'hollow hill' (Lob. 'El.' i. 354). — **κόφο-ς* = Lat. adj. *cavus* (*κόσι* κοιλώματα Hesych. = subst. *cavus*), also *Κόως*, *Κῶς* (?), *κῶς* εἰρκτή Hesych., further **κοφ-ίλος*, with epenthesis *κοι(φ)-ίλο-ς* (Mimn. 12, 5; Alcaeus 15, 5), cp. Dietrich 'Ztschr.' x. 442. According to Mor. Schmidt 'Rh. M.' xx. 158 305 *κόϊλος* can be read almost everywhere in Homer. Finally, *καυ-λό-ς*. The transition from 'hollow' to 'empty' is peculiar to the Indian languages. (2) Positive: *to be swollen, full, strong*, and that (a) with reference to the fruit of the body *κνεῖν*, Skt. *ḥv-ḥu-s*, Lat. *in-ciens* (Paul. 'Epit.' 97, Döderlein 'Et. u. Syn.' v. 228), *κοιο-φόρο-ς* ἔγκυος. (b) with reference to strength in general: *κῆ-κυ-ς* 'strength,' = Skt. *ḥvā-as*, *ḥvāra-s* 'strong,' 'hero' (No. 22), *κύ-μα* 'swell,' 'wave,' (cp. *οἶμα*). — Further derivatives from this root in Celtic languages are discussed by Windisch 'Beitr.' viii. 40.

80. *κύμβη*, *κύμβο-ς* cask, goblet, *κύμβ-αλο-ν* basin.

Skt. *kumbhā-s* pot, pitcher. — Zd. *khumba* (m.) pot.

Pott i² 84. [Fick 'Spracheinheit' p. 284]. — $\beta = bh.$ after μ ; cp. p. 532.

81. Root *κυρ*, *κυλ κυρ-τό-s* bent, *κίρ-κ-ο-s* ring, *κυλ-λό-s* bent, *κύ-κλ-ο-s* circle, *κυλ-ί-ω* (*κυλίνδω*) roll.
 Skt. *ka-kr-á-s* (for *ka-kr-a-s*) wheel, disk, circle.
 Lat. *cir-cu-s*, *circ-u-m*, *circa*, *cur-vu-s*.
 OHG. *hring* ring.
 Lith. *kreiva-s* crooked, wound, ChSl. *krivŭ* bent, *kolo* wheel.
 OIr. *cor*, acc. pl. *curu gyros* (Z². 1048); Cymr. *corwynt*, Arem. *cor-uent turbo* (Z². 889); OIr. *crích* f. finis, territory (cp. *κίρκος*); *cúairt* circuitus (for *cucra-ti*, cp. *κύκλος*?); *cruind* round, Cymr. *crwnn* (cp. *κυλίνδω*).

Bopp 'GL,' Pott W. ii. 1, 174, Schleicher 'Ksl.' 94, 96, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 316. — *Κυρ-ήνη*, and *Κέρ-κυρα* may be added. — The expanded form of the root in Lat. *clīng-ere* cingere (Fest. 56) comes nearest to the OHG. word. — It is true that no rt. *kar* occurs as a verb in any language, but we can by its help explain the Skt. *ka-krá-s* as reduplicated, and again *κέρ-κο-s* 'tail,' *κορ-ώνη* (*εἶδος στεφάνου* Hesych.), Lat. *corona*, *κορ-νί(δ)-s* 'bent,' and *κορ-ω-νό-s* 'with crooked horns.' λ took the place of ρ and thus arose the rt. *καλ* which is to be seen in *καλ-ινδέω* = *κυλ-ινδέω* (cp. ChSl. *kol-o*). — Where an *i* appears it is to be regarded as a weakening of *a*. — Further combinations are suggested by Brugman 'Stud.' vii. 273 ff. — The OIr. *cruind* is a stem like *áilind* decorus (suff. *-ndi* Z². 795) and stands for *curind*, whence the comparative *cuirre* for *cuirndiu* like *áille* for *áilndiu* Z². 275). — The Celtic words Cymr. *kyrchu* quaerere (cp. Ital. *cercare*), Cymr. *cyrchyd* = 'circuitus,' *cylch* 'circle,' = *cyclus* are all borrowed from the Latin.

82. *κῦρ-ος* might, *κυρό-ω* strengthen, *κύρ-ιο-s* mighty, lord.

Skt. *śūra-s* hero, *śūra-tā* heroism, Zd. *śūra* strong, awful.

OIr. *caur*, *cur* hero, gen. *caurad*, *curad*, Cymr. *cawr* gigas, pl. *cewri*, Corn. *caur* gigas, *caur-march* camelus (Z². 129, 284).

Bopp 'GL,' Windisch 'Beitr.' viii. 42. — In the face of Pott's attack (ii². 375) I hold to the connexion of these words, considering *śū* i. e. *ḱū*, *ḱvi* (No. 79) as the root. Hence may have come a masc. subst. **ḱū-ra-s* (cp. Skt. *śāv-as* 'strength'), Gk. **κυρο-s*, related to *τὸ κῦρ-ος* as *αἰσχρο-s* is to *αἰσχος*. *κῦρ-έ-ω* (also *κέρ-ω*), as is probable from *κυρίττειν* 'knock,' originally denoted a physical contact and has nothing

to do with these words. — I am not so clear as to the connexion with 159 *κοῖρ-ανο-s*, notwithstanding the near approach in meaning to *κύριο-s*, because of the difficulty presented by the diphthong. Cp. however *λοιγός-s* with *λυγρός-s* and *λευγαλέο-s*. As to *κοῦρος*, *κόρος* which I brought under this root before, I have changed my opinion (cp. note to No. 53).

83. *κυ-νέ-ω* (aor. *ἔ-κυ-σα*) kiss, *προσ-κυ-νέ-ω*. — Skt. *kus* or *kuç* amplexi (*kús-jā-mi*). — Corn. *cussin* osculum, Cymr. *cussan* (Z². 1068).

Bopp 'Gl.' Benf. ii. 152, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 316. — As we have no instance of the use of the Skt. word it is doubtful. — The OHG. *kussju*, Goth. *kukja* 'I kiss' must be separated because the letter-change is not according to rule.

83 b. *κύπη* hole, hut. — Skt. *kūpa-s* pit, hollow.

Pictet ii. 267. — The Gk. word occurs only in Hesych. with the by-form *γύπη*. Since *kūpa-s* means also an oil-flask, and since other vessels of different kinds are called 'hollows,' Pott is most likely right in comparing *κύπ-ελλο-ν*, *ἀμφι-κύπελλον*, and the Lat. *cūpa* 'cask' (cp. ChSl. *kupa* poculum), also 'recess for holding a corpse.' Corssen i². 546.

83 c. *κυσός-s*, *κύσ-θο-s* pudenda muliebria. — Skt. *çush-i-s* fissure, hole. — Lat. *cun-nu-s*. — Lith. *kuszý-s*.

Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' ix. 232. — Fröhde 'Bezenb. Beitr.' i. 329.

84. *κύ-ων* (st. *κυον* and *κυν*) dog. — Skt. *çvā* (st. *çvan*, Ved. *çvan* and *çun*). — Lat. *can-i-s* (for *cvan-i-s*). — Goth. *hun-d-s* (with added *d*). — Lith. *szū* (st. *szun*). — OIr. *cú*, gen. *con*, dat. *coin*. Cymr. *ci*, *ki*, Corn. *ki*, *chi*.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott i¹. 127, Benf. ii. 165, according to him belonging to No. 79—'the animal that bears often and many young,' more likely 'the strong one.' L. Havet 'Mém.' ii. 185. — Herod. i. 110 *οἱ Μηδοὶ τὴν κίνα σπάκα καλέουσι*, explained by the Zend. *çpā* acc. *çpān-em*, with the addition of a paragoric *k*, while the sibilant raised the *v* to *p* by assimilation (cp. p. 76). — The Lydian name *Καν-δαύλη-s* explained by *σκυλλοπνίκτης* (cp. Hipponax fr. 1 Bergk) I brought under this head in Höfer's 'Ztschr.' i. 220.

84 b. *κῶνο-s* peg, cone, top, dim. *κωνίο-ν*, *κωνί-s*. — Skt. *çāṇa-s* whetstone. — Lat. *cūneu-s*. — ON. *hein* (f.) whetstone.

Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *çō* and *çāṇa*, Grimm 'Gesch.' 400, Pott W. i. 492. —

The more distantly related words are treated by Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' i. 363 ff., 472 ff. — Nearest come Lat. *cō-s* (st. *cōt*) and *cau-te-s*, *ca-tu-s* 'sharp,' 'pointed,' Varro L. L. vii. 46, whence *Cato*. The meaning of the root then is 'to be pointed, sharp,' cf. rt. *āk* (No. 2). — *cunei* in the 'Carmen Saliare' are the thunderbolts of Jupiter (Bergk 'Ind. lect. Marb. hib. a. 1847-48' p. xiii), a fact that throws light on the meaning. — ON. *hein* points to an original form *kanjā* (Scherer 472, Delbrück 'Ztschr. f. d. Phil.' i. 16), which suits *cūn-eu-s*. Cp. Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 482.

84 c. *κωτ-ίλο-s* garrulous, *κωτίλλειν* prattle, wheedle. —
Skt. *kāttha-tē* he boasts, praises, blames. — Lith.
katilin-ti prattle.

Fick i³. 516.

85. Root *λακ* *ἔ-λακ-ο-ν*, *λέ-λᾶκ-α*, *λά-σκ-ω* crash, roar, 160
λακ-ε-ρό-s resounding, *λακέρυζα* croaking.

Lat. *loqu-o-r*, *loqu-ax*, *loqu-ela*, *Ajus Locu-ti-us*.

ChSl. *rekā* liquor, Lith. *su-rīk-ti* cry out, *rēk-iū* scream.

OIr. *at-luchur do dia* gratias ago deo, *at-luchfam buidi* referamus gratias (Z². 438, 869).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Schleicher 'Ksl.' 131, Fick i³. 22, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 316. — No connexion whatever with *λέγ-ω* (No. 538). — The Skt. *lap* 'chatter,' I think it best to omit. Joh. Schmidt connects the ChSl. *rekā* with the OHG. *rohōn* 'rugire,' 'Voc.' ii. 496. — Ir. (*at*)-*luchur* = Lat. *loquor*; in its religious application the Ir. verb exactly agrees with the Skt. *ārkhāmi*.

86. *λακ* *λάκ-ος*, *λακ-ί-s* rag, *λακ-ε-ρό-s* torn, *λάκ-κο-s* hole, pool.

Lat. *lac-er*, *lacer-o*, *lac-in-ia*, *lac-u-s*, *lacū-na*, *lā-ma*.

Lith. *lank-ā*, *lėnkė* meadow, ChSl. *laka* palus.

OIr. *loch* lacus, gen. *locho*, Corn. *lagen* stagnum (Z². 239, 1077).

Pott W. iii. 257, Benf. ii. 16, Stokes 'Ir. G.' 781. — The fundamental meaning is 'tear,' and so *ράκος*, which according to Hesych. was *λάκος* with the Cretans, would seem to be related. Since the Aeolians said *βράκος*, the root seems to be *φρακ*, *φλακ*, and to be related to the Skt. *vraṣṣ* 'scindere,' Corssen i². 312. Otherwise Fick i³. 748. — The local meaning in the sense of the Germ. *Bruch* 'breach,' hence 'marsh' may be seen also in *λάκ-ας* *φάραγγας* (Hesych., cp. *ράκτοι* *φάραγγες*), with which

must be connected *Δάκμων*, *Δακίνιον*, *Λακεδαίμων* (E. Curtius 'Peloponn.' ii. 309), the latter immediately with *λακεδάμα*, *ὑδαρ ἀλμυρόν* (Hesych.). *Λακεδαίμων* arose evidently from *λακεδαμ-ιών* by epenthesis. The suffix *-ιών* forms *περικτικά*, e. g. *Κνακ-ιών*. — From the Latin we may perhaps also compare *lacerna*, which is easily explained from *ράκος* (cp. *cav-er-na*).

87. *λεύσσω* look (st. *λευκ*).

Skt. *lōk* (*lōk-a-tē*), *lōkē* (*lōkē-a-tē*) see, scan, *lōk-ana-m* eye.

Lith. *lauk-i-u* wait, Lett. *lūkō-t* look.

Bopp 'Gl.', Pott W. iii. 243, Benf. ii. 126, 327. — Relationship with *λευκό-ς* rt. *λυκ* (No. 88) cannot be denied (cp. p. 113). — The rt. *λυκ* in its simple form is seen in the proper name *Λύκτο-ς*, genuine Cretan *Λύττο-ς*, διὰ τὸ κεῖσθαι αὐτὴν ἐν μετεώρῳ τόπῳ, τὸ γὰρ ἄνω καὶ ὑψηλὸν λύττον (rather *λυτόν*), φασι (Steph. Byz., Voretzsch 'de Inscript. Cret.' p. 11). *λυττό-ς* however must have meant originally 'visible' (*περίσκεπτος*). — Cp. No. 548.

88. Root *λυκ* *ἀμφι-λύκ-η* twilight, *λύχνο-ς* lamp, *λευκ-ό-ς* white, *λοῦσσο-ν* the white pith of pine-wood.

Skt. *rukē* (*rōkē*) appear, shine, *rukē* (f.) light, gleam, *ruk-mā-s* gold ornament. — Zd. *ruc* to give out light.

Lat. *lūc-eo*, *lūc-s*, *lū-men*, *lūc-idu-s*, *lū-na*, *Leucesius*, *di-lūc-ulu-m*.

Goth. *liuh-ath*, OHG. *lioht* light, Goth. *laúhmóni* lightning, AS. *leó-ma* gleam.

161 ChSl. *luča* beam, moon, *lučŭ* light, *lu-na* moon, Lith. *laúka-s* pale, *laúki-s* an ox with a white brow.

OIr. *lóche* (gen. *lóchet*) fulmen, Corn. *luhet* fulgur (Z². 256, 841).

Bopp 'Gl.', Schleicher 'Ksl.' 129, Corssen i. 367. — On the stem *λυκ* (*λυκό-φως*, *λυκά-βας*, *Λυκαβηττός*) Welcker 'Griech. Götterlehre' i. p. 476 f. — The *χ* in *λύχνο-ς* comes from the influence of the *ν*. — *lūna* for *luc-na*, *lūmen* for *luc-men*, *Leucesie* in the 'Carmen Saliare' acc. to Bergk 'Ind. lect. hib. Marb. a. 1847-48' p. xii. as an epithet of Jupiter. — *in-lus-tri-s* too doubtless belongs here, derived from a form with added *s* like the ON. *ljós* 'light,' 'clear,' *lýsa* 'give light' mentioned by Lottner 'Ztschr.' vii. 186 (cp. also Zd. *raoksh-na* 'giving light.' Armen. *lusin* 'moon,' Hübschmann 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 35, AS. *liox-an*, *lix-an* 'give light,' Fick i³. 199). — The Lith. *laúka-s* corresponds in

form completely with the Gk. λευκό-*s*, but is used only of cattle and horses (Nesselmann). The same adjective is to be seen in the Ir. *luach-té* 'white-hot' (Stokes). The fact that *úa* interchanges with *ó* in the OIr. *lócharn* 'laterna,' Corn. *lugarn* 'lucerna' (Z². 778, 827) proves these words to be really Celtic. Cp. Z². 23 note.

89. λύκο-*s*. — Skt. *vṛka-s*. — Lat. *lupu-s*, Sabine *irpu-s*.
— Goth. *vulf-s*. — ChSl. *vlŭk-ŭ*, Lith. *vilk-a-s* wolf.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott ii². 356, cp. W. i. 1283, 1291. — Benf. ii. 26, Grimm 'Gesch.' 332, Förstemann 'Ztschr.' i. 494, Schleicher 'Beitr.' i. 6, where *varka-s* is rightly given as the primitive form (cp. Zend *vehrka*), from which came by metathesis *vra-ka-s*, *vla-ka-s*, *vluko-s*, with loss of *v* λύκο-*s* for *φλυκο-s*. — Spiegel 'Ztschr.' xiii. 366, Stier xi. 143, where traces in Albanian of the initial *v* are noticed. The similarity of sound then with No. 88 is only apparent. — Schleicher denies rightly that *vulpe-s* can possibly belong here, but *lupu-s* cannot be separated from λύκο-*s*. *p* appears also in the Sabine *irpu-s* (Corssen i². 116) or *hirpu-s* (Paul. 'Epit.' 106), and we have a clear instance of Lat. *p* for Indo-Germ. *k* in *saepio*, *praesaepo* by the side of Gk. σηκό-*s*. Cp. No. 566. On *v* as the representative of a primitive *a* see p. 713. The root is generally sought for in the Skt. *vraçkṛ* 'lacerare,' which would be favoured by Hesychius's ἀπελύκισεν ἀπέτεμεν: Pictet i. 431 goes to the rt. *vark* *vraç* 'draw,' 'drag' which may be assumed for ἔλκω (No. 22), in which case λύκο-*s* would mean 'robber.' Fick i². 213 holds both roots to be identical. λύκο-*s* with the by-form δλός (Hesych.) also means a kind of spider. δλός brings us again to *φέλκω* (Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 338).

90. Root μακ μάκ-*ap* beatus, μακ-ρό-*s* long, μήκ-*s* length,
μακεδνό-*s* thin, Μάκεδόνες.
Zd. μαç-*anh* size, μαç-*ita* large.
Lith. *mók-u* I can (?).

The physical meaning of μάκ-*ap* is still to be seen in the derived meaning 'rich' Δ 68 ἀνδρὸς μάκαρος κατ' ἀρουραν. Hence μάκαρες as an epithet of the gods, like *ιερό-ç* which in *ιερός* *ιχθύς* Π 407 still means 'great,' 'mighty.' Sonne 'Ztschr.' x. 130, Fick i². 163. Cp. Nos. 462, 473.

91. μήκ-ων, Dor. μάκ-ων poppy. — OHG. *mágo* (st. 162 *mágan*), LG. *mán*. [Germ. *Mohn*.] — ChSl. *mak-ŭ* papaver.

Pott i². 113. — Perhaps so called from the length of the stalk and so related to No. 90, Fick i². 707 connects it with the rt. *mak* (μάσσω) 'squash.'

92. Root *μικ ἀπο-μύσσω* blow one's nose, *μικ-τήρ* nose, *μύξα* snivel, *Μυκάλη?*, *Μυκήνη?*

Skt. *mūk mūk-ā-mi* let loose, let go.

Lat. *mung-o mūc-u-s* snivel, *mūcēre* to be musty, *mūcor* mould, *mūcēdo* snivel.

ChSl. *mok-na-ti* madefieri, *močiti* madefacere, *močŭ* urina.

OIr. *mucc* (st. *muncā*) pig, Cymr. *moch*.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. iii. 575, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 316. — Also *μύξινος* 'blenny,' Lat. *mugil* (?) are related. Hehn³ 538 adds from the vegetable kingdom the Lacon. *μύκηρος*, *μούκηρος*, 'almond,' 'nut,' as being a mucilaginous fruit. — It is noteworthy with respect to the meaning of the Skt. word that acc. to the P. W. it generally has *ζακην-μῦtram*, i. e. 'stercus et urinam' as its object, and that also the substantives *mōk-ana-m*, *mōksh-ana-m* (from the lengthened form *muksh* = Gk. *μυξ*) are often used of liquids. *σμόςσεται σμυκτήρ* in Hesych. are remarkable. — Is it not possible that the promontory *Μυκάλη* (cp. *Μυκαλησσός*) meant 'little snout,' like the Norse names in *-naes*? — *mungo* : *muk* = *pingo* : *pik* (No. 101).

93. *νέκ-u-s* corpse, *νέκυ-ι-α* funeral offering, *νεκ-ρός* dead.

Skt. rt. *naç* (*nāç-ā-mi* and *nāç-jā-mi*) disappear, perish, *nāçā-jā-mi* destroy, lose, *nāça-s* disappearance, fall, *nāsh-trā* danger, destruction. — Zd. *nāçu* (m. f.) corpse, *naç-ista* very pernicious.

Lat. *nex*, *nec-o*.

Goth. *nau-s*, *navi-s* *νεκρός*.

ChSl. *navŭ* mortuus.

OIr. *éc* (st. *ancu*) death, Corn. *ancou*.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 540, Windisch 'Ztschr.' xxii. 275, Diefenbach 'Vergl. Wörterb.' ii. 103. Grimm 'üb. Diphthonge nach weggefallenen Consonanten' p. 9 explains *nau-s* to be from *nag-u-s*. — That *nocere*, *noxā* are related (Bopp 'Comp. Gr.' i. 273) is established by the proved use of the root in Skt. and Zend. *νόσο-s*, Ion. *νοῦσο-s* which comes very near in meaning to this root is explained by the by-form *naç* (*nāçu-ka-s* 'pernicious'), given in the P. W. The primary form is **νογκjo-s*, whence, with the regular change of *κj* to *σσ* (later *σ*) and diphthongization (cp. *ξουθός* and *κοῦφος*) came *νοῦσος*, ('Stud.' x. 328.)

94. *νύξ* (st. *νυκτ*) night, *νύκτ-ωρ*, *νύκτ-ερο-s*, *νυκτερ-ινό-s*, *νύχιο-s* nightly, *νυκτερί-s* night-bird.

Skt. *nak*, *nák-ti-s* night, *nák-ta-m* noctu. — Zd. *nakh-turu* or *nakhtru* nightly.

Lat. *nox* (st. *nocti*), *noctu*, *nocturnu-s*, *noctua*.

163

Goth. *naht-s*, OHG. *naht*.

Lith. *nak-ti-s*, ChSl. *noš-ŭ* night.

OIr. *in-noct*, *in-nocht* hac nocte (Z². 609).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Benf. ii. 57, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 125. — Acc. to Linker 'Jahn's Jahrb.' 89, 714, the full form of the nom. *nocti-s* is probably preserved in Enn. 'Ann.' v. 92 V., the stem-form which may be assumed in place of *νυκτ*, in compounds like *νυκτί-πλαγκτο-s* (Roediger 'de comp.' p. 53). Even the Skt. form *nákti-s* only occurs in a single passage in the R̥gvēda. The later Skt. *niç* and *niçā* are (in spite of Pott W. i. 550, who is emphatically opposed by Ascoli 'Fonolog.' 39) not to be separated from *nak*. — The root is clearly No. 93, since night is 'no man's friend.'

95. *οἶκο-s* (*φοῖκο-s*) house, *οἶκ-ίο-ν*, *οἶκ-ία*, *οἶκέ-τη-s* house-fellow, *οἶκέ-ω* dwell.

Skt. *vēçá-s*, *vēç-ja-m*, *vēç-man* house, *viç* (f.) dwelling-place, house, pl. *viç-as* men, subjects, *viç-páti-s* lord of the house or community. — Zd. *vīç* house, village, clan, *vīç-paiti* chief of the clan.

Lat. *vīcu-s* (*veicu-s*), *vīc-īnu-s*.

Goth. *veih-s* κώμη, ἀγρός, OHG. *wīch* dwelling-place, borough.

ChSl. *vŭsŭ* praedium, OPr. *wais-pattin* housewife, Lith. *vėsz-pat-s* lord.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott ii. 2, 581, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 48, 98, Pictet ii. 238, 384, Corssen i². 380. — *f* Boeotian in *φυκία* (Ahr. 'Aeol.' 170), a trace of it may be seen in *ἄ-οικο-s*, and the Elic *βοικία*. Lith. *vėsz-pat-s* lord 'only used of God and the king' (Schleicher). Fick ('Bezenb. Beitr.' iii. 168) establishes as a Gk. correlative of the shorter Skt. *viç*, Zd. *vīç* 'house,' 'clan,' the word *τριχά-ϊκ-ες* (= *τρι-φυλοι*), τ 177, an epithet of the Dorians. With *τριχᾶ-* cp. the advs. *τριχῆ* and *τριχα*. The root is No. 24 c. Acc. to Justi p. 281 *vīç* in Zend means 'a community of fifteen men and women.' *οἶκο-s* then is 'the house' in the sense of the place and the sum of the people who 'come' to live there (cp. Skt. *gá-ja-s* 'house,' 'household,' from rt. *ga*, *gam*, 'go'), *δóμο-s* (No. 265) is the 'building.' — The OIr. *fich* 'pagus,' Corn. *gwic* are borrowed from the Latin (like *fin*=*vinum*).

96. *ὀκτώ* eight, *ὀγδοο-s* the eighth. — Skt. *ashṭáu*, *ashṭán* eight, *ashṭa-má-s* the eighth. — Zd. *astan* (n. *asta*)

eight, *astema* the eighth. — Lat. *octo*, *octāvu-s*. — Goth. *ahtau*. — Lith. *asztūnì*, ChSl. *osmŭ*. — OIr. *oct*, *ocht(n-)*, Cymr. *wyth*.

Bopp 'Gl.', 'Comp. Gr.' ii. 75, Pott 'Zählmethode' 165. — The dual form in Skt., Gk., and Lat. is striking, on which see a conjecture by Grassmann 'Wtb.' 145, and also the weakening of the favourite *κτ* in the Gk. *ὀγδοο-ς* (cp. p. 536), which seems to occur also in *ὀγδόδιον θυσία παρὰ Ἀθηναίους τελουμένη Θησεΐ* (Hesych.). Cp. Ascoli 'Stud.' ix. 358. — The Skt. *śh* is here evidently weakened from *h*. — We may just refer here to Ascoli's investigations as to the original final letter of this and other numerals ('Di un gruppo di desinenze, Instit. Lomb. 1868'), (Corssen ii². 483).

- 164 97. Root πεκ *πέκ-ω*, *πείκ-ω*, *πεκ-τέ-ω*, *πέκ-τω* comb, shear, *πέκ-ος*, *πόκο-ς* fleece, wool. — Lat. *pec-t-o*, *pect-en*. — OHG. *fahs* crinis. — Lith. *pèsz-ti* pluck, pull hair.

A European word. — Grimm. 'Gesch.' i. 396, Pott W. iii. 179, Fick i². 658. That sheep were *plucked* before they were *shorn* is shown by Hehn³ 469, hence the survival of the phrase *εἶρια πείκειν* (σ 374).

98. *πέλεκυ-ς*, *πέλεκ-ρα* (Hesych.) axe, *πελεκκά-ω* hew, *πελεκ-ίζω* cut off, *πέλεκκο-ν*, *πέλεκκο-ς* axe-handle, *πελεκ-ᾱς* wood-pecker. — Skt. *paraçû-s* hatchet, battle-axe.

Bopp 'Gl.', Pott W. i. 500. The root is *πελ* for an older *par* (cp. ChSl. *pra-ti* 'ferire'), lengthened to *πελεκ*, cp. *πλακ*, *πλαγ* No. 367. The double *κ* is evidently for *κφ*, as in *γλύκκα γλυκύτης* (Hes.) i.e. *γλυκφα*. On the vowel that has been developed after the *λ* see p. 730.

99. *πέυκ-η* pine, *πευκ-ών* pine-grove, *Πευκ-έτιοι*. — OHG. *fiuh-ta*. [Germ. *Fichte*.] — Lith. *puszl-s* pine, *puzyna-s* pine-forest.

Pott ii¹. 246, 285, Benf. ii. 76 f. — Fick 'Or. u. Occ.' iii. 115 shows that *πί-τυ-ς* 'pine,' which I formerly with Benfey put here, is clearly analogous to the Skt. *pītu-dāru-s*, the name of an Indian pine with the various forms *pītu-dāru-s*, *pīta-dāru-s* (*dāru* 'tree,' cp. No. 275) and conjectures that the root in Skt. is *pīnv*, *piv* (*πί-ων* No. 363) with the meaning 'trickle down' (of the resin), properly 'overflow.' *pī-nu-s* (cp. Corssen ii². 270) will then be only another nominal form of the same; also *πίσσα* together with *pī-x* and the Lith. *pīkī-s*, ChSl. *pīk-lŭ* 'pitch' must have come from the same root. The relation of the Skt. *pīkkhā* (for *pīskā*?) 'slime,' 'gum' to these words has not yet been suffi-

ciently explained. It appears then that the *k* that appears in *pix* and can be inferred from *πίσσα* for *πι-κ-ια* is derivative. Cp. Hehn³ 259.

100. Root *πικ* *πικ-ρό-ς*, *πενκ-εδανό-ς*, *πενκ-άλιμος* bitter, sharp, *ἐχε-πενκές* (*βέλος*) pointed.

Skt. *πίε-una-s*, adj. slanderous, treacherous, subst. traitor (?).

OHG. *fēh-jan* hate, *fēh-ida* feud. [Germ. *Fehde*, Eng. *foe*.]

Lith. *pīk-ta-s* bad, *pīj-ti* to be angry, *petk-ti* despise, scold.

OIr. *óech* (st. *paica*) enemy.

Pott ii¹. 600, W. iii. 182, Benf. ii. 79, Fick i³. 674 f., Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 317. — Connexion with Nos. 99 and 101 is probable. On *v* and *c* cp. what is said at No. 82. If the fundamental meaning is 'prick,' as Corssen also supposes (i². 533), we shall be more inclined to connect the Lat. *pig-e-t me* (*g* for *c* as in *vīginti*) than *pējor*, and certainly than *peccare*, which has not at all the notion of malice in it.

101. Root *πικ* *ποικ-ίλο-ς* party-coloured, *ποικίλλ-ω* make gay.

Skt. *πιç* (*πιç-ā-mi*) adorn, fashion, form, *πιç* (f.) ornament, *pēc-as* form, image, *pēcaldá-s* artistically shaped, beautiful.

Lat. *ping-o*, *pic-tor*, *pic-tura*.

Goth. *filu-faih-s* πολυ-ποίκιλος, OHG. *fēh* variegatus. 165

ChSl. *pīstrŭ* variegatus, *pīs-ati* write.

Grimm 'Gesch.' 396, Schleicher 'Ksl.' 120, Pott W. ii. 2, 563. — According to the 'Ptsb. Wtb.' the real meaning of the Skt. root seems to be 'work at with a sharp tool,' hence it is also used of the carving and cutting up of meat. And since the Romans as well use *pingere* with and without *acu* in the sense of embroider, connexion with Nos. 100 and 99 is probable. I give then 'prick' as the fundamental meaning, whence all the other meanings may be easily derived. [Cp. AS. *fāh* 'foe,' and *fāh* 'varius,' and Grimm 'Dict.' s. v. *fehde*.] The Skt. *pēc-as* is used of gay stuff, *pēc-as-kārī* of a webster or embroideress. In Zend too there occurs *piça*, *paeçaiñ* in the sense of 'form,' 'ornament.' This word then tells us the fact in the history of Art that *scratching* was prior to *colouring* with the Indo-Germans; the application of the word to writing in the old Persian *ni-pis* (Schweizer 'Ztschr.' xv. 315) and in Slavonic has its analogy in *γράφ-ω* (No. 138). In Gk. too an inscribed law tablet was according to Pittakos (Diog. La. i. 77) *ποικίλον ξύλον* (καὶ ὑπὸ Κροίσου

(ἐρωτηθεῖς), τίς ἀρχή μεγίστη, ἡ τοῦ ποικίλου, ἔφη, ξύλου, σημαίνων τὸν νόμον). There is a good deal of doubt about the unattested Skt. *piñḡ*, which along with other meanings has also that of 'pingere.' *pingo*: *pic* = *mungo* (No. 92): *muk*. — Lobeck 'Proleg.' 113 annot. 1.

102. Stem *πλακ*, *πλάξ* flat surface, *πλάκ-ινο-s* made of planks, *πλακοῦs* flat, (flat) cake.

Lat. *planc-a* plate, slab, *planc-u-s* flat-footed, *plā-nu-s* flat, level.

OHG. *flah*.

Lith. *plasz-ta-kà* flat hand, *plókszcza-s* (for *ploksztja-s*) flat.

Pott W. iii. 186, Grimm 'Gesch.' 397, Joh. Schmidt 'Vocal.' i. 75. — The root seems to be the same as that of *πλήσσω*, cp. 'Ind. lect. Kil. aest. a. 1857' p. vi., and No. 367 b. — *plā-nu-s* for *plac-nu-s*. Pott compares also *lanx* (st. *lanc*), which I with Leo Meyer 'Vergl. Gr.' i. 97 connect with *λέκ-os*, *λεκ-ί-s*, *λεκ-άνη* (in the *κοινή*, *λακάνη*) 'dish.' — Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 317 connects the OIr. *lecc*, gen. *licce* (st. *plancā*?) 'flagstone,' which must not be confounded with *lia*, gen. *liac* 'stone' ('cos' Z². 259).

103. Root *πλεκ* *πλέκ-ω* plait, *πλέγ-μα*, *πλοκ-ή* a plait, *πλόκ-αμο-s* lock (of hair).

Skt. rt. *park* (*pr-ṛá-k-mi*) mix, mingle, connect, *prk-ti-s* contact, *ā-prk* mixedly, *praç-na-s* plait, basket (?).

Lat. *plec-t-o*, *am-plec-t-or*, *plíc-o*, *du-plex*.

Goth. *flah-t-óm*, dat. pl. *πλέγμασι*, *fal-th-a* πτύσσω,

OHG. *flih-tu*, *flah-s* flax.

ChSl. *ple-t-a* I plait.

Bopp 'Gl.' Benf. ii. 97, Fick i². 681, Pott W. iii. 190. — The use for describing exclusively plaiting and folding is confined to the European languages, while the Skt. words have a more general meaning. — 166 Schleicher 'Ksl.' 120. — Perhaps *πόρκο-s* 'net' belongs here too, with older *p* for *λ* with which Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 378 connects *Parca* (cp. *κλωθώ*) as spinner of the thread of fate. Ebel 'Ztschr.' vi. 217 compares *πόρκη-s* 'a ring,' with the OHG. *felga*. In the ChSl. *pletā* and the Goth. *faltha* alike the guttural is forced out. — I fail to see any connexion with *πλίσσασθαι* 'stride,' *πλιχάς* 'interfeminium,' *πλίξ* βῆμα. — Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 420 connects also *plāg-a* 'net,' 'snare,' 'carpet,' Corssen i². 35 *com-pe-sco* for *com-per-sco*.

104. *πόρκο-s* pig. — Lat. *porcu-s*, Umbr. *purka*, *porca*. —

OHG. *farah*. [AS. *fearh*, Eng. *farrow*.] — Lith. *pàrsza-s* pig, sucking-pig, ChSl. *prasę*. — OIr. *orc* pig.

Kuhn in Web. 'Ind. Stud.' i. 342, Grimm 'Gesch.' 37, Schleicher 'Ksl.' 121, Windisch 'Beitr.' viii. 7. — *πόρκο-s* is attested to be a Gk. word by Varro L. L. v. § 97 Müll. — Pictet ii. 82 compares the OHG. *furh* 'furrow' with the Lat. *porca* in the sense of 'field-bed,' 'ridge between two furrows' (according to Rhys 'Rev. Celt.' i. 352 we may add the OCymr. *reo* 'sulco' Z². 1063), going to the notion of 'rooting up' for the connexion between the two, a notion which however finds no support in the Skt. *park* (No. 103). Fick 'Ztschr.' xviii. 413. — A European word.

105. *σκαϊό-s* left, *σκαϊό-τη-s*, *σκαϊο-σύνη* left-handedness.
— Lat. *scaevu-s*, *scaevi-ta-s*, *Scaevola*, *scaeva* (Fest. p. 325).

Bopp 'Gl.' Benf. i. 619, Schleicher 'Ksl.' 138, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 22. Grimm 'Gesch.' 993, where the Low-German *scheef*, the High-German *scheib*, *scheb* (obliquus) and the Slov. *ševī*, *po-ševī* 'slanting' are compared. The primitive form *skavja-s* is probably related to *σκαῦρο-s* (with projecting ankles) and the Lat. *scauru-s*. About the last-mentioned word Corssen i². 350 has a different view. — The synonymous words from Skt. (*savjā-s*=Zd. *havja*) and ChSl. (*šuj*) cannot easily be connected with the Gk. and Latin words.

106. Stem *σκαλπ σκάλοψ*, *σπάλαξ*, *ἀ-σπάλαξ* mole.
Lat. *scalp-o* scratch, engrave, *scalp-ru-m*, *talp-a* mole.
OHG. *sceliva* scraphia, siliqua.
Lith. *sklemp-iu* cut into (?).

Pott i¹. 140. — On the prothetic *ā* see Lob. 'Elem.' i. 15, who must be right in comparing *σκάλλω*. *σκαλπ*: *σκαλ*=*φελπ* (*ἐλπομαι*): *φελ*, *βολ*. — *talp-a* must be for *stalp-a*. Cp. pp. 552 and 700 and No. 521. — Fick i³. 811 puts *κολάπτω* (*κόλαφος*, hence with aspirated *π*) with *scalpo*. Cp. Corssen i². 547.

107. *σκάνδ-αλο-ν*, *σκανδάλη-θορο-ν* trap-stick.
Skt. *skand* (*skánd-ā-mi*) dart, leap, leap upon, *pra-skand* leap forth.
Lat. *scand-o*, *de-scend-o*.
OIr. *ses-caind* (perf.) he leapt.

Pott i¹. 249, Bopp 'Gl.' — Since the Skt. *skand* also means 'cadere,' 'elabi,' 'effluere,' and the root seems to have as its primitive meaning that of 'swift, darting movement,' the Lith. *skënd-u* 'sink down' may

possibly belong here. But with σκάζω (No. 573) there is no connexion, nor with σχάζειν 'set free,' 'let go,' 'split,' which Fick i³. 806 puts along with these words. — Ascoli 'Lautl.' p. 28.

- 167 108. Root σκαπ σκήπ-τ-ω support, Dor. σκά-πος, σκήπ-τρο-ν, σκήπ-ων staff, σκηπ-τό-ς flash of lightning.
 Lat. *scāp-u-s* shaft, *scīp-io* staff, *scōp-ae* twigs,
scōp-u-s stalk, *scop-io* stalk, *scam-nu-m* bench.
 ON. *skap-t*, OHG. *scaf-t* hostile (?).

Benf. i. 655, who compares the Skt. *skabh*, *skambh* 'fulcire' in infringing of the phonetic laws. Pott W. v. 213. I cannot agree with Benfey and Kuhn's extensive combinations ('Ztschr.' i. 139, iv. 32), according to which σκ stands for στ. — A weaker form of the root is σκιπ, σκιμπ, whence σκίμπ-τ-ω, σκίπ-ων, to which *scīp-io* comes near. — Corssen i². 401, 128. — Fick i³. 807 separates the Teutonic words, which he puts with *skaban*.

109. Root σκαπ σκάπ-τ-ω dig, σκαπ-άνη spade, σκάπ-ε-το-ς, κάπετο-ς ditch.
 ChSl. *kop-a-ti* fodere, Lith. *káp-a-s* grave-mound,
 OPr. *enkop-t-s* buried.

Pott i¹. 141, Schleicher 'Ksl.' 95, Benf. i. 192, Fick i³. 807. — On the initial letter Lob. 'El.' i. 125. The φ in ἔσκαφα, ἐσκάφην, σκάφη, σκαφώρη or καφώρη (fox) is an after-formation; the meanings 'dig' and 'hollow out' are united in σκάφος, which means in Hes. Ἔργ. 570 'digging,' but usually like σκάφη 'a hollow.' — Benf. 'Ztschr.' vii. 52 connects with this root not only σκέπ-αρ-νο-ν 'carpenter's axe' (No. 68 b), but also the Lat. *scab-o* (*scaber*, *scab-ies*) with weakening of *p* to *b*. Since Corssen i². 128 actually quotes the form *scapres*, and the meaning 'torn, rough, scratched,' might well arise from the original idea of the root, this combination may be correct. — On another side—since a *p* at the end of a root sometimes escapes the regular change—is suggested the comparison of the Teutonic words *Schaff* (OS. *skap*), Goth. *skip* πλοῖον (cp. σκάφ-ος) with the common idea of 'something hollowed out' (cp. κοῖλαι νῆες). Cp. No. 56. They remind us specially of σκαφ-ίο-ν, σκάφ-η 'fan.' Jurmann 'Ztschr.' xi. 389 connects with them even the Goth. *ga-skap-jan* (Germ. *schaffen* 'make'), OHG. *sceffan* (scoop out) and MHG. *schuofe*, Germ. *Schaufel* 'shovel.' *Schaffen* accordingly would mean to prepare by hollowing out. Cp. Pictet ii. 85. Zimmer 'Suff. a' p. 299. [Are not OE. *skep* or *skip* 'a round basket' or 'a beehive,' AS. *scep* or *sceop*, LG. *schapp*, and the ME. *scoop* also akin?]

110. Stem σκαπτ σκώρ gen. σκατ-ός, σκωρ-ία dross. —
 Skt. *ava-skara-s* excrement. — Lat. *sterc-us*, *ster-*

quiliniu-m. — AS. *skearn* dung. — ChSl. *skvrǎ-na* inquinamentum, *skar-ǣd-ovati se βδελύττεσθαι.* — Cymr. *ysgarth* excretion.

Fick ii^a. 269, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 317. — The stem-form is *σκαρτ*, whence came *σκατ* like *ἡπατ* from *ἡπαρτ*: in the nom. and acc. lengthening occurred on account of its being a monosyllable. — The change into *sterc*, denied by Corssen i^a. 178, is after the pattern of the Gk. *στεργ-άνο-ς κοπρών* Hesych., where *κ* is softened to *γ*. The meaning of *σκαρ-ία* is to be seen also in the Lat. *stercus ferri*. The root is *skar* 'depart,' 'separate' (No. 76). — The Skt. *śákr̥t* is better separated from these words (cp. No. 28). But we shall see directly in No. 111 an unmistakable example of an interchange of organ similar to that which we here suppose to have taken place between the stems *skart* and *stark*. — The 168 old guttural has survived in the Lat. *mus-cer-da*, *su-cer-da*. Cp. p. 697.

111. Root *σκεπ σκέπ-τ-ο-μαι* spy, *σκοπ-ή, σκοπ-ιά* watch-tower, *σκόπ-ελο-ς* rock (?), *σκοπ-ό-ς* a spy, aim, *σκόψ* owl.

Skt. *spaç* (*παç-jǎ-mi*) look, *spaç*, *spaça-s* spy, watchman. — Zd. *çpaç* look at, guard, *çpaç* a spy.

Lat. *spec spec-i-o* (*spic-i-o*), *con-spic-i-o*, *spec-ula*, *spec-ulu-m*, *spec-to*.

OHG. *spēh-ō-m*, *spāh-i* prudens, callidus.

ChSl. *pas-ti* tend, graze, *pšs-ǎ* dog.

Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *παç*, Pott W. ii. 2, 543, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 11, Miklos. 'Lex.' 557. — The metathesis of the organ is unmistakeable, the fundamental meaning is 'spy.' On Homer's *σκόπελος* (*προβλήτι σκοπέλω*), which did not yet mean 'cliff,' see Doederlein 'Gl.' 2358. — *σκόψ* so called from its sharp sight, *σκόπ-τ-ω* perhaps from a mocking glance (Fick i^a. 809 otherwise). — Athen. xiv. 629 f. is important for the connexion of *σκόψ* with the rt. *σκεπ*—*σκόψ*, *σκόπευμα*. *ἦν δὲ ὁ σκόψ τῶν ἀποσκοπούντων τὸ σχῆμα, ἄκραν τὴν χεῖρα ὑπὲρ τοῦ μετώπου κεκυρτωκότων.* — Corssen i^a. 379 places here the Lat. *pic-us*, *pic-a* along with other names of birds.

112. *σκι-ά* shade, *σκια-ρό-ς* shady, *σκιά-ω* overshadow, *σκιά-ς* (st. *σκιαδ*) awning.

Skt. *Khājā* for *skājā* shade, glimmering.

OS. *ski-mo*, MHG. *schime*, *sche-me* shade.

ChSl. *stěň* shade, Lith. *sze-szė-li-s* shade, shadow.

OIr. *scíath* scutum (st. *scaita*), OAre. *scout* (Z². 97).

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott i^a. 243, Benf. i. 610, Miklosich 'Lex.' Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 317. — Hesych. has the forms *σκούά*, *σκούεινά*, *σκούών*

σύσκιον, σκοιδιον' σκιάδιον, whence we may infer a lost form σκoα which came from *skajā* (σκοια). I once thought the root to be *ski*, but Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 385 points out that we could arrive from *ska* as well at σκί-ά (cp. rt. πι by the side of πο No. 371, κρίνω No. 76) and even at σκί-ρο-ν 'umbrella,' σκί-ρο-ς 'country covered with vegetation' (Boeckh's note to 'C. I. Gr.' iii. p. 706). Consequently I now refer with him and Leo Meyer 'Vergl. Gr.' i. 340, both these words and σκη-νή 'tent,' σκό-τος 'darkness' (cp. κύ-τος), OIr. *scáth* 'shade,' Goth. *skadu-s*, and with determinative *d* the Skt. *Khād* 'cover,' *Khāt-tra-m* 'umbrella,' with formative *p* σκέ-π-ας 'protection' with its related words (p. 705) all to the rt. *ska*. Corssen (and also Benfey 'Or. u. Occ.' ii. 569) is no doubt right in connecting the Lat. *ca-sa* (for *scad-ta*), *cas-sis* 'helmet' and *cas-tru-m* (Umbr. *castru-o*, Osc. *castro-us*, Aufr. and Kirchh. ii. 159) in the sense of 'means of defence' with the secondary rt. *skad* ('Beitr.' 449). — The Ir. *cathir* gen. *cathrach* 'town,' which Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 317 identifies with *castrum*, is formed like *nathir* gen. *nathrach* 'water-snake,' and points to a root syllable *ca* or *ska*, certainly not *skad*. Cp. Fick i². 516. — With the presumable *skajā* we may perhaps connect *cae-cu-s*, Goth. *haih-s*, OIr. *cáech* 'blind,' as it were *σκο-ι-κό-ς 'shady,' 'dark,' while *co-cle(t)-s* may be regarded as derived from a diminutive *sco-cu-lu-s* (cp. *Rediculu-s*): (cp. Spiegel 'Beitr.' ii. 264, otherwise Pott ii². 446). Cp. Corssen 'Nachtr.' 263.

- 169 113. Root *σκυ* σκευ-ή clothing, σκεῦ-ος furniture, σκευά-ζ-ω prepare, equip — σκῦ-τ-ο-ς, κύ-τ-ο-ς skin, ἐπι-σκύ-νιο-ν the skin of the brow.
 Skt. *sku* (*sku-nā-mi*) cover, overwhelm.
 Lat. *ob-scū-ru-s*, *scū-tu-m*, *cū-ti-s*.
 AS. *scā-a*, *scā-va* umbra, caligo, ON. *ský* (Eng. *sky*) cloud-covering, heaven, OHG. *skiu-ra* receptaculum, AS. *hād* hide.
 WhRuss. *skū-ra* skin, hide, ChSl. *šti-tŭ* ἀσπίς.
 OIr. *ceó* cloud.

Pott W. i. 1354, Benf. i. 611, Pictet ii. 224, Brückner 'Slav. Fremdwörter des Litauischen' 133. — The connexion of σκῦ-τ-ο-ς, κύ-τ-ο-ς (ἐγκυτί), *cu-ti-s* is unmistakeable (cp. No. 573); on the τ see 'Ztschr.' iv. 215. κύ-τ-ος 'a hollow' belongs to No. 79. — σκῦλο-ν 'equipment' presents difficulties: it is distinct from σκύλο-ν 'hide' and can no more be separated from *spoliu-m* than from συλά-ω (cp. σκυλεύω) while σκυλό-ω (cover) again resembles our root in sound. Cp. Kuhn iv. 35, Corssen i². 525, who regards the liquids in these words as radical, and accordingly gives *skur*, σκυλ as the root. — Cp. No. 112.

114. Root *κυλ σκύλλω* pull off, flay, *σκούλ-μα* a pulling off, *κο-σκυλ-μάτια* leather-parings.

Lat. *qui-squil-iae*.

Pott W. ii. 1, 699, Benf. i. 200. — Cp. No. 113 and rt. *σκαλ* (under No. 106), *σκολ* too appears as the root with related meanings: *σκόλ-υ-θρο-ς* 'lopped,' 'poor,' again without *σ* *κόλο-ς* 'mutilated,' *κολού-ω*, and with formative *π* *σκολύπ-τ-ω* 'lop,' *σκόλοψ* 'stake' (?). Corssen 'Beitr.' 450, i². 524, Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 380. — *κοσκυλμάτια* according to Hesych. *τὰ τῶν βυρσῶν περικομμάτια*, *quisquiliae* according to Fest. p. 257, 'dici putantur quidquid ex arboribus minutis surculorum foliorumve cadit.'

115. *φάλκ-η-ς* rib of a ship, *έμ-φαλκό-ω* bind up, clasp round, *φολκό-ς* bow-legged.

Lat. *falc* (st. *falc*), *flec-t-o*, *falc-o* (?).

Buttm. 'Lexil.' i. 245 where the traditional meaning of *φολκό-ς* (only in B 217) springing from an absurd etymology is satisfactorily refuted. — *φάλκη-ς* according to Pollux i. 85 τὸ τῇ στείρα προσηλούμενον, i. e. 'the curved timbers nailed to the keel-beams,' and forming the rounded hold of the ship. — *έμφαλκουμένοις*, according to Suid. (ed. Bernh. ii. 222) *περιπελεγμένοις*, 'bound round with twined cords,' so that *φολκό-ς* must mean 'bow-legged.' — The Lat. *falcones* rests on the same footing as it is explained by Paul. 88 'dicuntur quorum digiti pollices in pedibus intra sunt curvati, a similitudine falcis' (cp. Loewe 'Prodrom.' 390), also *falc*. — We are reminded also of the OHG. *balco* 'beam,' but the *c* is not according to rule. [See Grimm 'Dict.' ii. 1089.]

Γ

Greek *γ* corresponds to Indo-Germanic *g*. In Sanskrit it is 170 represented by *g* and *ǵ*, in Zend by *g*, *gh*, *j*, *z*, *zh*, in Latin by *g*, in Gothic by *k*, in Church-Slavonic by *g*, *z*, *ž*, in Lithuanian by *g*, *ž*, in Old Irish by *g*, seldom by *b*. — On the traces of two different *g*'s see p. 87.

116. *ἄγ-ος* guilt, object of awe, *έν-αγ-ής* accursed, *ἄ-γιο-ς* *μιαρός*, *άγ-ής* cursed.

Skt. *āg-as* vexation, offence.

Benf. i. 149, Bopp 'Gl.' — At both these places the entirely different *qhas* is wrongly compared (rt. *άχ* No. 166). — The spiritus lenis of *άγος*

is not merely Ionic, but is now read in Thucydides and in other authors; that *ἄγιος* with the meaning *μαρός* has the smooth breathing is expressly stated in the 'E. M.' s. v. In *ἀγής* in Hipponax fr. 11 Bergk³ *ὥς οἱ μὲν ἀγεί Βουπάλῳ κατηρώντο* the spir. asp. is of doubtful authority. — With the rt. *ἀγ* = Skt. *jaḡ* (No. 118) there is no relationship. — Delbrück calls my attention to the fact that as in Thuc. i. 126 we have *ἄγος τῆς θεοῦ*, so in Skt. we have *dēvānām āgas*, i. e. *τῶν θεῶν ἄγος*.

117. Root *ἄγ* *ἄγ-ω*, *ἄγ-ινέ-ω* drive, lead, *ἄγ-ό-ς*, *ἄκ-τωρ* leader, *ἄγ-ων* contest, *ἄγ-υιά* street, *ὄγ-μο-ς* line, swathe, *ἄγ-ρα* the chase.

Skt. *ag* (*āḡ-ā-mi*) go, drive, swing, *ag-á-s* driver, *ag-ir-á-s* agile, *ag-man* train, *ag-má-s* way, train, *ag-í-s* race. — Zd. *az* lead, drive.

Lat. *ag-o*, *ag-men*, *ag-ili-s*, *amb-āg-ēs*, *ac-tor*, *ac-tu-s*, *ac-ti-o*.

ON. *ak-a* vehere, vehi.

OIr. *ato-m-aig* adigit me (Z². 430), *ág* (gen. *ága*) strife, *ám* (st. *agmen*) manus hostium.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Grimm 'Gesch.' 408, Pictet ii. 6, Pott W. iii. 364, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 318. — The agreement in the development of the meaning is remarkable. Cp. especially *āḡ-í-s* and *ἀγ-ών*, Skt. *āḡ-í-m āḡ-āmi* 'I run a race,' like the Gk. *ἐορτήν, θυσίαν ἄγω*, Lat. *diem festum, pacem ago*, and again the Lat. *agon-ia* 'beast for sacrifice,' *agon-iu-m* 'festival,' the Marsian *agine Jovias* 'festival of Jovia' according to Corssen 'Ztschr.' ix. 147. Doubt has been thrown on the correspondence of *ἄγρα* along with *ἀγρεύω*, *ἀγρέω*, *ζω-γρέ-ω* and the Zd. *azra* by Spiegel 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 194. But the Lat. *ind-āgo*, *ind-āgā-re* certainly start with the notion of driving wild beasts. In the Homeric *ἄγρει* = *ἄγε* appears the relationship to the stem-verb, while this verb itself when used as in Soph. 'Ant.' 344 *φύλον ὀρνίθων ἀμφιβαλὼν ἄγει*, and in the phrase *ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν*, and in the poetical use of *agere*, comes very near the meaning 'hunt.' The gloss *ἀγρεμών* is explained by Hesych. simply by *θηρευτής*. It is only in *αὐτ-ἀγρε-το-ς*, *παλιν-ἀγρε-το-ς*, *κρε-άγρα*, *πυρ-άγρα* that the meaning has become general. — A consideration of such words as *στρατ-ηγό-ς*, *ἀρχ-ηγό-ς*, and of the use of 171 *ἡγείσθαι*, *ἡγεμών*, especially in Homer, will prevent us from separating this word from the rt. *ἀγ*. On the spir. asp. see p. 688. The post-Homeric meaning of *ἡγείσθαι* 'consider,' 'think' is shared by the primitive *ἄγω* as well as by *duco*. It arrives at it through the notion of 'poising,' 'weighing,' whence the Lat. *agina* 'scapus trutinae,'

ex-ig-ere, *ex-ā(g)-men*, also *ex-ig-uu-s*, which thus means properly 'exact,' and this use is quite common: ἤγε τριακοσίων δαρεικούς and metaphorically in Soph. 'El.' 119 μούνη γὰρ ἄγειν οὐκέτι σικῶ λήπης ἀντίρροπον ἄχθος. We may add *āξio-s*, so that *μᾶς ἄξιος* properly = *μᾶν ἄγων* 'having the weight of a mina.' There was no need at all for the Skt. *sa* which Pott (ii². 335) conjured up, as he might have seen from *ἀντ-άξιο-s*. *ἄγα-ν* 'very,' literally 'drawing,' with the stem-form *ἀγα* preserved in *ἀγ-ήνωρ* (cp. Roediger 'Comp.' p. 4) belongs to the same root.

118. Root *ār āξ-o-μαι* fear, *ἄγ-io-s* holy, *ἀγ-νό-s* pure, *ἀγίζω*, *ἐν-αγίζω* consecrate, offer up. — *ἄγ-os* consecration, sacrifice.

Skt. *jaḡ* (*jaḡ-ā-mi*) reverence, consecrate, sacrifice, *jaḡ-us* awe, consecration, *jaḡ-as*, *jaḡ-ñā-s* sacrifice, *jaḡ-ja-s* venerable. — Zd. *yaz* to worship, sacrifice, *yaz-u* lofty, sublime.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. iii. 575. — *βάγιος μέγας* in Hesych. has nothing to do with this root: nor do I with Benfey i. 434 ff. consider the Skt. *jaḡ* and *bhaḡ* to be the same root. Still less has the Lat. *sacer*, *sancio* anything to do with *āγios*. — I write *āγ-os* (Hesych. *ἀγνισμα θυσίας*) as distinguished from *āγος* 'curse' (No. 116) with Hermann on Aesch. 'Choeph.' 149; so too Soph. 'Antig.' 775 ὡς *āγος*.

119. *ἀγρό-s* field. — Skt. *āgrā-s* surface, plain. — Lat. *ager* (st. *agro*). — Goth. *akr-s* field (acre).

Grimm 'Gesch.' 408, P. W., where connexion with the rt. *ag* is conjectured. The Skt. word stands in the Vedas generally for the plain as opposed to the mountains. So that perhaps Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iii. 334 and Pictet ii. 79 are right in thinking that *āγρός* is so named 'a pecore agendo,' like the German *Trift* 'pasturage' from *treiben* 'to drive.' The general meaning of 'country,' 'plain,' is often to be seen in *āγρός* too, as also in its derivative *āγριο-s* = Skt. *āgrja-s* 'lying in the plain,' and its meaning of 'wild,' which occurs as early as Homer, is a striking evidence of the Greek's view of life.

120. *αἰῖ* (st. *aly*) goat, *aly-ί-s* goatskin, *aly-ών* goat-stall, *αἰγ-αγρο-s* chamois.

Skt. *agā-s* buck, *agā* she-goat, dimin. *agākā*, *ajikā*.

Lith. *ožý-s* he-goat, *ož-kà* she-goat.

OIr. *ag allaid* cervus (wild-buck), pl. *aige* deer.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. iii. 136, Schleicher 'Ksl.' 98, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 318, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iii. 433, who will not hold the above words

connected 'until the *a* is explained.' I explain it by epenthesis, starting from a stem *āy*, which we may give as a feminine by the side of the Skt. *āḡa*, i.e. *aga* (cp. p. 678). So Benf. 'Ztschr.' viii. 75, Pott ix. 175. The nom. *āḡ* may be derived straight from *āy*-s with loss of *i*; the stem *āy* is apparently preserved in *āy*-soro-s (Roediger 'Comp.' 55). It is not so very surprising that *āḡ* should then be used 172 as a masculine as well, after the consciousness of its origin had disappeared. — The old derivation from *āḡ*-sow (st. *āḡ*) is false, the probable one is that from the rt. *āy*, cp. Skt. *āḡ*-s = *ag*-ili-s (P. W.). — Meineke's and M. Schmidt's emendation of Hesych. βαῖκαρ *āḡa* ('Ztschr.' xii. 216) has therefore no foundation. — It should be noticed with regard to the use of *āy*s that the Skt. *āḡ*-ina-m means 'skin' in general = ChSl. *azno*, *jazno* 'skin,' 'leather' (Fick i³. 479).

121. Root ἀργ *ārg*-ó-s, *ārg*-ḡ-s (st. *ārg*ητ), *ārg*-ennó-s, *ārg*-ivó-ei-s, *ārg*v-φo-s bright, white, *ārg*v-po-s silver, *ārg*-īlo-s white clay.

Skt. *āḡ*-una-s whitish, bright, *raḡ*-atá-s white, *raḡ*atá-m silver, rt. *rāḡ* (*rāḡ*-ā-mi) shine.

Lat. *argu*-o I make clear, *argū*-tu-s clear, plain, *argentu*-m, Osc. *arag*-eto-m silver, *arg*-illa white clay.

Bopp 'Gl.' Benf. i. 104, Pott W. iii. 582, where *ārg*vφo-s with *ārg*vφe-o-s is rightly referred to the rt. *φa* = Skt. *bhā* 'shine.' The position of the vowel in Skt. fluctuates, and it is doubled in the Osc. *arag*-eto-m and in the Zend *erezata* of similar meaning. — Nitzsch on β 11 recognized that *κίνες πόδας ἀργοί* (*ἀργίποδες*) or *ἀργοί* simply in the sense of 'swift-footed' is connected with the idea of 'whiteness' by means of that of 'gleaming' (*μαρμαρυγαὶ ποδῶν*). So *pedibus argutariis* (Titin. v. 28 Ribbeck) is used of the feet of a man walking. — Sonne 'Ztschr.' x. 338. — Cp. No. 154. — The OIr. *arget*, Cymr. *ariant* are borrowed from Latin, Ebel 'Beitr.' ii. 140.

122. Root γαυ, γαυ *gau*-po-s proud, *ga*-í-ω rejoice, *γέ*-γη-θ-a, *γη*-θέ-ω, *γῆ*-θ-os, *γη*θ-οσύνη joy, *γη*θó-συνο-s glad, *γά*-vv-μαι rejoice, *γάν*-os gayness, splendour.

Lat. *gau* (Enn. Annal. 451); *gau*-d-eo, *gavī*-su-s, *gaud*-iu-m.

ON. *kā*-t-r laetus.

Pott W. i. 741, Benf. ii. 114, Grimm 'Gesch.' 399. — The connexion of these words is denied by Dietrich 'Jahn's Jahrb.' 81, 38, and Hugo Weber 'Etymol. Untersuch.' 93. Both assume a rt. *ya* with a

secondary rt. *γαν* like *φαν* from *φα* (No. 407), and for the other words *γαν*. Since, however, we find in the related languages no support for these supposed roots, and are able to support by analogies all the changes of sound, I hold to my own view. *γaf-i-ω* becomes *γα-i-ω* as *καf-i-ω* becomes *κα-i-ω* (No. 44), *γaf-vu-μαι* *γά-vu-μαι* as *κλοf-vi-s* *κλό-vi-s* (No. 61). *γάνος* (with *γανάω* 'shine') can have been formed by the suffix *-νος* like *ἔθ-νος*, *ἔχ-νος*.—It is not improbable that *ἀ-γαν-ός-s*, *ἀ-γαν-ρός-s* 'proud,' *ἀ-γα-ίο-μαι* and *ἄγα-μαι* with *ἄγη* 'astonishment' are related, and from these again *ἀγάλλω*, *ἀγανός-s*, etc. seem not far removed, though I grant they admit of other explanations (H. Weber p. 49, Fick i³. 561).—Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 318 adds the gloss *guaire*. *ιῦασαλ* (noble).

123. Stem *γαλακτ* (nom. *γάλα*) milk, Homeric *γάργ-os*, *γαλα-θη-νό-s* sucking milk, *γαλ-ήνη* a calm (?).

Lat. st. *lact*, nom. *lac*, OLat. *lacte*.

These words are among those which, in spite of their incontestable 173 connexion, offer great obstacles to analysis. As to their origin there are four suppositions of the most opposite character.—(1) Bopp 'Comp. Gram.' i. 254 regards *γα-λακτ* as a compound from the Skt. stem *gav* (= Gk. *βοf* No. 644), but can give no satisfactory explanation of the second half of the word. This line is taken up by Max Müller 'Ztschr.' xii. 27, Pictet ii. 29, who go on each in a different way, M. M. to explain it by the Skt. *ράgas*, which usually means 'atmosphere,' and is by some compared with the Gk. *ἔρεβος*, Pictet by *λάξω* a by-form of *λαμβάνω*, though that has no trace of a *γ* in the root. There is moreover this additional objection, that the stem *gav* has always in the two classical languages a *b*, and that the two words do not mean 'cow's milk' exclusively.—(2) Pott ii¹. 204, 311, 'Beitr.' ii. 54, W. i. 759 (Grimm 'Gesch.' 326) tries to arrive at the root of *ἀμέλγ-ω* (No. 150); making *mlag* become *blag*, and this *glag* (*γάργ-os*) arriving thus at an agreement with the Goth. *miluk-s* (ChSl. *mlēko* borrowed thence?). But there is no complete analogy for such transition of sound, and the very ancient form *γάλα*, where there was nothing to prevent the pronunciation *μαλα*, would remain unexplained.—(3) Walter 'Ztschr.' xi. 436 gives *βδέλλειν* 'suck,' 'milk,' as the source of the word, and refers it to a rt. *gal*. But this root with such a meaning is nowhere to be seen.—(4) Hugo Weber in his 'Et. Forsch.' discusses thoroughly all the connected forms, and gives as the rt. *γαλ*, meaning 'to be clear,' 'to shine.' (Cp. No. 133 b.) Since *γαλ-ήνη* (meaning also 'plumbago'), *γελ-άω*, *γελ-εῖν* (*λάμπειν ἀνθεῖν* Hesych.), Lat. *gel-u*, perhaps even the Skt. *ḡala-m* 'water,' with a train of other words, can without violence be explained from such a root, this

explanation is not improbable. But perhaps Brunnhofer's derivation (in his 'Γάλα, lac,' Aarau 1871) is after all a more likely one. He refers the word to the rt. *gar* 'swallow,' 'drink' (cp. No. 643), to which, he says, γάρο-ς 'pap' belongs.—According to this view the OIr. *lact* 'milk,' Cymr. *laith* must be borrowed, since there is no clear instance of the loss of a *g* in Irish.—From the rt. γαλ came the rare form γαλ-ατ (Pherekr. in Meineke's 'Com.' ii. 300 v. 18 γάλατι according to Dind.) like ἀλ-ατ from the rt. ἀλ (No. 657), from the lengthened stem γλακ (cp. *glac-īe-s*) γλακ-ῶντες (μεστοὶ γάλακτος Hesych.), γλακκό-ν (γαλαθνήν ib.), with softening of the final κ to γ γλάγ-ος. γαλακτ- (for γλακτ cp. γλακτ-ο-φάγοι) may be referred like *lact* (for *glact*) to *glac-ti* (cp. Lat. *rē-ti* nom. *rē-te*). γαλα-θη-νό-ς is compounded with the rt. θε (No. 309).

124. Hom. γαλόω-ς γάλωσ γαλοώνη (Suid.) husband's sister. — Lat. *glōs*. — ChSl. *zľuva* glos.

Pott i¹. 131, Kuhn in Weber's 'Ind. Studien' i. 328, Miklosich 'Lex.' — Perhaps the Phrygian form γέλαρος (*ἀδελφοῦ γυνή* Hesych.) mentioned by Nauck ('Aristoph. Byz.' 136) is also related. — γάλωσ according to Pollux iii. 32 ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀδελφῇ τῇ ἐκείνου γυναικί. *glōs* according to Paul. 'Epit.' 98 and Charisius p. 42, 10 K. only *virī soror*, and so also in the glossae Philoxeni (Loewe 'Prodr.' 257), but according to Nonius p. 557 M. also *fratris uxor*. For the Gk. word *galva-s* may be given as the primitive form, the Lat. *glōs* gen. *glōris* has a suffix in *s* like *flōs*, *rōs*. — The Skt. *sjālā-s* (so P. W., it is better written so than 174 *sjālā-s*) *uxoris frater*, which has been thought connected, has nothing to do with this root. — Ascoli 'Ztschr.' xii. 319, and Pictet ii. 375 are for identifying the root of γαλόωσ, probably γαλ (cp. No. 123) in the meaning of 'be bright,' by a comparison of other flattering appellations given to relations by marriage (*belle sœur*). Cp. No. 257.

125. γαμφ-ή, γαμφ-ηλή jaw, jaws, γόμφο-ς tooth, plug, γομφ-ίο-ς cheek-tooth.

Skt. *gambha-s* teeth, mouth, jaws, *gāmbhja-s* tooth, *gābh* (*gābh-ē*) or *gāmbh-ē* snap at.

ChSl. *zqb-ŭ* tooth, Lith. *gėmbe* hook in the wall.

Schleicher 'Ksl.' 110. — Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 123 ff., where a good many other words are discussed, especially from the Teutonic languages, which may with more or less probability be brought under this head. I will only mention the comparison of the old Saxon *camb* 'comb' and of the Gk. γέφυρα, which has clearly 'dam' as its first meaning. On the numerous dialectic varieties of the word cp. Beermann 'de dial. Boeot.' Stud. ix. 58. The names of the towns Γόμφοι and the Lat. *Gabii* also suggest themselves. — Benf. ii. 116. — Cp. No. 423.

- 125 b. Root γάρ-γαρα heap, γαρ-γαίρειν swarm, ἀ-γείρειν collect, assemble, ἀγορά assembly, place of assembly, market, ἀγυρι-s assembly, ἀγύρ-τη-s collector, beggar.

Skt. *gar* (*gár-ā-mi*) come near, *grā-ma-s* village, community.

Lat. *grex* (st. *gre-g*), *ē-greg-iu-s*, *greg-ā-tim*.

OIr. *graiḡ* equitium.

Fick i³. 566, Stokes 'Ir. Gloss.' 742, 'Gk. Verb' p. 215, Brugman 'Stud.' vii. 349, Van. 208. — γάργαρα only in ψαμμακοσιογάργαρα Aristoph. 'Ach.' 3 with the schol., also γέργερα πολλά (Hesych. and Varro L. L. v. 76). In *grex* we have a clear instance of broken reduplication. — ἀγέλη, in virtue of its ε (cp. νεφ-έλη, θυμ-έλη), belongs rather to the rt. ἀγ (No. 117). — Leo Meyer ('Ztschr.' xxiii. 411) and Froehde (Bezenb. 'Beitr.' iii. 131) add Skt. *gaṇā-s* for **gar-ṇu-s* 'crowd.'

126. γαστήρ (st. γαστερ) belly, γάστρα belly of a jug or cask. — Skt. *gāthāra-s* belly (?). — Lat. *venter* (for *gventer* (?)). — Goth. *quithu-s* belly, stomach, womb, *laus-quithr-s* sober.

Bopp 'Gl.', Pott i¹. 106, ii. 554, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iii. 435, where the Skt. *gas* 'swallow' is taken as the root, though the Ptsb. W. knows nothing of such a word. — Corsen 'Beitr.' 57. — *v* through *gv* from *g* as in *ven-io* (No. 634), *vor-o*=Skt. *gar* (No. 643). St. γαστερ at all events comes from a root in *s*, and agrees in this with the Teutonic *wans-t*, while *venter* on the other hand shows no trace of an *s*. — Hesychius's gloss γέντερ ἡ κοιλία looks as if the Lat. *venter* were referred to. — The Skt. *ṣh* seems to stand for *st*. Leo Meyer 'Vgl. Gr.' i. 37. — Brugman 'Stud.' ix. 272 holds the Skt. word to be quite distinct, and assumes the root to be *gar-s*.

127. γανλός pail, pitcher, γαῦλο-s merchant-ship. — Skt. *gōla-s* ball, *gōlā*, *gōla-m* water-jug in the shape of a ball.

Benf. ii. 292, where all sorts of other words are given. The origin 175 is doubtful, perhaps it is related to γογ-γῦλο-s 'round' and the Skt. *gūṭi* 'ball,' 'pill.' Since *ō*=*au*, there is nothing in the sounds against this connexion, but the relation of the meanings is not yet quite clear. — Fick i³. 76.

- 127 b. γέλυι-s head of garlic. — Skt. *grñḡ-ana-s* a kind of garlic.

Pictet i. 299, where is given the Erse *gairg-ean* of the same meaning. The identity of γελγ and γῆγ, i. e. *garng*, can hardly be denied: the suffix varies; in Gk. it is sometimes ι (gen. γέλγεως), sometimes ιθ (γέλγιθος), sometimes ιδ (γέλγιδος).

128. Root ΓΕΝ, ΓΑ ἐ-γεν-ό-μην, γί-γν-ο-μαι become, γείν-ο-μαι am born, γέν-ος race, γεν-ε-τήρ begetter, fem. γεν-έ-τειρα, γέν-ε-σι-s origin, γυν-ή woman. — γνή-σιο-s genuine.

Skt. *ján* (*ján-ā-mi* and *já-ján-mi*) beget, *já-j-ē* nascor, *ján-as* being, *ján-ús* race, *ján-i-tā* (st. *janitar*) genitor, *ján-i-trī* genetrix, *já-ti-s* birth, stem, Ved. *gnā* later *ján-i* woman. — Zd. *zan* beget, *ghena* woman.

Lat. *gen gi-gn-o*, *gen-ui*, *gen-us*, *gen-i-tor*, *gen-e-tri-x*, *gen(t)-s*, *gna-sc-o-r*, *gen-er*, *gen-iu-s* — *nātūra*.

Goth. *kein-an* (also *kijan*) sprout, *kun-i* race, *quin-ð*, *quén-s* (st. *quēni*) θῆλυ-s, OHG. *chind* proles, *chnuat natura*.

OPrus. *ganna*, ChSl. *žena* wife, Lith. *gen-tl-s* relation, *gentė* (st. *genter*) husband's brother's wife.

OIr. *ad-gainemmar* renascimur, perf. *ro génair* natus est, *gein* birth, *in-gen* daughter, Cymr. *geni* nasci, OIr. *ben* γυνή, Corn. *ben*, *benen* sponsa.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 17, Benf. ii. 116 f. 201, Ebel 'Beitr.' ii. 161. — The forms γεν and γα (γεγάς, γεγάσι, γί-γα(ντ)-ς) stand side by side like the Skt. *ján* and *já*. By metathesis there arose κασι-γνητο-s, γνή-σιο-s (cp. Skt. *gāt-ja-s* 'noble,' 'genuine,' Fick i³. 67) also the Lat. *gna-sc-o-r*, but γί-γν-ο-μαι and *gi-gn-o*, by reduplication and expulsion of the ε, while γείν-ο-μαι stands for γεν-jo-μαι and corresponds to the Skt. *já-j-ē*. On γίννμαι see 'Gk. Verb' p. 112, Beermann 'Stud.' ix. 44. — γέννα 'race' with Aeol. gemination = (*pro*-) *genie-s*, cp. Goth. *kuni* (n.) Fick i³. 558. — On the forms which mean 'woman' (i. e. 'bearer'), see Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 129. — Boeot. βανά, βαηκός (Ahr. 'Aeol.' 172) for γάνα with addition of the labial sound, which has also established itself in Gothic and Celtic; hence by abbreviation γυνή. On the inflexion γυνά-ικ-ός with the accession of the suffix *kī* cp. 'Ztschr.' iv. 216 and below p. 679. — On the Ir. *ben* (gen. *mná* Z². 241) Ebel 'Beitr.' i. 160, Stokes 'Beitr.' v. 446. — On *nātūra* see Classen 'zur Geschichte des Wortes Natur,' Frankf. a. M. 1862. — The forms with μ like γάμο-s, γαμβρό-s will be discussed below on p. 546.

129. γέρ-ανο-s crane (both the bird and the machine),
 γεράν-ιο-ν, Γεράν-εια.

Lat. *gr-ū-s*, *gru-e-re*.

OHG. *chr-an-uh*, AS. *cr-an*.

Lith. *gér-vė*, dim. *ger-v-ėlė*, ChSl. *žer-avŭ* crane, 176

Lith. *garny-s* stork.

Corn. *garan* crane.

Pott i³ 227, Grimm 'Gesch.' 399, Förstem. 'Ztschr.' iii. 48, Fick i³. 565.—It is remarkable that in all languages the word serves to denote a machine as well. The root is according to Pictet i. 492 *gar* 'to be old,' 'because cranes lived to be over fifty years old.' The bird is mentioned Γ 3 for its cry, and it seems more simple to assign the word to the rt. *gar* 'call' No. 133.—Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 453.—Cp. OGall. *tarvos trigaranus* (of a bull with three birds on its back) 'Beitr.' iii. 168.

- 129 b. γέρ-as honour, gift of honour, γερα-ρό-s deserving honour, γεραίρειν honour. — Zd. *gar* (n.) honour, *garanh* (n.) reverence.

Fick i³. 566. — *garanh* is identical with *γέρας*. — I formerly connected these words with βαρύ-s from **garu-s* (No. 638), as to which I am now as doubtful as I am about Fick's derivation of the words from the rt. *gar* 'call' (No. 133). Still γαῦρο-s 'proud' (cp. No. 122) for *gar-va-s* (cp. νεύρο-ν and *nervu-s*) may really be related to these words, as well as to the Skt. *gar-vá-s* 'pride,' *garva-rá-s* 'proud.'

130. γέρ-ων (st. γεροντ) old man, γραῦ-s old woman, γραῦ-καλο-s ὄρνις τεφρός Hesych., γῆρ-as old age, γερα-ιό-s, γηραλέο-s old, γηρά-σκειν to grow old.

Skt. *gar-an* (st. *garant*) old man, *gar-aná-s* tottering, old, *gar-as*, *gar-ā* old age. — Zd. *zaur-va* (for *zar-va*) old age.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. ii. 1, 253, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 41.—The root is *gar*, Skt. *gár-ā-mi*, intrans. 'become infirm,' trans. 'to rub away,' 'destroy.' To this root belongs also *gar-gára-s* 'decrepit,' 'tattered,' 'cracked,' with which goes γερ-γέρ-ι-μο-s 'falling' (of over-ripe fruit). γεράν-δρυ-ο-ν 'old tree' suggests the Skt. *gára-ná-s* (cp. *garana-druma-s* the name of a tree). Cp. σάκος γέρον χ 184. Here we must add γερήνιο-s the epithet of Nestor if we are to accept Duntzer's view 'Ztschr.' xii. 9 that it means nothing more or less than γέρων. For γεραίο-s we must assume a primitive form nearer to the Skt. *gáras* or

gārd. *γῆρας* shares with the Skt. *garājju-s* the peculiar application to the cast-off skin of the serpent. From its wrinkles no doubt the skim on milk is called *γῆρας*. *γῆρας* (in Homer also as a dissyllable *γῆ-ῶ-s*) has been thoroughly discussed by Legerlotz 'Ztschr.' x. 375, and now also by Kour. Zacher *De nominibus in aor* (Halis S. 1877) p. 65 ff. It is for *γῆ-ῶ-s*, hence in Callim. (E. M.) *γῆ-ῶ-s*, the vowel-lengthening after the *ρ* as in *τῆ-ῶ-s* by *ταρσεύω-s*, *ῶ* contracted to *υ* like *ῶ* to *υ* in *-ῶ-s* = *-ῶ-s*. Also *γῆρας*. In the P.W. the Skt. *gīvri-s* 'decrepit' is derived by metathesis from a supposed form *gar-vi-s*, which would be identical with our form *γῆ-ῶ-s*. — The *Γραυκοί* too must belong here. — We see perhaps a trace of the physical primary meaning (cp. above p. 114) in *γῆρας κάρδος* (Hesych.), inasmuch as it is 'a grinding machine,' 'a mortar:' the Lat. *grā-nu-m* = OIr. *grán* (Z². 228), Goth. *kaur-n*, ChSl. *zrū-no*, and the Gk. *γῆρας* 'fine meal' (cp. Skt. *gur* = *gar*) has been long ago placed in this list, and to these words belongs *γῆ* (ὅδὲ *γῆ*, Clemm 'Stud.' iii. 294). Otherwise Hehn³ p. 493.

- 177 131. Stem *γευ* (for *γευ*) *γεύ-ω* I give to taste, *γεύ-ο-μαι* taste, *γεύ-σι-s* taste, *γεύ-μα* taste, food.
 Skt. *gush* (*gushē*) to relish, *gush-ti-s* favour, gratification, *gōsha-s* contentment, satisfaction.
 Lat. *dē-gu(s)-n-e-re* (*degustare* Paul. Epit.), *gus-tu-s*, *gus-t-are*.
 Goth. *kius-a* δοκιμάζω [Eng. *choose*], *kus-tu-s* δοκιμή, *kauš-ian* γεύεσθαι, ON. *kost-r* choice, condition, state.
 OIr. *to-gu* eligo (for **gusu*), *do-roi-gu* elegit (for **do-ro-gegu-s*), *tuicse* electus (for **to-gus-te*).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 376, Grimm 'Gesch.' 399. — The somewhat surprising variety of meaning can be no obstacle to the comparison of the Gk. and Indian words, as we see the ideas 'choose,' 'prove,' and 'taste' exchanged in the Teutonic languages. In Homer, too, the metaphorical use predominates: *γεύεσθαι ἀλλήλων*. The physical meaning only occurs ρ 413 (I. Bekker 'Hom. Bl.' ii. 4). — Fick i². 572 adds the AS. *cus* 'kiss,' which he compares with *gustu-lu-s* 'kiss' (Appuleius).

132. *γῆ*, *γα-ῖ-α* land, earth, *γύ-α* sown-field, *γη-ῖ-τη-s* countryman, *γείτ-ων* neighbour, *γῆ-ῖ-νο-s* earthly, earthen.

Skt. *gāu-s* (st. *gā*) earth (?).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Benf. ii. 144. — *γύ-α* contracted possibly from *γφα-α* like

γυνή from γῆνα (No. 128). — γῆ from γῆα. — γείτ-ων (cp. 'E. M.' p. 229, 26) comes very near to γήιτη-ς, with attenuation of γῆ to εἰ (cp. μεσό-γεια, λειτουργός and λήϊτο-ν); for the meaning cp. *vīcinus* from *vīcus*, *popularis* in the sense of 'one's countryman,' *tribulis*, *οἰκίτης* etc., in all of which cases the addition of 'from the same' is naturally made (Joh. Schmidt 'Vocal.' i. 91). *ov* is an individualizing suffix ('Ztschr.' iv. 215). — The meaning 'earth' in the case of the Skt. word is, according to the P. W., a metaphorical one, derived from the usual meaning of the word, which is 'cow' (st. *gav*=βόϝ), the earth being regarded as 'the milch-cow of the kings.' It is for this reason that I have added the (†). — Perhaps the Gk. words belong to the rt. γα (γεῖ No. 128).

133. γῆρυ-ς speech, γῆρύ-ω speak, sound, Γῆρυών.

Skt. rt. *gar* (*gr-mi*) extol, *gir* repute, speech, *gir-ā* a speech. — Zd. *gar* sing, extol.

Lat. *garrío* chatter, *garrulu-s* talkative.

OHG. *kirru* creak, *quiru* gemo, *garrio*.

Lith. *garsa-s* voice, *garsù-s* loud, *gyr-à* fame, ChSl. *glas-ŭ* voice.

OIr. *gáir* repute, *forcon-gur* praecipio (for *-*garu*), *fris-gair* contradicit, *frecre* responsum (for *frith-gare*), *to-gairm* invocatio.

Bopp 'Gl.' Benf. ii. 129, who hazards several bold speculations. Grassmann 'Wtb.' 397 denies that the Skt. words have the meaning 'sound,' and this makes their relationship doubtful. — Fick i². 564 lays down the Skt. *gar* 'make a noise,' 'call,' as the root. — *garrío* 178 like the Lith *gars-as* must be from a root with added *s*, and so for *garsio* (cp. γέρας No. 129). — It is probable though that we ought also to connect some words with *l*, e. g. *gal-lu-s* (cp. OHG. *hano* and Lat. *can-o*), ON. *kalla* Eng. *call* (Lottner 'Ztschr.' xi. 165); also the ChSl. *gla-gol-a-ti* 'speak' (Miklosich 'Radices' s. v.). Cp. Pott ii². 598, W. ii. 1, 228. — On Γῆρυών 'Bellow' see Pott 'Ztschr.' vii. 94, ix. 187.

133 b. γλαυ-κό-ς bright, glistening, γλαυκ-ῶπι-ς bright-eyed, γλαῦξ owl, γλαύσσ-ω shine, γλαυσό-ν (Hes. λαμπρόν). — Goth. *glaggu-s*, AS. *gléan* splendidus, *sagax*.

Benf. ii. 124, Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' vii. 15, Lottner xi. 197, Hugo Weber 'Et. Unters.' 91, Pott W. i. 770. — With γλαῦξ cp. σκῶψ No. 111. — On the meaning of the Gk. words Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 1280 δια-γλαύσσουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ φωτίζουσι ἢ διαλάμπουσιν, ὅθεν καὶ ἡ Ἀθηναῖα γλαυκῶπις,

καὶ γλήνη ἡ κόρη τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ, παρὰ τὸ γλαύσσειν, ὃ ἐστὶ λάμπειν. καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης ἐχρήσατο 'γλαυκῶπις τε στρέφεται μῆνη.'—γλαίσσω for γλαύκ-γω, so also γλαυσό-ν for γλαυκ-γο-ν. L. Meyer accounts for the irregularity of the representation in the Teutonic words.—γλή-ναι 'something to look at,' 'trinket,' and γλή-νη 'pupil of the eye,' must be from the rt. γαλ mentioned at No. 123. Cp. Brugman 'Stud.' iv. 144, Bugge 'Stud.' iv. 326.

134. Root γλαφ γλάφ-ω hollow out, γλάφ-ν a hollow, γλαφ-ν-ρό-ς hollow, smooth. — Lat. *glaber* (st. *glab-ro*) bald, smooth, *Glabrio*, *glabresco*, *glabrare*.

Pott W. v. 317, Benf. i. 209, Fick i³. 91.—γλάφ-ω: *scalp-o*=γλίφ-ω: *sculp-o*. Cp. No. 138,

- 134 b. Root γλυφ γλύφ-ω hollow out, engrave, γλύφ-ανο-ς carving-tool, γλύπ-τη-ς carver. — Lat. *glūb-o* peel, *glū-ma* hull, pod.

Pott W. v. 317. — Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 381 compares γλύφ-ω with the Lat. *sculp-o*, in which case the φ would have arisen from π, so also Leo Meyer 'Vgl. Gr.' i. 41, Corssen 'Nachtr.' 178. Fick i³. 574 on the same assumption adds the AS. *cleófian*, OHG. *chlioban* 'cleave' (cp. the NHG. *klauben* 'cull'), while Walter compares *glūb-o* with the Gk. κελύφη, κελυφος 'shell.'

135. Root γνω ἔ-γνω-ν, γι-γνώ-σκ-ω perceive, γνω-σι-ς perception, γνώ-μη opinion, γνω-σ-τό-ς, γνω-τό-ς known, γνωρ-ίζ-ω make known.

Skt. rt. *gñā* (*gñā-mi*) know, *gñā-na-m* information, knowledge, *gñā-s*, *gñā-ti-s* acquaintance, relation (P. W. iii. 150). — Zd. *zan* recognize.

Lat. *gno-sc-o*, *nō-ti-o*, *nō-tu-s*, *gnā-ru-s*, *i-gnōr-o*, OLat. *gnār-igare*, *narrare*.

OHG. *kñā-u* cognosco, Goth. *kann* γιγνώσκω, *kunth-s* γνωστός, *kunthi* γνώσις.

ChSl. *zna-ti* γιγνώσκειν, *zna-men-ije* σημειῶν, Lith. *žin-aú* I know, part. *žino-ma-s* known.

179

OIr. *co asa-gnoither* ut intellegatur (Z². 743), *ad-gén-sa* perf. cognovi, *gnáth* solitus, Cymr. *gnawt* habitus (Z². 94).

Bopp 'Comp. Gr.' i. 230, Pott W. i. 38, Benf. ii. 143, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 110. Ebel 'Beitr.' ii. 162. — Joh. Schmidt (cp. Fick i³. 559) argues ('Ztschr.' xxiii. 278) that we must start from the rt. *gan* and assign

the metathesis to *gnā* to the time after the languages had become separate. — γνώσκω κατὰ Ἡπειρώτας ('Et. Orionis' p. 42, 17) = Lat. *gnosco*. — ἄ-γνω-έ-ω ἄ-γνω-ια suggest an adjective stem *γνωfo*, while γνωρίζω points to an adj. similar to the Lat. *gnāru-s*, to which perhaps νάρω συνήμι, νάρειν ζητεῖν (Hesych. Lobeck 'Rhem.' 132) belongs. Lat. *norma*, equivalent in meaning to γνώμων, is explained by Benf., rightly, I think, as for *gnorima*, but it has the look of a borrowed word. If we want to connect νόο-ς and νοί-ω with the rt. *γνω* it must be through the above-mentioned *γνωfo*. This is at any rate made probable by the well attested Aeolic γνώεω and the Attic ἀμφι-γνωέ-ω and also by the form Πολυνόφας (gen. fem.) on an old Corcyraean inscription discussed by Wachsmuth 'Rhein. Mus.' xviii. 578. — There is an unmistakable relationship between this root and the rt. *γεν* (No. 128). Sonne 'Ztschr.' x. 184 considers the notion of 'sprouting' as a connecting link between the notions of producing and perceiving, while C. Pauli 'Ueber die deutschen verba praeterito-praesentia' Stettin 1863 p. 2 (similarly Classen 'Natura' p. 7) falls back on the notion of 'coming' that is contained in the rt. *γα, gam*. The latter explanation seems to me the most satisfactory. But in any case the distinction between the physical and the metaphysical meaning must be placed before the separation of the languages, since every language, though not with complete consistency, keeps the two phonetically distinct. This distinction has been most completely insured in the Graeco-Italian languages, which make use of vowel variation for the purpose, the Greeks more thoroughly than the Romans (cp. *γνω-ρίζω* and *gnā-ru-s*). — Corssen i². 83 doubts whether the Lat. *gnā-vu-s* (with *nāvāre*) belongs here on account of the meaning. We could only trace the meaning 'active' to the rt. *gna* by supposing that in Latin as in German *kennen* (to know) became *können* (to be able) just as 'knowledge is power' (Whitney 'Lect.' 111). The assumption of Corssen (i². 436) that *gnā-vu-s* is—in the sense of *γενναῖος*!—connected with the rt. *gen* presents still greater difficulty to my mind. — Fick i³. 561 connects the ON. *knār* 'able,' 'brave' (from **knā-va-s*) directly with *gnā-vu-s*.

136. γογ-γύζ-ω (for γογ-γυγ-*j*-ω) murmur, γογυσ-γ-μό-ς murmuring.

Skt. rt. *guñg*, *guñg-ā-mi* murmur, *guñgita-m* humming.

ChSl. *gag-na-nije* γογγυσμός, *gag-nivŭ* γογγύζων.

Benf. ii. 62, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 103. — The Gk. form is reduplicated. The γ changed before *j* into δ, hence γογ-γύζ-ω and consequently γογγυσ-μό-ς. Cp. Brugman 'Stud.' vii. 211, Fritzsche vi. 335, otherwise Fick i³. 558.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. iii. 96, Benf. 'Gött. Anz. 1852' p. 553 ff. — Though the words adduced are undoubtedly connected, they present many difficulties individually. We are obliged to refer *χιών*, Zd. *zyāo* and the Lat. *hiem-s* to a stem *ghjam*, so that the *ν* of *χιών* must have come from *μ* (Brugman 'Stud.' ix. 308). The remaining words may be traced to the st. *ghim* or (intensified) *ghaim* by the help of various suffixes. Since an *i* appears in all the languages the favourite view of a connexion with *χέ-ω* rt. *χv* must decidedly be rejected. *χειμών* is a collective of *χείμα*, to *χει-μερ-ιός-s* and *χειμέρ-ιος-s* *δυσ-χείμερος* is a preparatory step. — It is not lawful to derive, as Ebel 'Ztschr.' v. 344 proposes, the numerous shorter forms all from *χειμαρτ*. — Aufrecht iv. 415 sees the shorter form *hima* which, like the Zd. *zima*, is used in counting years (*catam himās* 'a hundred winters'), in the Lat. *bi-mu-s*, *tri-mu-s*, *quadri-mu-s* for *bi-himu-s* etc., and in support of
 202 this Miklosich 'Beiträge' i. p. 287 adduces some remarkable analogies from Slavonic and Lithuanian. Cp. Pictet ii. 588 ['Owens College Essays,' p. 316]. — From the Teutonic languages Fick i³. 583 connects the ON. *gé* 'bad weather,' Norweg. *giö* 'nix autumni recens' specially as parallels to the Zd. word *zyāo*; in these words the nasal has been lost. It is perhaps preserved in the ON. *geimi* 'sea,' as my learned friend Zarucke thinks. — On the Irish words cp. 'Stud.' vii. 375.

195. *χίμαρος* he- or she-goat, *χίμαιρα* (= *χίμαρ-ια*) she-goat. — ON. *gymbr* one-year-old lamb.

Grimm 'Gesch.' 402. — The relation to the OHG. *geiz* = Lat. *haedu-s* is doubtful. Benf. ii. 193 assumes that *χίμαρος* has lost a *δ*, and would thus bring us to a stem *χιδ* preserved in the above-mentioned words intact. Cp. Stier 'Ztschr.' xi. 212. — Fick i³. 765 is probably right in adopting the old etymology given by Hesych. and Eustath., according to which *χίμαρος* = *χειμέριος* originally denoted the goats born in the previous winter, cp. No. 211. The Scholiast on Theocr. i. 6 teaches us that it is only the goats under one year old that are called *χίμαροι*. No trace, however, of such meaning is to be found in *χίμαιρα*.

196. Root *χλαδ* *κε-χλαδ-ώς* (Pind.) swelling, fresh, *χλα-ρό-s* fresh, gay. — Skt. *hlād* (*hlād-ē*) refresh oneself, *hlād-a-s* refreshment, enlivenment.

Bopp 'Gl.,' whom I cannot follow in the comparison of the AS. *glād* 'laetus' because the dental has not its proper substitute. — Benf. ii. 135.

197. $\chi\lambda\acute{o}\eta$ verdure, grass, $\chi\lambda\omicron\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\text{-}s$, $\chi\lambda\omega\rho\acute{o}\text{-}s$ greenish, yellowish, $\chi\lambda\acute{o}\text{-}o\text{-}s$ green colour, $\chi\lambda\omicron\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\upsilon$ sprout.
Skt. *hári-s*, *har-ít*, *hár-ita-s*, *hari-ná-s* yellowish, light-red, fallow. — Zd. *zairi* yellow, gold-coloured, *zairina* yellowish.

Lat. *hel-us* (*holus*, *olus*), *hel-vu-s*, honey-yellow, *hel-vo-la* vegetables.

OHG. *grô-j-u* *gruo-j-u* vireo, OS. *grô-ni* viridis. — OHG. *gêlo* yellow.

ChSl. *zel-ije* olera, *zel-enŭ* viridis, Lith. *žel-iù* vir-
esco, *žol-ě* herba, *žál-ie-s* viridis. — ChSl. *žlŭ-tŭ*,
Lith. *gèl-ta-s* yellow.

OIr. *gel* white.

Bopp 'Gl.,' s. v. *harit*. Pott W. ii. 1, 207. Schleich. 'Ksl.' 109, where more extensive conjectures are made on this root. Cp. Nos. 200, 203. *flā-vu-s* too would be more rightly put with these words than with No. 161, since *flāva* is an epithet of Ceres, as $\chi\lambda\acute{o}\eta$ of Demeter; *folus* (Paul. 'Epit.' 84) helps to explain the change to *f*. With Kuhn's connexion of $\chi\lambda\acute{o}\text{-}s$ with the Lat. *gīlvu-s* = Skt. *gāura-s* 'yellow' ('Ztschr.' i. 516) I cannot agree on account of the initial. But *lū-tu-m* 'yellow colour,' whence *lū-t-eu-s*, may well have lost an initial *h* and may so correspond in its first syllable to the $\chi\lambda\omega$ in $\chi\lambda\omega\rho\acute{o}\text{-}s$. The latter word finds a still nearer connexion in the Lat. *lūri-du-s* 'pale-yellow,' 'fallow,' as is shown by Fröhde 'Ztschr.' xx. 250 (cp. Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 318). — $\chi\lambda\acute{o}\eta$ is clearly for $\chi\lambda\omicron\text{-}f\eta$, for which compare the Lat. words, which Corssen ii. 160 explains in several other ways. Fick i³. 579 infers the existence of a rt. *ghar*, *ghal* 'sprout,' 'grow green,' calling attention to $\chi\lambda\epsilon\muύ\text{-}pa$ $\chi\lambda\omicron\alpha\nu\theta\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\alpha$ Hesych. The Phryg. $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\kappa\text{-}ia$ $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\upsilon\alpha$ Hesych. agrees with the ChSl. *zla-kŭ* 'herba.' — Ir. *gel* belongs to OHG. *gêlo*.

198. $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\omicron\text{-}s$ a young pig. — Skt. *ghṛsh-vi-s*, *ghṛsh-ti-s* boar. — ON. *grís-s* porcellus [prov. Eng. *grice*, pig: so *Grasmere* for *Gricemere*.]

Pott W. ii. 2, 387, Grimm 'Gesch.' 37, Förstemann 'Ztschr.' iii. 60, Pictet i. 373. — Hugo Weber 'Ztschr.' x. 256 considers *ghar* as the root, whence the Skt. *ghar-ghar-i-ta-m* 'grunting noise,' and derives $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\omicron\text{-}s$ (for $\chi\omicron\rho\text{-}io\text{-}s$) immediately from it. But the *s* appears to be essential in two languages.

199. $\chi\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\text{-}\epsilon s$ guts, $\chi\omicron\lambda\iota\xi$ (st. $\chi\omicron\lambda\iota\kappa$) gut; $\chi\omicron\rho\delta\acute{\eta}$ gut.
Skt. (Ved.) *hirā* vein.

Lat. *haru-spex*, *har-i-olu-s*, *hīra* dim. *hilla*, *her-n-ia*
ON. *garn-ir* pl. entrails.

Lith. *žarnà* gut.

Pott i¹. 143, Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' iii. 194 ff., Corssen 'Beitr.' 213, 'Ausspr.' i². 509. *hariolu-s* (another form is *fariolu-s*) may be derived immediately from **har-ja*, a form which we may suppose to have existed, like *famulu-s* from *fāma* (No. 309). On the *i* in *hīra* see Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 412. *her-n-ia* 'rupture of the intestines' comes nearest to the Teutonic and Lithuanian forms. Fick i³. 581.

200. *χόλο-s*, *χολή* gall, anger, *χολ-ικó-s* bilious, *χολά-ω* am bilious, *χολό-ω* make bilious, enrage. — Lat. *fel*, *fellitu-s*. — OHG. *gallā*. — ChSl. *žlŭ-čŭ*, *žlŭ-tŭ* bilis.

Pott W. ii. 1, 210, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 111. — Both are clearly right in bringing the words into connexion with No. 197, so that the gall got its name in that case from its green colour. The suffix is different in the different languages, **fell* is perhaps for *fel-ti* (cp. *mel* No. 465), though otherwise Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' v. 379, Corssen 'Beitr.' 318; in ChSl. *žl* or *tŭ* is suffix and only the stem *žlŭ* is to be compared with *χολ*. Cp. however Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 516. — How the Lat. *bili-s* is to be referred to the same stem, I do not see, since the representation of an initial soft aspirate by the media in Latin is, in spite of Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 359, not properly established. Hence Corssen i². 519 connects this word with *gil-vu-s* and the Skt. *gāura-s* 'yellow' with *b* for *g* (cp. below p. 472). — On the distinction between *χολή* and *χόλο-s* see Lobeck 'Proleg.' 11.

200 b. Root *χρεμ* *χρεμ-ίζω*, *χρεμ-ετ-ίζω* neigh, *χρεμ-ετ-άω* resound, *χρόμ-η*, *χρόμ-ο-s* noise, neighing, *χρόμ-αδο-s* creaking. — Zd. *gran-tô* (rt. *gram*) incensed. — OHG. *ga-grim* a creaking, AS. *grim-etan*, OHG. *gram-izzôn* murmur, hum. — ChSl. *grŭm-ě-ti* (vb.) thunder, *grom-ŭ* (subst.) thunder, *grim-a-ti* sonare.

Fick i³. 582, who also rightly connects *Χρέμ-η-s*, *Χρεμ-ύλο-s* the favourite names of cross-grained old men in comedy, perhaps too the OHG. *gram* 'resentful,' *grim* 'rage,' OHG. *grimmida* 'ill humour,' etc. *fren-d-ěre* is formed by the addition of a *d*, cp. *χρόμ-αδ-ο-s*, AS. *grim-etan* 'creak,' 'hum.' — Cp. Pott W. ii. 2, 167.

204 201. Root *χριε* *χρί-ω* graze, besmear, *χρί-σι-s* anointing, *χρί-μα*, *χρί-σ-μα* ointment.

Skt. rt. *gharsh* (*ghārsh-ā-mī*) rub, *ghrsh-tá-s* flayed, sore, *ghrsh-ti-s* a rubbing.

Benf. ii. 198, 375, Corssen i². 517, on the formation of the tenses of *χρίω* see 'Gk. Verb' p. 521, on the *ī* in face of the Skt. *a* cp. Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' 332.—For the primary meaning of *χρίεω*, '*χρίεω με οἶστρος*' Aesch. 'Prom.' 566 is important.—Perhaps *friare* contains the shortest form of the root; *fricare* has an added *c*, and we may suppose in this case that it is a derivative from a noun-stem *frica* (*fricas* 'a kind of stone' [a very doubtful word: cp. Munro's 'Aetna' v. 532]) or *frico* (Corssen 'Beitr.' 207).—One feels a strong temptation to compare also *χρῶν*, *χρο-ά*, *χρῶ-μα* 'colour,' as being that which is rubbed on. But we are met by the fact that *χρῶ-ς* in Homer means only 'skin,' and 'skin-colour,' and since the same meaning of 'skin' is to be found in *χροιά*, *χροά*, we must suppose colour to have been regarded as a skin drawn over the substance (cp. p. 114); just as *col-or* belongs to the rt. *cel* 'occulere,' 'celare.' Or is it that the surface in general is regarded as something 'spread over,' or 'to be spread over?'—*χρίμν-τ-ω* 'touch,' *χραίνω* 'touch,' 'colour,' *χραύ-ω* 'scrape,' may be regarded as formations from the root before the addition of the *s*, even the Skt. *ghrā*, which, though usually meaning 'to smell' (intrans.), means also 'to smell at,' 'to kiss,' may perhaps be related (p. 526).—Cp. Pott W. i. 98. Ascoli's views ('Ztschr.' xvii. 345, cp. Corssen i². 802) are different, but they do not convince me.—Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 289 takes a different line.

202. *χρῦσό-ς*, *χρυσίο-ν* gold.—Skt. *hir-āṇa-m*, *hír-aṇja-m*, Zd. *zar-anu*, *zaranya* (n.) gold.—Goth. *gul-th*.—ChSl. *zla-to*.

Grimm 'Gesch.' p. 13, Miklosich 'Lex.' s.v. *zla-to*. In the Slav. *zr-ě-ti*, Lith. *žer-ě-ti* 'shine' the root, which is the Skt. *ghar*, is preserved. From this root, the same already spoken of at Nos. 182, 185, 197, and 200, the oriental languages have formed the word for gold by suffixing *-ana*, the European by suffixing *-ta*. For the latter languages Schleicher in Hildebrand's 'Jahrb. f. Nationalökon.' i. p. 410 rightly gives *ghar-ta* as the primary form. From this come the Teutonic and Slavonic forms directly. *χρῦσό-ς*, however, seems to point to a secondary derivative *ghart-ja*, whence *χρῦτ-jo*;—and *ghart-ja* bears to *gharta* precisely the same relation that *hiraṇja* does to *hiraṇa*. On the *ū* cp. Delbrück 'Stud.' i. 2, 136. A trace of the formation with the suffix *-na* is to be seen in Hesych's *χλου-νό-ς χρυσός*. The Lat. representative of this stem is *lū-tu-m*, which we have already mentioned at No. 197, whence comes *lūt-eu-s* 'golden-yellow.' We may

add the Phryg. γλον-ρό-s' χρυσός, γλούρεα' χρύσεια (Hesych.), with the Eranic *g* for *gh*.

203. Root χυ χέ(*f*)-ω (fut. χέυ-σω) pour, χύ-μα, χέυ-μα, χύ-σι-s, χο-ή a pouring, stream, χό-o-s a heap of earth, χυ-μό-s, χυ-λό-s juice.

Lat. *fo-n(t)-s*, *fu-ti-s* (vas aquarium), *ec-fū-ti-o*, *re-fū-to*, *con-fū-to*, *fu-n-d-o* (st. *fūd*), *fū-ti-li-s*.

Goth. *giu-t-a* pour (st. *gut*). [Germ. *giesse*.]

- 205 Pott W. i. 777, Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' i. 120, Benf. ii. 194 with an unsuccessful comparison of Skt. words. — According to Ebel 'Ztschr.' ii. 80 (cp. Döderlein 'Gl.' 2065) *ισ-χέψ-αιρα* 'sagittas fundens' (βέλεα στονόεντα χέοντο ο 590) belongs to this root. *χεψ-αιρα* for *χεψ-αρ-ια* supposes a masc. *χεψ-αρο-s*, to which it is related as *πίερα* is to *πιαρό-s*. See moreover even so far back as the 'E. M.' s. v. — *χώ-ε-σθαι* is related to χέ(*f*)-ω as *πλώ-ω* is to *πλέ(*f*)-ω*. Even Aristarchus explained *χωόμενος* 'angry' in this way by means of *συγχεόμενος* (cp. *confusus animo*) Lehrs 'Arist.'² 145. — We might be tempted to separate the Lat. *fundo* and the Goth. *giuta* entirely from the Gk. words, and to connect the former along with *funda* with the Gk. *σφειδ-όνη* (No. 296), if it were not for the Latin words, which point to a shorter stem *fu*. To these belong specially *re-fū-to*, *con-fū-to*. As to *fū-ti-li-s* Fleckeisen in the *epistula critica* prefixed to his edition of Plautus p. x follows Ritschl in recommending the spelling *fut-tili-s*, so that we should have to hold the first *t* to be the representative of *d*, and other testimonies to this way of writing the word are collected by Klotz on Terence 'Andria' p. 125. Paul. 'Epit.' p. 89 has preserved the proper meaning of *fu-tili-s*, *vasa futilia a fundendo*, so that a man is *futilis* who is 'incontinent of speech,' not able to keep silence. Not a trace of the *d* is to be seen in *effutire* 'chatter.' Cp. Corssen 'Beitr.' 214, where *fon(t)-s* is doubtless rightly referred to a stem *fov-ont* identical with *χεψ-ovr*, cp. note to No. 192. (Otherwise Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iii. 399, Ascoli xvii. 346, Bugge 'Stud.' iv. 343.) These words have as little to do with *gutta* and *guttur* as with *hūmor*, more properly *ūmor* (No. 158). — Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' xiv. 268 and Pictet ii. 702 following Kuhn ('Ztschr.' ii. 470, cp. Grassmann xi. 40) have made it very probable that the Skt. *hu* 'sacrifice,' properly 'to pour into the fire' (P.W.), belongs, not, as I formerly held, to *θύ-ω* (No. 320), but to our present root, and accordingly had originally the meaning of 'drink-offering;' this view is especially supported by *ā-hāv-ā-s* 'bucket,' 'horse-trough,' and by the Zd. *zao-thra* (f.), cp. *χύ-τρα* 'holy water.'

T

Greek τ corresponds to Indo-Germanic t . It is represented in Sanskrit by t , or th , in Zend by the same letters, in Latin by t , in Gothic by th (OHG. d), in the middle of a word sometimes by d (OHG. t), in Church-Slavonic and Lithuanian by t , in Old Irish by t , and between vowels by th and d .

204. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\text{-}\acute{\iota}$ over against, instead of, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\text{-}\alpha$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\eta\text{-}\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\text{-}\kappa\rho\acute{\upsilon}$, Att. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\kappa\rho\nu\text{-}s$ against, over against, right on, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\omicron\text{-}s$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\omicron\text{-}s$ contrary to, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\omega$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\omega$ meet.

Skt. *ánti* over against, before, considering, *anti-ká-s* near, *anti-ká-m* going on before one, *anti-dēvá-s* opponent.

Lat. *ante*, *ant-erior*, *ant-īquo-s*, *ant-iae* ('capilli demissi in frontem' Paul. Ep. 17).

Goth. *and* along, against, *anda-varúr-d* answer (Germ. 206 *Antwort*), *anda-nahti* the night before, the eve, OHG. *andi* brow.

Lith. *ànt* (with gen.) to, at.

OGall. *étan* brow.

Bopp 'Comp. Gr.' iii. 488, P.W., Pott i². 259, where, however, there is a very capricious conjecture as to the origin, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 325. — 'Inscr. Delph.' No. 8, l. 3 in Wescher and Foucart is important for the meaning of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota$: ' $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota$ τοῦ χειροτεχνίου τὸ προσκάνιον ἰσάτω,' where the old physical primary meaning which is in general only preserved in compounds can be clearly seen (cp. Hesiod. *Épy.* 727, Xenoph. 'Anab.' iv. 7, 6). — On the meaning of the Lith. *ànt* see Schleicher 'Lit. Gramm.' p. 285 f. — The Lat. *ante-d* is preserved in *antid-eā* and is to be regarded as an ablative, while $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota$ and *ánti* are locative in form, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ instrumental. Cp. No. 330. It is hard to trace the connexion between this stem and the Skt. *ánta-s* 'end' (but also 'neighbourhood' = the Goth. *andei-s*), which in Sanskrit is closely connected with it. The Lat. *antes* 'rows' must also be considered here.

205. $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ (st. $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho$) star, $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ starry, $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\rho\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\nu$ constellation.

Skt. (Ved.) instr. pl. *stṛ-bhis* with stars, *tārā* (for *stārā*) star. — Zd. *štare* star.

Lat. *stel-la* (for *ster-ula*), *astru-m* (perhaps borrowed).
 Goth. *stair-nô* (f.), OHG. *stërro* (m.) *star*.
 Arem. *ster stella*, pl. *steret*, Corn. *steyr stellae* (Z². 122).

Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *tārā*, Pott ii¹. 167. — Probably we ought to put with these *répas* and the ἀπαξ εἰρημένον 'τείρεα' (Σ 485 ἐν δὲ τὰ τείρεα πάντα τὰ τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωνται) while ἀστράπ-τ-ω, στέρ-ον, στερ-ον-ή may be reckoned derivative forms. Benf. i. 662 f. — The oft-quoted Zd. *aṣtar* is not to be found in Justi, and seems accordingly to have no authority, so that an initial *a* is only to be found in Gk. — As to the root varying opinions have been held. According to one view it is preserved in the Skt. *as* 'throw,' in which case ἀστήρ would answer to the Skt. *ástar* 'shooter' (Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 540), in support of which Benf. mentions the Germ. *Strahl* (both 'arrow' and 'flash of lightning'), according to the other (Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 4) the words come from the rt. *star* (No. 227), in which case the stars would have been so-called from being 'strewn over the vault of heaven.' The fact that in the Vedas only the plural from the stem *star* occurs speaks for the second view. Max Müller ii. 365 also derives *star-as* from the rt. *star*, but in the active sense as 'the strewers of light.' This seems to me bold, since we do not find the rt. *star* used specially of light. — Pictet ii. 209 connects only ἀσ-τήρ with the rt. *as*, and the words beginning with a consonant with the rt. *star*. — As prothetic vowels are so common in Gk. this seems to me unsafe, and I regard Kuhn's second view as the most probable one.

206. *āstuv* (for *Fástuv*) city, *āstéio-s* urbane, *āstó-s* townsman, citizen.

Skt. *vāstu* place, the ground of the home, house, *vāstavjá-s* settled, inhabitant, rt. *vas*. — Zd. *vanh* stay, dwell.

207

OHG. *wis-t* mansio, Goth. *vis-an* manere.

OIr. *foss* a remaining, resting, *i-fuss*, at home; *ar-a-ossa* (for *ar-a-fossa*) quae manet (Z². 434, Goid². p. 26).

Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 132, while Benf. i. 297 compares the Skt. *vāstu* 'locus,' Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *vas*, Pott W. ii. 2, 475. — On the OHG. *wist* cp. Grimm 'D. Gr.' ii. 923. — The *f* of *āstuv* is discussed by Ahr. 'Aeol.' 170, 'Knös' 58. *a* is here, as often elsewhere, the representative of long *a*. — Pott has ingeniously associated with this same rt. *vas* 'to dwell' the words *οἶη κώμη* (Hesych.) i. e. *vas-jā*, and *οἶά-της κωμήτης* (Hesych.) — cp. also *Οἶα*, *Οἶη*, *Ὀη* — and *ὑπερ-ώιο-ν* 'upper-storey.' But

doubts still remain, especially on account of the Lacon. ὠβά 'tribus.' The same scholar explains the Lat. *ver-na* which like *οἰκέτης* had originally the meaning 'house-companion' (Preller 'Röm. Myth.' 248), to be for *vesi-gena* 'born in the house,' in which case we might assume a Lat. subs.=Skt. *vasa-s* 'dwelling.' But perhaps it is better to derive the word straight from the rt. *vas*. — Roth. 'Ztschr.' ix. 220 puts *έσ-τία*, as I did formerly, not under the rt. *vas* 'shine' (No. 610), but under our present root, so too *εὖ-νή* for **vas-nā*. Fick 'Bezenb. Beitr.' i. 61 gives a different explanation of *εὖ-νή*.

207. *ἄττα* father! — Skt. *attā* mother, older sister. —
 Lat. *atta* father! — Goth. *atta* (st. *attan*) father.
 — ChSl. *otŭ-cŭ* father. — OIr. *ate*, *aite* foster-father.

Grimm 'Gesch.' 271, Kuhn 'Web. Ind. Stud.' i. 325, Pictet ii. 347. — A very old epithet of endearment used to one's elders, of which the Skt. has only the fem. — Paul. 'Epit.' 12 'attam pro reverentia seni cui libet dicimus, quasi eum avi nomine appellemus,' and therefore certainly not a borrowed word. — The Goth. *aiſthei* 'mother' with the regular change of letters must also be of the same origin. — Cp. No. 243.

208. *έρ-εό-s* true, *έρά-ζω* examine. — Skt. *sat-já-s* true, right, *sat-já-m* truth, Zd. *haithya* truly. — OS. AS. *sóth* (= *san-th-s*) sooth, ON. *sann-r* true.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. ii. 2, 243, Benf. i. 25. — The root is *έρ* 'to be' (No. 564). The meaning 'true,' 'real' appears already in the Skt. participle *sat*, the shorter form for *sant*=(a)*sant* (Lat. *prae-sent*), and Clemm. 'Stud.' iii. 328 refers the Lat. *son-s* (st. *sont*) 'he that has been it' to the same origin, also the derivative *sont-icu-s*, a view which receives striking confirmation from Bugge's account of the use of the Old Norse *sann-r* ('Stud.' iv. 205). *sat-já-s* is derived from the same *sat*; the Gk. *έρ-εό-s* has lost the spir. asp. The synonymous words *έρυ-μο-s*, *έρ-ήτυ-μο-s* are referred by Benf. to the Skt. form *sat-tvá-m*, which as a subst. has the meaning 'being,' 'creature,' 'animal.' — Kern's assertion ('Ztschr.' viii. 400) that *έρεός* shows traces of an initial *f* has no foundation whatever. Pott ii². 820 holds therefore rightly to the old explanation, as does Sonne 'Ztschr.' x. 345. On the *ε=j* cp. p. 609. — I see no sufficient reason in the Cyprian proper name 'Ερεφάνδρω (Siegismund 'Stud.' ix. 102), of which the third syllable is actually doubtful, to abandon this comparison.

209. *ἔτι* moreover, further, still, *πρὸς ἔτι* over and above.
 — Skt. *āti*, Zd. *aiti* excessively, ultra. — Lat. *et*,

et-iam, *at* in *at-avu-s*. — OIr. *aith-*, *ath-* (for *ati*)
re-, iterum, *ad-ro-gegon-sa* repupugi (Z². 869).

Pott i². 251, Bopp 'Gl.' — *ati* is used in compounds in exactly the same way as in *at-avu-s* e.g. *atj-ahna-s* 'lasting over a day' ('longer than a day'). The Lat. *et* might also correspond to the related Skt. *áttha* 'further,' 'then,' but the supposition in the text is rendered preferable by the Gk. *ἔτι*. Pott calls special attention to the almost identical use of *ati*, *ἔτι*, and *et-iam* with comparatives: *ἔτι μᾶλλον*, *etiam melius*. Kissling's assertion ('Ztschr.' xvii. 214) that an original *ati* must have become in Gk. *ἐσι* and then even *εἰ*, is completely unfounded, as we can see from *προ-τί* (*πο-τί*), *φά-τι-s*, *μῆ-τι-s*, *δῶ-τι-s*, *δω-τί-νη*. — Even the latest edition of Passow's Dictionary repeats the singularly ingenious remark 'the word seems to be the primary form of the 3rd sing. of *εἰμί*, and so properly *est*.'

210. *ἔτος* (*ἑτέτος*) year, *ἐτήσιο-s* (from *ἑτεσ-τιο-s*?) yearly,
ἐτησίαι yearly winds, *τῆτες* (*σῆτες*) this year, *εἰς*
νέωτ-α a year hence, *δυσ-ετηρία* a bad year.

Skt. *vatsá-s*, *vatsará-s* year.

Lat. *vetus*, *vetus-tu-s*, *vetulú-s*.

ChSl. *vetŭch-ŭ* old.

Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *vatsara*, Pott i¹. 108, Benf. i. 311, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 133, Miklosich 'Radd.' p. 8 (ChSl. *ch* regularly from *s*). — The *f* is established by *ῥέτια*, on Boeotian inscriptions (C. I. 1569, 1575) (Clemm 'Stud.' ix. 435 f.), and its effects may be recognized in the Lacedemonian *διαβέτης*, *γέτορ* (Ahr. 'Dor.' 46, 54), and in *ἀερέα*, τὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει γεννώμενα, αὐτεῖ τὸν αὐτοετῆ, ὑετῆς ὁ αὐτοετῆς (Hesych. ed. Schmidt p. 57), and in the Homeric *οἰερέας* 'of the same age,' and even in *τριακοντούτης*. All the latter words are compounded with the copulative prefix *ἀ*, *ὀ* (Lob. 'Elem.' i. 362). — Ebel 'Ztschr.' iv. 329 concludes there must have been an old subst. *vetus* 'year' as the origin of *vetus-tu-s* (cp. *robustus*, *venustus*) and agrees in so doing with Corssen 'Ztschr.' ii. 10, who refers *Veturius* as well to the same source. — The stem then is *vatas*, whence came the Skt. *vatsá-s* (for *vatas-a-s*) with added *a*; a shorter form is found in *sam-vat* 'year,' a word, however, which is taken in the P.W. as an abbreviation of *sam-vatsará*. From this comes *νέωτα*, probably for *νεο-f(ε)τ-α*. Cp. *πέρυσσι* No. 360.

211. *ἱτ-αλό-s* (*ῥιταλό-s*). — Skt. *vatsá-s* calf, child, *vatsaká-s* little calf, *vatsatará-s* weaned young, young bull. — Lat. *vitulu-s*, *vitula*, Osc. *Viteliû* (*Italia*).

ἱταλός (perhaps for *ῥετ-σα-λο-s*) in Hesych. with the meaning ταῦρος,

which is assumed also by Varro 'R. R.' ii. 5 who follows Timaeus in deriving thence the name *Italia* (cp. Gell. xi. 1, 1). This etymology is splendidly confirmed by *Viteliū* in the inscription on Oscan coins (Mommsen 'Unterital. Dialekte' 260). — Bopp 'Gl.,' Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 133. — Ebel iv. 329 compares the Skt. *vatsá-s* 'year' in which case the word would mean 'that which is of this year.' — So Bopp 'üb. das Albanesische' p. 3. In this language the calf is called *βίττι*, the year *βίττι* or *βίττι*. Stier 'Ztschr.' xi. 297. — Fick i³. 765 gives a similar explanation also to the Goth. *vith-ru-s* 'year-old lamb' (whence the Germ. *Widder* 'ram' [Eng. *wether*]). So too the Ir. *gamuin* 'year-old calf,' from *gam* 'summer' (Corm. Tr. p. 85). Cp. No. 195.

212. *μετά* with, among, after, *μέταξτε* afterwards, *μέτασσαι* lambs of middling age, *μεταξύ* between.

Skt. (Ved.) *mithás* alternately, with each other, turn about, *míthu* false, upside down, *mithu-ná-s* paired, connected, Zend *mañ* with.

Goth. *mith áv à μέσον*, *μετά*, *σύν*, *missó* with each other, *missa-déds* misdeed, OHG. *miti* (Germ. *mit*) with.

OIr. *mí-δυσ*, *mí-guethi* male facta, *messa* pejor.

Bopp 'Comp. Gr.' iii. 510, Benf. 'Lex. z. Sāmavēda' s. v. *sma*, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 515, Ebel iv. 142, where *mati* is assumed to be the primary form for the Teutonic languages, 'Beitr.' ii. 176, Bacmeister 'Kelt. Br.' 85. — Pott i². 755, more clearly 'Ztschr.' vi. 101, assumes aphaeresis of an *a*, so that the Skt. *amā* 'together' would then be the source. Benfey's conjecture is more plausible; it is that the Zd. *mañ* arose from the similarly used Skt. *smat* (with the instrumental 'with' Delbrück 'Abl. Loc. Instr.' 68) and that *μετά* too is to be referred to the stem *sama* (No. 449) not unlike the OHG. *samant*, *samat*, the Germ. *sammt* (together with) (Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' viii. 139). *μέτασσαι* (cp. *ἐπισσαι*) must be for *μετα-κί-αι*, and *μεταξύ* must either be a compound with *ξύν*, or like *μεσ-ηγ-ύ* from the rt. *áy* (cp. *ἄξιο-s*). The Skt. *i* is weakened from *a*. *μετά* in form is instrumental, *mithá-s* genitival and ablatival.

213. *ὀστέον* bone, *ὀστέϊνο-s*, *ὀστινο-s* of bone, bony. — Skt. *asthí*, *asthán*, Zd. *aṣṭi*, *aṣṭa* bone. — Lat. *os* (OLat. *ossu*, *ossu-m*), *oss-eu-s*.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. i. 329, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iii. 325. — The Lat. *os* stands for *osse* st. *ossi*, from *osti*, like *mes-si-s* from *mes-ti-s*, *met-ti-s*. On the other forms see Priscian vi. p. 254 H. — In Greek itself the following words are related: *ὄσ-τακο-s* and *ἄσ-τακο-s* 'sea-crab,'

ὄσ-τρεο-ν, ὄσ-τρ-ειο-ν 'oyster,' ὄσ-τρα-κο-ν 'potsherd,' 'shell' (of crabs, muscles, and eggs), perhaps ἄσ-τρά-γαλο-ς 'ankle,' 'vertebra,' 'die,' with the by-forms ἄσ-τρι-ς (whence ἀστρίζειν=ἀστραγαλίζειν 'to play with dice'), and ἄσ-τρι-χο-ς. All these are names of hard substances, and that this is the proper meaning of ὀστέον is shown by the fact that the same word has in the three languages the two meanings 'bone' and 'kernel' or 'stone of fruit.' This gives ground for Pictet's conjecture (i. 515), that the rt. *as* 'throw' contains the etymon, so that bones and fruit-stones were so called from being 'what is thrown away,' 'rubbish.' But cp. Fick i³. 503. — If this view is adopted we must assume a form *as-ta-m*, preserved in the Lat. *ossu-m*, as the primary one, and a by-form *as-ti* whence were derived ὄσ-τέο-ν (as it were *osseum*), probably for ὄσ-τε-ῖο-ν, and by dimin. suffix ὄστα-ρο-ν (Schwabe 'de Deminut.' p. 32, 69), whence ὀσάριον 'little knucklebone' on the one side, and on the other ὄστρεον, ὄστρακον, the latter with a fresh diminutival suffix. ἄσ-τρι-ς with the *a* preserved would stand for ἄσ-ταρ-ι-ς. In ἄσ-τρά-γα-λο-ς (cp. the Germ. *Knöchel*) the *γ* seems to have been weakened from *κ*, so that we
 210 should here have a diminutive form of the character of the Lat. *corni-cu-lu-m*, such as we see, though Schwabe (p. 58) sought one in vain, in ὀβρί-κα-λο-ν=ὀβριον Aesch. 'Ag.' 135. Cp. 'Stud.' i. 259. The words for dice suggest a direct derivation from the rt. *as* 'throw,' which Pott i¹. 519 conjectures for the Lat. *ā-le-a* (for *as-le-a*; cp. the Skt. *prāsaka-s* i. e. *pra-as-a-ka-s* 'die'), but the other meanings make it safer to connect them with the words for 'bone.' Otherwise Pauli 'Körpertheile' 24. — Perhaps the Corn. *asen* 'costa' (Z². 1066) belongs here (cp. Stokes 'Ir. Gl.' p. 149).

214. Root πετ πέτ-ο-μαι fly (ἐ-πτ-ό-μην, ἐ-πτά-μην, ἔ-πτη-ν), ὠκυ-πέτ-η-ς swift, ποτά-ο-μαι flutter, πτε-ρό-ν wing, πτέρυξ wing, fin, flap, πτ-ίλο-ν feather (?). — πί-πτ-ω (Dor. aor. ἔ-πετ-ο-ν), πιτ-νέ-ω fall, πτῶ-μα, πτῶ-σι-ς a fall, πόν-μο-ς lot, πτα-ί-ειν stumble against, fall.

Skt. *pat* (*pāt-ā-mi*) fly, settle down, fall, light upon, fall in with, *pāt-a-tra-m*, *pāttra-m*, *pattr-in* bird, *pāt-man* flight, *pāt-a-s* flight, fall.

Lat. *peto*, *im-pet-u-s*, *pen-na* (Old Lat. *pes-na*), *prae-pe(t)-s*, *acci-pit-er*.

OHG. *fēdara*, *fēdah* (*fētah*) wing. — Goth. *finth-a* γινώσκω, OHG. *find-u* find.

ChSl. *pŭt-a* bird, *pŭt-ica* passer, *pe-ro* feather.

OCymr. rt. (p)at, (p)et, at-ar volucres (Z². 828), ad-anet penna (Z². 291); etn avis, OIr. én (Z². 776); rt. (p)ent, ní étar non invenitur, t-éit (for do-éit) adit, venit, tu-it cadit (Z². 503).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. iv. 136, 158, 164, Benf. ii. 93, Fick i³. 658, Ebel 'Beitr.' iii. 35, Windisch ibid. viii. 3, Stokes ibid. 325. — The rt. *pat*, *pet* is clear. The primary meaning (cp. Introduction p. 106) we may assume to have been that of 'quick movement' which has been maintained in the widest sense in the Lat. *petere*, while in the Skt. and Gk. it has branched off into the two meanings 'fly' and 'fall'—both denoting a movement through the air. However Skt. compounds like *utpat* 'fly up,' 'spring up,' *prapat* 'hurry along,' 'dash,' and also the Gk. *προνετής*, *εὑπετής* have meanings more like *petere*, while on the other hand the Lat. *penna* (for *pet-na*), *praepetes* (*aves* Fest. p. 205, 244) and *accipiter* (cp. No. 2), which Pott ii¹. 54, W. i. 523, rightly compares to the Gk. *ᾠκυπέτης*, with its by-form *acceptor* (Charis. p. 98 K) are akin in their meanings to the words for 'flying.' The poetic adj. *δυ-πετ-ής* (side by side with *δυ-πέτ-ης*) is also important for the special developement of the meaning of this root; Homer uses it as an epithet of rivers, but it afterwards acquired a much more general use. *ἐμπεσεῖν* in passages like O 624 corresponds quite to the Lat. *impetum facere*. Something may be learnt from the gloss *suspilo* 'salto' (Loewe 'Prodr.' 366) as to the Lat. *peto*. — The Germ. *finden* (find) finds in its special meaning of 'hitting,' 'lighting upon' something, a clear analogy in the OIr. *étar* and in the uses of the Skt. *pat* that are given in the P.W. under head 7. The Lat. *invenire* 211 is to be compared, so too *εἰσπίπτειν* applied as it is e.g. by Xen. 'Cyneg.' 3, 5 ἱλακτοῦσι περὶ τὰ ἔχνη, ὅτε εἰσπίπτουσιν εἰς αὐτά. — Cp. No. 349.

215. Stem *πετα* *πετά-ννυ-μι*, *πίτ-νη-μι* spread out, *πέτα-σ-μα* curtain, covering, *πέτα-σο-ς* broad-brimmed hat, *πέτα-λο-ν* leaf, plate (of metal), *πέτα-λο-ς* spread out, *πατ-άνη* dish.

Lat. *pat-e-o*, *pat-ulu-s*, *Patulciu-s*, *patina*.

OHG. *fad-am* filum, OS. *fath-m* the outstretched arm, embrace, (*fathom*).

OCymr. *etem* filum.

Pott W. iv. 154, Windisch 'Beitr.' viii. 3, Benf. i. 544, where much foreign matter is introduced, ii. 98, where *πεάννυμι* is cl^s *πλατύ-ς*=Skt. *prthú-s* and rt. *parth*, *prath* 'extendi' (Leo Meyer 'Bemerk.' 21 repeats the latter comparison,

216 655). — The Gk. *σπαρό-s* belongs, in spite of its *a*, to this root, and the more certainly that the Aeol. form *σπρότο-s* occurs in inscriptions (Ahr. 'Aeol.' 75). From the Lat. we get also the related word *strāg-e-s*; *stru-e-re* along with *strue-s* and *struū-c-e-s* suggest the ChSl. *stro-i-ti*, κατασκευάζειν, ἰδύνειν, and come, like the Goth. *straujan* from a parallel rt. *stru* (Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 286). Akin to this in meaning is *τέρ-α-μνο-ν* (for *στερ-α-μνο-ν*), only used in the plur. for 'house,' 'hall,' 'room'—i. e. 'structura,' 'exstructio'—from the root with *e* which appears here as in *ster-no*. — Since *l* and *r* occur manifestly side by side in the Slavonic languages, it is probable that the Lat. *lā-tu-s* too, old Lat. *stlā-tu-s* 'broad' (Fest. p. 313) is to be referred to the same root with *l* for *r*. This is also Corssen's view ('Beitr.' 462, where the derived *stlātārius* is discussed as well. At all events this *lātu-s* is as certainly distinct from the partic. *lātus* = *τλητός-s* as from *πλάτύ-s* with which it has been often compared. — Cp. *ἀστήρ* (No. 205) and *στέρνο-ν* (No. 223). — The Cymr. *strat* 'valley,' 'plain,' is reckoned by Ebel ('Beitr.' ii. 153 among borrowed words.

228. Root *сту*, *στυ-ω* erect, *στυ-λο-s* column, *στο-ά* colonnade.

Skt. *sthū-rá-s*, *sthū-lá-s* big, coarse, stupid, clumsy,

sthū-ṇá, Zd. *ṣtūna* door-post, pillar. — Zd. *ṣtūi* big.

Lith. *stūly-s* stump of a tree (Ness.), *stū-mū* length of body.

Cp. rt. *στα* (No. 216), *σταλ* (No. 218), Pott W. i. 360. — The metaphorical meaning of *sthūlá-s* reminds us of the words *stultu-s* and *stolidus* given under No. 218. — *στο-ά* stands for an original *στοι-ά* (Lob. 'El.' i. 443) with *-ιά* collective, and points to a primary *στο-ο-s* for *στοf-ο-s* or *στο-a* for *στοf-a* with the same meaning as *στυ-λο-s* from which *στο-ιά* was formed in the same way as *σποδ-ιά*, *νεοττ-ιά* and *ἀνθρακ-ιά*. — By vowel intensification *στυ* becomes *στεν*, which is preserved in the Homeric *στεν-ται*, i. e. *κατὰ διάνοιαν ἵσταται, ὀρίζεται*, 'he stands or is fixed in a certain direction' (cp. Lehrs. 'Arist.'² 98). 'makes provision or arrangement (Germ. 'Anstalt') for something.' — The attempt made by Düntzer 'Ztschr.' xiii. 22 and Leo Meyer xiv. 85, to connect this *στεν-το* closely with the Skt. *stu* (Zd. *ṣtu*) is a mistaken one, since *stu* always means 'praise,' and not 'promise,' or simply 'speak.' I should be inclined to conjecture rather that *stu* started from the physical meaning 'set up,' 'raise.' — No doubt the Goth. *stiv-iti* ἰπομονή, Lith. *stōv-iu* 'stand' with *v* before the vowel instead of *u*, belong to *stau* the correlative of this *στεν*. Fick i². 822 adds also the MHG. *stōuwen*, 'stow,' 'bar,' etc.

229. *στύπο-s* stem, stump, *στυ-πη* tow.

Skt. *stupá-s*, *stūpá-s* tuft (?).

Lat. *stūpa*, *stīpa* tow, *stup-e-o*, *stup-idu-s*, *stīpe(t)-s*.

The general notion is that of 'firm,' 'hard.' — The change of the vowel and the similar origin of *stīpes* is rendered probable by the form *stīpa* = *stupa* quoted by Fest. p. 351 'qua amphorae firmari solent cum extruuntur.' Cp. rt. στεφ No. 224. Perhaps too στίφ-ω 'make firm,' 'thick,' together with στίψις, στίμμα, στυφλός, στυφελός belong here. Lobeck 'Rhem.' 297 compares also στοιβή 'stuffing,' while στείβω (esp. ζ 92) comes near to the rt. στεμφ No. 219. All these stems touch each other at many points (Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' i. 129). [Is not *stupa* (better spelt *stuppa*) a loan-word? Cp. Ritschl, 'Opusc.' ii. 524.]

230. Root τα, ταν, तेन τῆ *tene*, τά-νν-μαι stretch myself, 217

τείνω (ἐ-τά-θη-ν), τι-ταίν-ω stretch, extend, τᾶ-σι-ς a stretching, τό-νο-ς strain, tension, tone, τανν-, ταναός extended, long, ἀ-τεν-ής *tenax*, stiff, τέ-ταν-ο-ς stretching, convulsive tension, τέν-ων (st. τενοντ) sinew, ταιν-ία strip, band, fillet.

Skt. *tan* (*tan-ō-mi*) stretch oneself, stretch, strain, carry out (partic. *ta-tá-s*), *tán-ti-s* cord, rope, chord, *tāna-s* thread, tone, *tanú-s* (extended?), thin, tender, *tán-tu-s* thread, string, *tan-jú-s* roaring, whistling (of the wind), *tan-ja-tú-s* noise, thunder. — Zd. *tan* stretch out, lead, *tan-ya* extended.

Lat. *ten-d-o*, *ten-e-o*, *ten-tu-s*, *tenti-o*, *ten-or*, *ten-u-i-s*, *ten-ax*, *ten-er*, *ten-us* cord, snare, *tendicula*, adv. *tenus*, *ton-a-re*, *toni-tru*. — Umbr. *an-ten-tu* ἀνα-τενέτω, *us-ten-tu* ostendito.

Goth. *than-ja* extendo, OHG. *dunni* thin (Germ. *dünn*), *dona* *tendicula*, OHG. *donar* *tonitru*, AS. *thun* clangor, *thunjan* tonare.

Lith. *temp-j-ù* stretch out, *tìmpa* sinew, *temptyva* bowstring. — ChSl. *tŭn-ŭ-kŭ* *tenuis*, *ten-eto*, *ton-oto* laqueus, *tětiva* chorda.

Cymr. *tant*, OIr. *tét* fides; Cymr. *teneu*, OIr. *tana* thin; OIr. *tan* time.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 60 and 89, Grimm 'Gesch.' 403, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 113, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 238, whose conjectures about the initial letter, however, I cannot share (cp. 'Ztschr.' iv. 7), Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 326. — The root has started from the primary meaning *st* developed in the main three special ideas which meet us i

244. Root $\tau\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\omega$ (Homeric aor. $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha$) flee, tremble, $\tau\rho\eta\text{-}\rho\acute{o}\text{-}\varsigma$, $\tau\rho\acute{\eta}\text{-}\rho\text{-}\omega\text{-}\nu$ fugitive, timorous, $\tilde{\alpha}\text{-}\tau\rho\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\tau\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ undismayed.

Skt. *tras* (*trās-ā-mi*, *trās-jā-mi*) shudder, *apa-tras* flee, *tras-a-s* unstable, *a-tras-ta-s* undismayed, *trās-a-s* fright. — Zd. *tareç* tremble, *tars-ti* fright.

Lat. *terr-e-o*, *terr-or*.

ChSl. *trēs-a* quatio, *trēs-a se* tremo.

Ir. *tarrach* (st. *tarsaco*) timorous.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 411, ii². 425, Benf. ii. 253, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 113, Stokes 'Corm. Tr.' p. 162. — On the late form $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ cp. 'Gk. Verb' p. 210. $\tilde{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\text{-}\epsilon\nu$ is explained in the manuscript of Hesych. by $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\beta\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$, which M. Schmidt has too hastily altered to $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\beta\eta\theta\eta$. Who is to say that the stem which resembles *terr-eo* (for *ters-eo*) in sound had not, like it, a transitive meaning? The shorter rt. *tra*, *tar*, of which *tras* and *tram* may be secondary forms, has been discussed at No. 239, and to it no doubt belong the adjectives $\delta\tau\rho\eta\rho\acute{o}\text{-}\varsigma$, $\delta\tau\rho\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ 'quick' which have so often been connected with our present root (Lob. 'El.' 81). On the meaning of $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ see Lehms 'Arist.'² 77. $\tau\rho\eta\rho\acute{o}\text{-}\varsigma$ Hesych. $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\phi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\delta\epsilon\iota\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$. — *tris-ti-s* which Bopp compares has a meaning which will not suit this root (cp. Corssen 'Nachtr.' 248). Joh. Schmidt, 'Voc.' ii. 362, in respect of the derived meaning 'rough,' 'bitter' (of taste), compares it with the Skt. *tr̥sh-tā-s* 'rough,' cp. Fick i³. 601. Perhaps the primary meaning was 'dry' (No. 241), cp. $\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, *aus-tēr-us*. — The nearest to the Lat. *tristis* is the OIr. *toris* acc. *tristitiam*, *toirsich* *tristes* (Z². 243, 226).

245. Root $\tau\rho\epsilon\mu$ $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\text{-}\omega$ tremble, $\tau\rho\acute{o}\mu\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ trembling, $\tau\rho\omicron\mu\text{-}\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\text{-}\varsigma$ quaking, $\tau\epsilon\text{-}\tau\rho\epsilon\mu\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\text{-}\omega$, $\tau\rho\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ tremble, $\tilde{\alpha}\text{-}\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\varsigma$ still, quiet. — Lat. *trem-o*, *trem-or*, *tremulu-s*. — Lith. *trēm-u* I tremble.

226 Only European. Cp. Nos. 239, 244. — Fick i³. 604, who rightly regards 'start,' 'move oneself,' as the primary notion, and hence connects also the OS. *thrimman* 'jump,' 'hop.' Pott W. ii. 2, 180.

246. Stem $\tau\rho\iota$ $\tau\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\text{-}\alpha$ three, $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\text{-}\tau\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$, $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\text{-}\varsigma$, $\tau\rho\iota\sigma\acute{o}\text{-}\varsigma$ threefold.

Skt. st. *tri* *trajas* tres, *tr-tīja-s* tertius, *tri-s* ter. — Zd. *thri* tres, *thri-tya*, *thris*.

Lat. st. *tri* *trē-s*, *tri-a*, *ter-tiu-s*, *ter*.

Goth. st. *thri* *threis*, n. *thrija* tres, tria, *thri-dja* tertius, Germ. *drei*.

ChSl. st. *tri trije* tres, tria, *tre-tii* tertius, Lith. *trýs* tres, *tré-cza-s* tertius.

OIr. *trí* f. *teoir* tres, Cymr. *trydydd* tertius.

Bopp 'Vgl. Gr.' ii. 66, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 190. — The Lat. *ter-ti-us* has an analogy in the Skt. *tr-tíja-s* and in the Aeol. *τέρ-το-ς* (Ahr. 'Aeol.' 56). — The OIr. *teoir* for **tesor-es*=Skt. *tisr-as*, Windisch 'Auslauts-ges.' p. 220; Cymr. *trydydd*=Goth. *thridja*, Rhys 'Rev. Celt.' ii. 116.

247. Root *tu* *τύ-λο-s*, *τύ-λη* hard swelling, knot (in wood), hump, *τυλό-ω* make swellings, *ταῦ-s* *μέγας*, *πολύ-s*, *ταῦnas* *μεγαλύνas* (Hesych.) *Τι-τυ-ό-s* (?).

Skt. *tu* (*tāu-mi* and *tav-i-mi*) have weight, power, *tuv-i* in comp. powerful, very much, *tú-m-ra-s* swelling, plump, *tū-tu-má-s* plentiful. — Zend *tu* to have the power, *tavan* rich.

Lat. *tū-b-er*, *tu-m-or*, *tu-m-e-o*, *tum-idu-s*, *tum-ulu-s* (?), Umb. and Osc. *tau-ta*, *tota*, *touta* town, Osc. *tūv-tik-s* belonging to the town.

AS. *thū-ma*, OHG. *dū-mo* thumb (Germ. *Daumen*), Goth. *thiu-da* populus.

ChSl. *ty-ti* pinguescere, *tu-kǔ* adeps, Lith. *tau-ka-l* fat (subst.), *tunk-ù* get fat, OPr. *tau-ta* country.

OIr. *tuath* f. populus; Cymr. *tut* populus, *twf* vigor (Z². 92).

Bopp 'Vgl. Gr.' ii. 372, 382, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 113, Pott W. i. 793. — The meanings 'swell,' 'grow,' 'be large' are unmistakably clear, whence come the notions of 'people,' 'community'—transferred to the place, 'country,' 'town'—just as in *po-pu-lus*, *ple-b-s* (No. 366), *πόλι-s* by the side of *ple-o* and *πολύ-s*. Cp. Mommsen 'Unterital. D.' 304. — The Skt. *tuvi* is exactly like *tāū* (Ion. *τηῦ*, cp. Ion. *γρηῦ-s* [G. Meyer in 'Ztschr.' xxii. 488]), *tuvi-gā-tá-s* 'of a strong nature,' cp. *Tāū-γρο-s* (Fick i². 557). — *tu-m-eo* has like the Skt. *túm-ra-s* an *m* added to the root. These words diverge widely in meaning from the Skt. *tumala-s*, *tumula-s* 'noisy,' *tumula-m* 'noise,' which must be compared with *tumul-tu-s*. According to Fick i². 602, the connecting notion is that of 'swell.' In *tū-ber* (n.) I am inclined, in spite of Corssen's objection ('Beitr.' 247, 157), to maintain that *b* has come from *v*, a change which may be explained by the objection to the sound-group *vu*, *uv* (cp. *ferb-ui*), and to regard the *v* as the result of the preceding *u* (cp. *plu-v-ia*). — Perhaps the OIr. *tuus*, *tús* (**tavas-tu*) 'initium,' *tóisech* 'princeps,' belong here, cp. the Cymr. *touyssogion* 'principes' (Z². 56); and

further the OIr. *tulach* 'hill.' [Perhaps also *Deut-sch*: cp. i^a. 371, Fick^a 81, 365.]

248. Root τυδ *Τυδ-εύ-s*, *Τύδ-α-s*, *Τυνδ-άρη-s*, *Τυνδ-άρεω-s*, *Τυνδ-άριχο-s*.

227 Skt. *tud* (*tud-ā-mi*) knock, pierce, *tót-tri* prick, prickle, *tōd-ā-s* pricker, horse-driver, *Túda-s* a man's name.

Lat. *tu-n-d-o*, *tud-e(i)-s* hammer, *tud-i-tar* tunda.

Goth. *staut-a* *τύπτω*, OHG. *stōz-u* (Ger.) knock.

Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *tud*, Pott i^a. 244, 'Ztschr.' ix. 172, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 6. — Especially Düntzer 'Höfer's Ztschr.' — The primary *s* has been retained in the Teutonic languages. *Τυδ-εύ-s* etc. mean therefore 'Striker,' 'Beater,' or, if Lat. *tudes*, the 'Hammer' (cp. *Karl Martell*). *Τυνδ-άρη-s* (cp. the Skt. *tund-ā-tē*) comes from an adj. *τυπ-αρός*, *στιβ-αρός*, and from this the longer forms (cp. *Βριάρεω-s*). — Paul. 'Epit.' 73 'detudes detunsos, dem' may be compared with *ob-tūsu-s*.

249. Root τυπ *τύπ-τ-ω* strike, *τύπο-s*, *τυπή*, *τύπ-ω* blow, *τυπ-ά(δ)-s* hammer, *τύμπ-ανο-ν* mallet.

Skt. *tup*, *tump* (*tup-ā-mi*, *tōp-ā-mi*) injure.

OHG. *stumpf* mancus, *stumb-alō-n* obtund.

ON. *stúf-r* stump, trunk.

ChSl. *tъp-ŭ* obtusus, *te-ti* (1. s. pr. *tep-ŭ*) *тѣп-ѹтѹ* ψόφος.

Bopp 'Gl.', Benf. i. 657, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 113, Fick P. W. — The Skt. root is unfortunately not supported by instances. *pra-stump-a-ti* given by the P. W. is remarkable. The root is preserved here as in *στυπάζει*, which according to Hesychius as well as *βροντᾶ*, *ψοφεῖ*, and in the probably related *στυφάει* 'press hard.' In the developement of the meanings it is to No. 248.

250. *τύρ-βη* noise, *τύρβα* noisily, *τυρβάξ-ω* make noise, *τυρβασιά* bustle, confusion, *Τυρ-μ-ίδαί* Δαδύριον.

Skt. *tvar* (*tvar-ē*), *tur* (*tur-ā-mi*) hurry, *tur-ā* (*tvar-ā* (subst.) hurry.

Lat. *turb-a*, *turba-re*, *turb-o*, *tur-ma*.

Benf. ii. 252, Corssen 'Beitr.' 438, Pott W. ii. 1, 315. — The initial also appears as σ : $\sigma\upsilon\rho\beta\eta$, $\sigma\upsilon\rho\beta\alpha$ (cp. under No. 577), with which comes the solitary $\sigma\upsilon\rho\beta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ (Bekk. 'Anecd.' 303). We may perhaps therefore regard *stvar*, *stur* as the oldest root. Whether, as Corssen supposes, the Teutonic *Stur-m* 'storm' and *stürz-en* 'dash' (Diefenb. 'Vgl. Wtb.' ii. 315), belong to the same root I cannot say. The rt. $\tau\upsilon\rho$ may also be seen in $\tau\upsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ $\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\epsilon\iota$ Hesych., which can hardly come from $\tau\upsilon\rho\sigma$ 'cheese.' The β in $\tau\upsilon\rho\text{-}\beta\eta$ Kraushaar ('Stud.' ii. 430) considers to have come from v (Zd. *taurvajēiti* 'he overpowers'). A Gk. $\tau\upsilon\rho\text{-}\mu\eta$ seems also to have been formed from the same root, and $\tau\upsilon\rho\mu\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\iota$ may be a derivative from it. With the Lat. *tur-ma* may be compared the AS. *thrym* 'throng,' 'mass,' 'troop,' and from this comes the probability that the Goth. *thaurp*, the OHG. *dorf*, Eng. *thorp*, which properly signifies 'a coming together'—hence the still-used Swiss expression '*einen Dorf halten*' 'to hold an assembly'—together with the ON. *thyrpaz* 'congregari' also belong to the same root. The p is the regular representative of the Graeco-Italic b . The Umbr. form *trefu* (Corssen 'Ztschr.' xiii. 179) is opposed to the supposition of a relationship with *tribu-s* (cp. Arem. *treb* 'vicus,' OCymr. *trebou* 'turmae' (Z². 136), OIr. *atreba* for *ad-treba* 'habitat'), as the f of the Umbrian word cannot be reconciled with that b which = the Goth. p . Other words are compared by Diefenb. 'Vgl. Wtb.' 228 ii. 699, and Corssen i². 163.

251. Root $\tau\upsilon\rho$ $\tau\upsilon\phi\text{-}\omega$ burn, $\tau\upsilon\phi\text{-}\sigma$ smoke, darkness, stupefaction, $\tau\upsilon\phi\text{-}\acute{\omega}\nu$, $\tau\upsilon\phi\acute{\omega}\text{-}\sigma$ whirlwind, $\tau\upsilon\phi\text{-}\epsilon\delta\acute{\omega}\nu$ smoky vapour, $\tau\upsilon\mu\phi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\sigma$ (?).

Skt. *dhūp* (*dhūp-ā-jā-mi*) fumigate, burn incense, *dhūpa-s*, *dhūp-a-na-m* frank-incense.

MHG. *dimpfen* (Germ. *dampfen*) to smoke, evaporate.

Lith. *dump-iù* to blow up a fire, *dùmp-lės* (plur.) bellows.

Pott W. i. 2, 1069. — $\tau\upsilon\phi$ arose out of $\theta\upsilon\phi$, which in $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\psi\omega$ has preserved the first aspirate, the ϕ from π as in No. 224; the Skt. *dhūp* is lengthened from the rt. *dhu* (No. 320). The root is nevertheless given in this place because it does not come in well anywhere else. — $\tau\upsilon\phi\sigma$ 'smoke and darkness' certainly belongs here and also $\tau\upsilon\phi\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\sigma$ (Aristoph. 'Vesp.' 1364). Probably $\tau\upsilon\phi\text{-}\lambda\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\sigma$ 'blind' is also related, which would then mean 'cloudy,' 'misty,' 'dim,' as $\tau\upsilon\phi\acute{\omega}\nu$ means the wind 'that brings darkness.' The Goth. *daub-s* 'deaf' and *dumb-s* 'dumb' we may also compare with Grassmann 'Ztschr.' xii. 127, perhaps also with Hehn.³ 301 the Goth. *dubo* 'dove' on the

ground of its dark colour, which is also expressed in *πᾶλαια* (OIr. *dub* 'dark,' 'black').

251 b. *ὑσ-τερο-ς* later, superl. *ὑσ-τατο-ς*. — Skt. *út-tara-s* the upper, the later, *ut-tamá-s* the uppermost, the outermost, farthest.

Bopp 'Vgl. Gr.' iii. 498, Pott i². 637, Ebel 'Beitr.' v. 75. — The positive is given in the Skt. preposition *ud* 'upon,' 'out,' which seems to have been retained in *ὑσ-πληξ* 'barrier,' 'bridge-tree,' 'prop,' properly that which 'strikes up.' The same preposition has in Goth. the form *ut*, in OHG. *uz* 'out' (Germ. *aus*) so that *ὑστερος* corresponds to the Germ. *äusserer* (outer) and *ὑστατος* to 'uttermost.' There is no connexion with *ultimu-s*, *ulterior* (Corssen 'Beitr.' 301). Pott is probably right in comparing *ὑστέρα* 'womb' and *uteru-s*, which must have stood for *ut-teru-s*, and also the Skt. *ud-ára-m* (suff. *ara*) 'belly,' which is no doubt, as we see from the Homeric *νείατον ἐς κενεῶνα*, 'that which lies lower down' (cp. *ἔντεπα*). Otherwise Fick 'Bezz. Beitr.' i. 382, where however he neglects *ὑστέρα*. — We may also compare the OIr. *ud-*, *od-* 'out,' e. g. in *conucbat* 'attollunt' for *con-ud-gabat* (Z². 885), which can hardly be separated from *úad-* (Z². 878), which leads us to the prep. *ó, úa* 'ab' = Skt. *áva* 'over away' (Z². 630).

Δ

A Greek *δ* corresponds to an Indo-Germanic *d*, which has remained unchanged in Sanskrit, Zend (with the exception of an occasional change to *dh*), Latin, Church-Slavonic, Lithuanian, and Old Irish, while it has become in Gothic *t*, in High German *z* (*sz* in the middle of a word).

229 252. Root *ád* (*σFad*) *άνδ-άν-ω* (*έ-αδ-ο-ν*, *έ-ād-α*) please, *ήδ-ο-μαι* I am glad, *ήδ-ος*, *ήδ-ονή* pleasure, *ήδ-ύ-ς*, *ήδν-μο-ς* sweet, pleasant, *δσ-μενο-ς* glad, *έδ-ανό-ς* sweet.

Skt. *svad*, act. (*svád-ā-mi*) make sweet, pleasant, mid. (*svád-ē*) be sweet, pleasant, take pleasure in (with loc. *svādatē* = *ήδεται*), *svād-ύ-ς* sweet to the taste, sweet, *svād-as* a pleasant taste.

Lat. *suā-vi-s* (for *suād-vi-s*), *suād-e-o*, *suād-u-s*, *Suād-a*, *suād-ēla*.

Goth. *sāt-s* mild, AS. *svēte*, OHG. *suozī* (Germ. *süss*) sweet.

Lith. *sald-ū-s* sweet, ChSl. *slad-i-ti* ἡδύνειν, *slad-ŭ-kŭ* dulcis.

Bopp 'Gl.' cp. above p. 33, Benf. i. 367 f., Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 134.—Traces of the *f* are preserved especially in the Homeric *εὔδαε*, i. e. *ε-σφαδ-ε*, *ε-ήνδανε*, *εὔδα*, in the Lesbian *fádea* (Ahr. 'Aeol.' 31), in *γαδεῖν* *χαρίσασθαι*, *γάδεσθαι* *ῥδεσθαι* (Hesych., Ahr. 'Dor.' 45, 53), and in the Locrian *φεφαδηφόρα* (Allen 'Stud.' iii. 247).—*εδ-αν-φ* (Apoll. 'Lex.' ἡδεῖ), § 172, an epithet of oil, clearly belongs here in spite of Buttmann 'Lexil.' ii. 14, probably too *ε-εδ-vo-v* for *σφεδ-vo-v*, on which cp. Lob. 'El.' i. 59. *ῥδος* with the spir. lenis like *ῥμαρ* by the side of *ῥμέρα*, *ῥδος* by the side of *ῥδρός*, and *οὔδας* (No. 281) by the side of *όδός*. In the Slavo-Lithuanian family *sv* has become *sl*.—The absence of the dental forbids us to compare the Cymr. *chweg* 'dulcis' (Z². 124; 'Rev. Celt.' ii. 112). Still more doubtful is the Gall. *Svadv-riv* ('Beitr.' viii. 329), for the Ir. *sadb* (Corm.), Cymr. *hāddef* means 'dwelling.'

253. Root *ἀρδ* *ἀρδ-ω*, *ἀρδ-εύ-ω* wet, *ἀρδ-μó-s* watering-place, *ἀρδ-α* dirt, *ἐρ-ράδ-α-ται*, *ράιν-ω* sprinkle, *ράνι-s* drop(?).

Skt. *ārd-rá-s* moist, fresh, juicy, *ārdrajā-mi* I wet.

Bopp 'Gl.' Benf. ii. 115, Pott W. iv. 326.—*νεο-αρδέ'* ἀλωήν (Φ 346) in spite of the initial vowel, with the var. lect. *νεο-αλδέ'* is remarkable. It induces Legerlotz ('Ztschr.' x. 367) to assume a rt. *φαρδ*, which is supposed to have come in its turn from *φαρθ* and to have preserved this its older shape in *ραθ-αῖνω*, *ραθ-άσσω*, *ραθ-ά-μυξ*. But nothing to support such a root is found in any other language. Other traces of a *f* are extremely doubtful, as is the quotation of a supposed Aeolic *βρᾶναι*=*ρᾶναι* in the dust-heap of notes in the 'excerpta cod. Vatic. p. 689 (Gregor. Corinth, p. 689), which Ahrens wisely hesitated to follow ('Aeol.' 34 note), and the very ambiguous glosses of Hesych. which L. quotes. It is no unheard-of thing in post-homeric Greek for words beginning with a vowel to be treated in a precisely similar way to those which had in an older stage of the language a consonantal initial: e. g. *ᾄ-σμος*, *νεο-αὔξητος*, *ἰσο-ευής*. If it is thought that this could not have happened in so early a time, the readiest conjecture is that the true reading is *νειαρδέ'* (cp. *νειάρα*), seeing that the word occurs but once. Joh. Schmidt ('Voc.' ii. 460 f.) compares the ON. *riða* 'besmear,' 'bespatter,' by the side of *vrīða*.—If *ράδ* arose by metathesis from *ἀρδ* (cp. *ραρ* and *ἀρπ* No 331, the rt. *κα*

No. 84 by the side of *ἀκ* No. 2, the rt. *fa* by the side of *ᾤ* No. 587), we shall refer *ῥαίν-ω* to *ῥαδ-νῆ-ω*, in which case the *ν* would have to be considered formative, as in the ramifications of the rt. *φα*, *φαν* ('Gk. Verb' p. 217).

254. *βδέλλα* leech. — Lith. *dėlė* leech, tape-worm, snail.

230 Pott W. i. 182, ii. 1, 459. — Although *βδέλλα* connects itself with *βδάλλω* 'suck,' while the Lith. word seems to stand by itself, I venture to put the two words together. Otherwise Pictet i. 531, Walter 'Ztschr.' xi. 437.

255. *βδέ-ω* visio, *βδέσ-μα*, *βδόλο-s*, *βδύλλ-ω*, *βδελυρό-s*, *βδεύσσω*. — Lat. *vis-io*, *visiu-m* *βδέσμα*. — Lith. *béz-d-a-s* *βδέσμα*, *béz-d-ù* *βδέω*, Bohem. *bzd-i-ti* *βδεῖν*.

Pott W. ii. 1, 459, Fick i³. 684. — The Gk. stem is *βδε*, to which corresponds the Lith. *béz*, where the *d* following it must be derivative. The Lat. *v=β* is explained by Walter 'Ztschr.' xi. 438 as arising from an older *g* (cp. p. 472 ff.).

255 b. *βραδ-ύ-s* slow (*βάρδ-ιστο-s*), *βραδύ-τη(τ)-s* slowness. — Skt. *mṛd-ú-s* (for *mardu-s*) soft, tender, *mṛdu-tā* softness, weakness. — ChSl. *mlad-ŭ* tener. — OIr. *mall* lentus, tardus.

Benf. i. 509, Bopp 'Gl.' — *β* before *ρ* and *λ* takes the place of *μ*, cp. *βροτό-s* rt. *μop* (No. 468). On the difference of meaning cp. p. 113 f. and the note on No. 239. *βράδων ἀδύνατος*, which we formerly introduced there is certainly not in its right place in Hesych. M. Schmidt compares well *βλαδόν ἀδύνατον*. — The rt. *mard* has in Skt. the meaning 'bruise,' 'gall.' — The same root occurs with a prothetic *d* and the softer liquid in *ᾤ-μαλδ-ύνω* 'weaken' (Ebel 'Ztschr.' vii. 227, Fick i³. 175, 721).

255 c. Root *δac*(?) *δέ-δα-ε-ν* he taught, *δε-δα-ώς* taught, acquainted with, *δε-δά-ασθαι* to search out, *δα-ῆ-ναι* learn, *δαή-μων* acquainted with, *ᾤ-δα-ής* unacquainted with. — Zd. *dā-dānh-ē* I am taught, *dānh-ista* the wisest.

Fick i³. 611, Pott W. i. 130, Grassmann 'Wtb.' 569. — It is highly probable that *δῆ-ω* 'find,' *δῆ-νο-s* 'cunning,' *μετα-δῆα* *μεταμελέτη* (Hesych.) also belong here. The Zend words from the rt. *da*, which I formerly gave here, are, as Hübschmann has kindly informed me, to be otherwise explained. We cannot get beyond a rt. *dans*, *das*, Zd. *dānh*, (for *h* is the regular representative of *s*), which has survived in Skt.,

in as far as the Skt. *das-rá-s* 'wondrous strong' is rightly put here and identified with the Zd. *dañgra* 'wise.' The Homeric *δατ-φρων* which means sometimes 'warlike,' and sometimes 'wise,' belongs here. The rt. *dak*, which is plainly to be seen in *doc-tu-s*, *doc-eo* and with fresh expansion in the Zd. *daksh* 'teach,' δι-δάσκ-ω and *disc-o* (*i* for *e* from *a*) can only be compared on the assumption that varying determinatives were added to the rt. *da*.

256. Root *δα δα-ί-ω* (Hom. fut. *δάσσομαι*) divide, *δαί(τ)-s*, *δαι-τύ-s*, *δαί-τη* portion, meal, *δαι-τρό-s* carver, *δαί-νν-μι* entertain, *δαί-νν-μαι* feast, *δαι-τυ-μών* (st. *δαιτυμων*) guest, *δαίξ-ω* tear in pieces, *δα-τέ-ο-μαι* distribute, *δα-σ-μός-s* tribute.

Skt. rt. *daj* (*dājē*) divide, assign, take part in, consume, *dājā-s* portion, inheritance; rt. *dā* (*dā-mi*, 231 *djā-mi*) cut off, in comp. divide, *dā-ti-s* division, *dā-trá-m* share.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. i. 127, ii². 940, Benf. ii. 204.—Original identity with the rt. *δο* No. 270 is probable. (Cf. Fick i³. 607; Grassmann 'Wtb.' p. 593.)—From the idea of distributing is developed that of a meal, cp. *ταμῆ* rt. *τεμ* (No. 237), and the rt. *δαν* (No. 261). Pott ii². 950 puts *δαί-μων* with these words, according to which it would mean 'distributor,' and compares *Ἰσοδαίτης ἕπ' ἐνίων ὁ Πλούτων* Hesych., while Bopp 'Vgl. Gr.' iii. 167, Legerlotz 'Ztschr.' vii. 307 refer it to the rt. *διφ* (No. 269).—There is a remarkable parallel to the figurative use *ἀμφ'* 'Ὀδυσῆι δαίεται ἥτορ α 48, δεδαῖγμένον ἥτορ ν 320 in the Skt. *dāj-a-tē* 'he pities,' a fact noticed in the Pet. Diet. With all the greater certainty may we with Döderlein 'Gl.' 2468 put *δαίεται* with this root and not under No. 258.—Mangold ('Stud.' vi. 403 ff.), on the strength of ζ9 puts *δη-μο-s* here as 'distributed land,' and then 'the people.'

257. *δα-ήρ* (st. *δᾶερ* for *δᾶφερ*). — Skt. *dēvā* (st. *dēvar*) and *dēvarā-s* — Lat. *lēvir* (st. *leviro*). — AS. *tācor*, OHG. *zeihhur*. — ChSl. *dēverŭ*, Lith. *dēveris* brother-in-law.

Bopp 'Gl.' Kuhn 'Ind. Studien' i. 328.—The guttural in the Teutonic words is to be explained by a pre-Teutonic *gv* that arose from the *v*. The primary form is *daivar*. On the prosody of the Gk. word see 'Rhein. Mus.' 1845 p. 253.—The meaning *frater mariti* is clearly the exclusive one in Skt., Gk., Lat., and Lith. In Skt. the word is derived from the rt. *div* 'play,' like *nā-nand-ar* or *nā-nānd-ar* 'hus-

band's sister' from the rt. *nand* 'to enjoy oneself' (cp. note to Nos. 20 and 124). It agrees with this that according to the Pet. Dict. 'especially the younger brother of one's husband' is so called. From the same root comes *júvan* = *juven-i-s*. Delbrück in 'Ztschr. f. d. Philol.' i. 152 calls this 'an Indogermanic idyll.'

258. Root $\delta\alpha\text{F}$ $\delta\alpha\text{-}\acute{\iota}\text{-}\omega$ kindle ($\delta\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\delta\eta\text{-}\alpha$, $\delta\epsilon\text{-}\delta\alpha\nu\text{-}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\text{-}s$), $\delta\alpha\text{-}\acute{\iota}\text{-}s$ firebrand, torch, $\delta\tilde{\alpha}\text{-}\lambda\acute{o}\text{-}s$ firebrand.

Skt. *du* (*du-nó-mi*) burn, consume, torment, *dava-s*, *dāvā-s*, *dava-thú-s* burning, heat.

Benf. i. 35, whose views as to the relation of other words besides are as unsound as Pott's (i. 282) and Bopp's ('Gloss.') comparison of the Skt. rt. *dah*, i. e. *dagh*. Cp. Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' vii. 311, and now Pott W. i. 904. — $\mu\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ $\delta\epsilon\delta\alpha\nu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$ 'E. M.' p. 250, 18, Simon. Cei fr. cxxxv. Schneidew., Hesych. $\delta\epsilon\delta\alpha\nu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\pi\epsilon\phi\lambda\epsilon\gamma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$, $\delta\alpha\beta\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\nu\theta\tilde{\eta}$, $\delta\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$. When we consider that $\delta\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\omicron\text{-}s$ according to Priscian's express testimony (i. p. 17 H.) had in Alcman a F ($\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$ $\pi\tilde{\upsilon}\rho$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\delta\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\omega\nu$), we are inclined to connect this word with $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega$. The frequent coupling of $\delta\acute{\eta}\iota\omega\nu$ with $\pi\tilde{\upsilon}\rho$ in Homer agrees with this, and the dat. $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\lambda\upsilon\gamma\rho\tilde{\eta}$) 'battle' may well be connected too, seeing that we find such expressions as $\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta$ $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\delta\epsilon\delta\eta\epsilon\iota$ (Y 18) (cp. 'bellum conflare,' 'proelium exardescit,' ON. *brand-r* 'clang of swords'). But it is not so easy to reconcile with this the prominent meaning of $\delta\acute{\eta}\iota\omicron\varsigma$, 'hostile,' and of $\delta\eta\acute{\iota}\omicron\tau\eta(\tau)\text{-}s$, 'strife,' and of $\delta\eta\acute{\iota}\acute{o}\omega$, 'lay waste,' (Döderl. 'Gloss.' 2468), for which Max Müller 'Ztschr.' v. 151 tries
232 to find an etymology in the Ved. $\acute{d}\acute{a}\acute{s}\acute{a}\text{-}s$, $\acute{d}\acute{a}\acute{s}\acute{j}\acute{u}\text{-}s$, a designation of hostile peoples and spirits. We may, however, find a point of connexion in the meaning 'consuming,' 'tormenting.' This is specially suggested by the tragic use of $\delta\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron\varsigma$ 'miser,' e.g. Soph. 'Aj.' 784 $\tilde{\delta}\acute{\alpha}\iota\acute{\alpha}$ $\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\mu\eta\sigma\sigma\alpha$. Here the word means 'tormented.' — The same transition of meaning takes place in Skt. in the case of the rt. *du*, and this shows that $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\eta$ 'woe,' 'need,' $\delta\nu\text{-}\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\text{-}s$ 'unfortunate,' $\delta\nu\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\omega$ 'torment,' also belong to this root; cp. Lith. *dovýti* 'torment.' — Cp. Pott ii². 942.

259. Root $\delta\alpha\lambda$ $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\text{-}\delta\alpha\lambda\text{-}\omicron\text{-}s$, $\delta\alpha\iota\text{-}\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\text{-}\epsilon\omicron\text{-}s$ cunningly wrought, $\delta\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\text{-}\omega$ work cunningly, embellish, $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\lambda\text{-}\mu\alpha$ a work of art. — Lat. *dol-ā-re* carve, *dolā-bra*, *dōl-iu-m* — ChSl. *delŭva* dolium.

Benf. i. 99, ii. 339, Pott 'Ztschr.' vi. 32 f., Diefenbach 'Vgl. Wtb.' ii. 667. — For the diphthongal reduplication compare $\pi\alpha\iota\text{-}\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\text{-}\omega$, $\mu\alpha\iota\text{-}\mu\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\omega$. — Pictet ii. 126 takes the Skt. *dar* 'split' (No. 267) as the root. Cp.

Fick i³. 617.—The connexion of the Lith. *dail-ūs* 'delicate,' *dailin-ti* 'mould delicately,' is contested by Joh. Schmidt 'Vocal.' ii. 486.

260. Root *δαμ* *δάμ-νῃ-μι*, *δαμ-ά-ω*, *δαμάζ-ω* tame, overpower, *δάμ-αρ* (st. *δαμαρτ*) wife, *δαμ-άλη-s* steer, *-δαμο-s* in comp. taming, *ά-δμή(τ)-s* untamed, *δμώ-s* slave.

Skt. rt. *dam* (*dām-jā-mi*, also *damá-jā-mi*, *daman-jā-mi*) am tame, tame, part. *dam-i-ta-s* domitus, *-dama-s* in comp. taming, *dam-ana-s* domitor, *dam-ja-s* young steer.

Lat. *dom-a-re*, *dom-i-tu-s*, *dom-i-tor*, *dom-inu-s*.

Goth. *ga-tam-jan* *δαμᾶν*, OHG. *zam-ôn* I tame, *zam* tame.

Cymr. *dof* tame, *dofi* to tame, OCymr. *dometic* tamed; OIr. *dam* steer.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. ii. 2, 180, Grimm 'Gesch.' i. 402, Z². 1057, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 329. — The root is related to the rt. *da* 'bind' (No. 264) and *δεμ* (No. 265). For *δάμαρ* Hesych. has a by-form *δόμορτι-s* (doubtless Aeolic) *γυνή*. — We must recognize in *δάμαρ* and *δαμάλη-s* the idea of overpowering which is prominent also in *παρθένος ἰδμήs*. The Homeric *δμώ-s* is the passive to the Lat. *dominu-s*. For this reason and on account of the Skt. *dam-ana-s* I prefer the above account of *dominu-s* to that given by Lange ('Jahn's Jahrb.' vol. 68 p. 41), who takes *dominu-s* to be the 'giver' (rt. *da*, *do*). — Ebel ('Beitr.' ii. 160) and Stokes ('Beitr.' vii. 14) connect the Ir. *fo-daimim* 'patior:' perf. depon. *damair* 'passus est.' Perhaps also the Cymr. *dawf* 'gener,' OCymr. *dauu* 'cliens' (for *dām-*, Z². 1055) belong here.

261. Root *δαπ*, *δεπ*, *δάπ-τ-ω* dissever, rend, *δαπ-άνῃ* expense, *δάπ-ανο-s* extravagant, *δαψιλής* liberal. — *δεῖπ-νο-ν* meal.

Skt. *dā-p-ajā-mi* causative from *dā* divide, No. 256.

Lat. *dap-s* meal, sacrificial feast, *dap-inare* serve up on table.

AS. *tiber*, *tifer*, OHG. *zēbar*, ON. *tafn* victima, MHG. *un-ge-zib-ele* vermin, properly 'not fit to be offered.'

Benf. ii. 204, Fick i³. 610. — The shorter root is No. 256; it has an 233 added *π*, cp. *δραπ-έτη-s* (No. 272) and *ἀστράπτω* (No. 205). We are reminded of the rt. *da* 'give,' which also has in Skt. the causative form *dā-p-ajā-mi*. But the nouns given under No. 256 make it advisable to start from the idea of 'dividing,' which again gives an easier expla-

nation of the physical meaning of δάπτω, καταδάπτω "tear," "rend." *καταδάπτειται ἥτορ* π 92, like δάπτει ἥτορ. On the formation of δαψιλής Lobbeck 'Proleg.' 114 cp. δεισιδός δειλός Hesych. and λαιαρός by the side of λαιαρός. — δάπτω-ν (Benf. ii. 271) from δάπτω-ν, which would correspond to the form *dapinu-m* which we may assume to account for *dap-inare* (Plaut.); clearly its proper meaning, like that of δάπ-σ, is *distributio* (cp. *ιστρίαιος*). Cp. Legerlotz 'Ztschr.' viii. 397. — δάπ-σ too along with δάπαστρον from δαπάσσω 'to be in one's cups' is doubtless related. The Homeric phrase δάπας οἶνον seems properly to mean a 'measure' of wine, and the transition of the word from this meaning to that of vessel is an easy one. Accordingly we may assume δάπασ to have had the same meaning with reference to drink as δαίς and the Lat. *daps* with reference to food, i. e. a portion.

262. Root δαπε *ξ-δραθ-ο-ν*, *δραθ-άν-ω* sleep. — Skt. *drā* (*drā-mi*, *drājā-mi*) sleep, *nī-drā* go to sleep. — Lat. *dor-m-i-o*. — ChSl. *dré-m-a-ti* dormire.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. i. 135, Schleicher 'Ksl.' 116. — On the secondary *θ* and *μ* see pp. 63 and 65. It is to be remarked that Homer knows only the aorist *ξ-δραθ-ο-ν*, *κατέδραθον*, *παρέδραθον*, and only in this form, and that the present (*καταδραθάνω*) does not occur till Plato ('Gk. Verb.' pp. 182 and 284).

263. δασύ-ς thick, δάσος thicket, δασύνω make thick, rough, δαυλό-ς thickly overgrown, Δαυλί-ς.
Lat. *densu-s*, *densere*, *densare*.

Pott P. 139, 'Ztschr.' vi. 406, where δαυλό-ς is rightly held to be from δασυ-λό-ς and explained by 'H-δύ-λο-ς from ἡδύ-ς, so παχυ-λό-ς from παχύ-ς. Pott conjectures that, with a different suffix, 'Επί-δαν-ρο-ς stands for 'Επι-δασυ-ρο-ς, and accordingly denotes 'a place overgrown with a thicket,' and compares the proper name Θράυλλος for Θράσυλλος. Benf. ii. 200. Cp. δασ-κόν δασύ, δασ-πέταλον πολύφυλλον (Hesych.). — But the Lat. *dus-mu-s* without doubt belongs here, Paul. 'Ep.' 67 'dusmo in loco apud Livium significat dumosum vel squalidum.' *dus-mu-s* must be for *dens-imu-s* (cp. ἀνθ-ιμο-ς), *dū-mu-s*, *dū-metu-m* always keep the further meaning 'bushes.' So Döderlein 'Syn. u. Et.' vi. 108. Should we be right in adding the Messapian names *Dasimmi-s*, *Δάσιμο-ς*, *Dasiu-s* (Mommsen 'Unterit. D.' 72), which might have the same meaning as Δασύλλιος which Benseler translates by 'thick'?

268 b. *δε* towards, *οἰκόν-δε* homewards. — Zd. *da*, *vaéz-men-da* homewards. — Lat. *-do* in *en-do*, *in-du*.

Goth. *du*, AS. *tó*, OHG. *zuō*, *za*, *ze*, *zi* to (Germ. *zu*). — ChSl. *do* up to, Lith. prefix *da*.

Pott i². 287, Miklosich 'Lex.,' Ebel 'Beitr.' i. 312, Fick i². 99, Scherer 304, where the Lat. *de* (the Osc. *dat*) is also referred to this stem. In the Arcadian *θύρ-δα' ζέω* (Hesych.) i. e. *θύραζε* the old *a* is retained in the place of the *ε*, in the Aeol. *-dis* (so too in the Homeric *ἄλλυ-δης*) it is weakened to *ι* and a *s* is added (cp. *ἐξ, ἀμφίς*). — To the 234 Lat. *en-do in-du* correspond the OIr. *ind-* in *indiumm* 'in me,' etc. (Z². 627).

264. Root *δε* *δέ-ω*, *δί-δη-μι* bind, *δέ-σι-s* a binding, *δε-τή* bundle, *δε-σ-μό-s* band, fetter, *κρή-δε-μνο-ν*, *διά-δη-μα* fillet.

Skt. *dā* (*djā-mi*) bind, *dā-man* band, cord, *dā-mā* band.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Benf. ii. 200, Schweizer 'Ztschr.' iii. 342, Pott W. i. 129. — The comparison of *δοῦλο-s* 'slave,' which is often connected with the Skt. *dāsa-s* of like meaning and explained to be from *δοσυλο-s* (cp. No. 263) seems to me questionable especially on account of the *ο* which is foreign to this root. — On *δεσ-πότη-s* cp. No. 377. — It has long ago been recognized that *δεῖν* 'to be obliged' is connected with *δεῖν* 'to bind.' Hence the construction with the acc. But *δεήσει* points to the loss of a consonant and the related Homero-Aeolic *δεύω* (*δευήσω*) 'want' makes it likely that this consonant was *f* (Sauppe 'Gött. Prooem.' 1870 p. 25). Since the Skt. *das* (*dās-jā-mi*) like *δεῖσθαι* means 'suffer want,' and *vi-das* 'to be wanting,' 'fail,' it is possible that we ought to regard *da-v* and *da-s* as expansions of *da*. Cp. Fick i². 108.

264 b. Root *δελ* look, glance at, *δεν-δίλλων ἐς ἑκάστον* (/ 180) looking at each one separately, Dor. *δῆλεσθαι*, *δείλεσθαι* wish.

Skt. *dar* (*dri-jā-tē*) consider, *dā-dara-s* consideration, attention.

Goth. *ga-tilō-n* attain, get, OHG. *zil* aim (Germ. *Ziel*).

Fick i². 617, Brugman 'Stud.' vii. 347. — On the intensive formation *δεν-δᾶλιν* cp. 'Gk. Verb' p. 212. — *δελώνται* tab. Heracl. i. 146, *αἷ κα δελῶται* Locrian (Allen 'Stud.' iii. 273). Cp. Ahrens 'Dor.' 150. By the help of the connecting notion 'look towards something' may be brought together the meanings 'look,' 'aim,' 'wish.' — Cp. No. 271.

guages, namely, (1) 'thin,'—further developed to 'tender;' (2) 'that which is stretched out,' hence 'string,' 'sinew,' etc. (cp. OHG. *fadam* No. 215), (3) 'tension,' 'tone,' 'noise.' The third meaning approaches the rt. *stan* (No. 220) in many of its applications; but it seems to me very hazardous to try and identify the two roots under this meaning, as has been attempted by Pott i¹. 255, Benf. i. 675, and lately by Corssen 'Beitr.' 436, Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 375, Grassmann 'Wtb.' The Skt. *tāna-s* = the Gk. *τάνο-s* 'tension' and 'tone,' *τείνειν βοήν, παράγειν* (Soph. 'Ant.' 124) 'raise a cry, a noise,' originally 'make a cry stretch itself, continue.' Since the Gk. usage proves that the linguistic instinct perceived some connexion between the ideas 'stretch' and 'resound' (a connexion perhaps helped by the notion 'continuari'), we may believe the like of the other peoples too (cp. 'Ptsb. Wtb.,' s. v. *tāna*). It would be astounding indeed if the *s* of the rt. *stan* had been lost in four languages, while at the same time the root was preserved intact in three. — We may notice the Skt. *tan* 'duration,' instrum. *tan-ā* (adv.) 'on and on,' by the side of the Lat. *tenuis*. — On *ἀ-τεν-ής* cp. Clemm 'Stud.' viii. 96. We must add too the meaning 'hold,' which is arrived at through the notion 'stretch,' and which meets us in *tenere* and in the Gk. *τῆ*, which I have compared with the Lith. permissive *tè* ('Ztschr.' vi. 91). — The Lith. *p* reminds us of the *p* in the Lat. *tem-p-to*, the connexion of which with our root Ebel doubts ('Ztschr.' iv. 442). But *temptare* clearly means properly 'to extend or stretch something repeatedly' until it fits. Corssen 'Ausspr.' i². 123, however, considers *tentare* the etymologically correct
 218 spelling. Other conjectures are made by Fick i². 594. — On derived forms with *s* see Pott ii². 603. — Perhaps besides *tendo*, the Osc. *tad-ait*, which Corssen 'Ztschr.' v. 94 translates by 'tendat,' belongs to a root with added *d*. May not also *ἐπί-τηδ-ες* 'intente,' with *ἐπιτηδεύω* and *ἐπιτηδεύω*, belong to the same root? Cp. p. 65. — The OIr. *tan* 'time' goes with the Skt. *tan* 'duration' (similarly the Lat. *tempus* with the Lith. *tempjũ*).

230 b. Root *ταγ τε-ταγ-ών* grasping. — Lat. *tag-o*, *tan-g-o*, *tag-ax*, *tac-tu-s*, *tac-tio*. — Goth. *ték-an* touch (?).

Lottner 'Ztschr.' xi. 185. — The identity of the Gk. and Lat. roots, ignored by Pott W. iii. 443 ff. no one will doubt. In Gothic the initial has not its regular representative, but the meaning is so completely identical with that of the Graeco-Italian words that we must agree here to admit an exception—and Lottner has collected several. To *ték-an* is allied the AS. *tac-an*, Eng. *take*, which we must not with Grassmann ('Ztschr.' xii. 107), separate from the Goth. word and connect with *δέχομαι* (rt. *δεκ*). Might not the root be *stag*, and so the

persistence of the tenuis be explained by the dropped *s*? We became acquainted under No. 226 with one or two forms which presupposed such a root, whose meaning could without any difficulty be reconciled with such a root. — Fick i³. 823 compares the Skt. *tāḡ-āt* 'suddenly' and the rt. *tuḡ* (*tuñḡ-ā-mi*) 'knock,' 'thrust,' 'knock against,' but prefers to connect it with the Goth. *stiggvan* 'knock' rather than with *tēkan*. — There is much to be said for the comparison of *ταγγό-s* 'rancid,' *τάγγη*, *τάγγος* 'rancor,' *ταγγίσειν* 'rancescere' with the OHG. *stincan* 'stink,' which corresponds in sound to the above-mentioned Gothic verb.

231. Root *tak* *τήκ-ω* melt (*ἐ-τάκ-ην*), *τακ-ερό-s* melting, liquid, *τηκε-δών* (st. *τηκεδον*) a melting away, *τήγ-ανο-ν* saucepan, crucible, *ταχύ-s* quick, *τάχ-ος* quickness.

Skt. *tak* (*tak-ti*) shoot, dash, hurry, *ták-u-s*, *tak-vá-s* hurrying. — Zd. *tac* run, flow, *vī-takh-ti* thawing, running (of liquefying solids).

ChSl. *tek-a* run, flow, *tek-ŭ* run (subst.), *tok-ŭ* stream.

OIr. *techim* I flee.

Fick i³. 587 f., Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 327, Grassmann 'Ztschr.' xii. 104. — On the aspirate in *ταχύ-s* see below p. 507. — The variety of meanings, which is at first sight surprising, is to be explained by the connecting notion of *flowing*. — The words which, owing to the similarity of their meaning, I formerly connected with *τήκεν* (Lat. *tābē-s*, AS. *thāvan* 'thaw,' ChSl. *ta-jā* 'liquefio') cannot without difficulty be reconciled with it in sound, and had therefore better be kept quite apart. — On the Ir. *tām* 'death,' which Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 327 puts here, cp. 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 217.

232. *ταῦπο-s* steer. — Skt. *sthūrā-s* taurus, Zend *ṣtaora* draught-ox. — Lat. *tauru-s*, Umbr. *turu*. — Goth. *stiur*, ON. *thór-r* bos castratus. — ChSl. *turŭ* steer.

Kuhn in Weber's 'Ind. Studien' i. 339, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 113, 'Beitr.' i. 238. — The etymology is to be found in the adjectival use of the Skt. *sthūrā-s*, *sthūlā-s*, *sthāvira-s* 'firm,' 'strong,' the latter an epithet of the steer (Nos. 217, 228). — Pott W. i. 361.

233. Root *taφ* *ἐ-ταφ-ο-ν* I was astonished, *τάφ-ος* astonishment.

Skt. *stambh* (*stabh-nō-mi*) to make spell-bound, *stabh-dhá-s* stiff, rigid, *stambh-as* torpor, paralysis.

Lith. *steb-iŭ-s* I am astonished.

OIr. *tibiu* I laugh.

Benf. i. 651, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 16, Windisch 'Beitr.' viii. 440. — Owing to the influence of the *s* *stabh* became *σθαφ* and then this lost the *σ* and became *θαφ*. The objection the Greeks had to two simple aspirates at the beginning of neighbouring syllables changed sometimes the first aspirate into the tenuis (*ραφ*), and sometimes the second (*θαν*). The latter form (*τέ-θηπ-α*) suffered nasalization and softening in *θάμβ-ος* and *θαμβ-έ-ω*, and simple softening of the final consonant in *θῆβ-ος* *θαῦμα* (Hesych.). — *stup-eo* comes in the same way from the rt. *stap* (No. 224). — Cp. Nos. 219, 216. — For *θαῦ-μα* see No. 308.

233 b. The pronominal stem *τε* (for *τφε*), Dor. *τύ*, Boeot. *τοῦ-ν*, *τοῦ* thou, *τέό-ς* thy. — Skt. st. *tva*, *tva-m*, Zd. *tū-m* thou, Skt. *tvá-s*, Zd. *thwa* thy. — Lat. st. *te tū*, *tuu-s*. — Goth. *thu* thou (Germ. *du*), *thein-s* thy. — Lith. *tū* thou, *tavās-is* thine, ChSl. *ty* thou, *tvo-j* thy. — OIr. *tú* thou, *-t-* thee, *no-t-aíl* alit te, *do* thy, inserted *-t-*, *du-t-menmain* menti tuae.

Bopp 'Vgl. Gr.' i. 122, Schleicher 'Compend.' 626 ff. — Ahrens 'Aeol.' 207, 'Dor.' 248. — The softening in ordinary Gk. to *σε*, *σú* etc. need not be dwelt on.

234. *τέγγ-ω* moisten, soften, *τέγγι-ς* a moistening. — Lat. *ting-o*, *tinc-tu-s*, *tinc-tura*, *tinc-tio*, *tinct-ili-s*. — OHG. *thunc-on*, *dunc-on* tingere.

Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' i. 168. Pott W. iii. 461. — It was formerly held, from a consideration of the Goth. *thvah-a* 'wash,' that the media was softened from the tenuis — and on this supposition Fick i³. 606 compares the Skt. *tuç* 'drip' — but the OHG. verb coincides both in sound and sense with the Graeco-Italic ones. — *τέναγ-ος* 'vadum,' which it is sought to identify with *stagnu-m*, can hardly be connected with this root.

235. Root *τεκ* *ἔ-τεκ-ο-ν*, *τίκ-τ-ω* generate, *τέκ-ος*, *τέκ-νο-ν* child, *τοκ-εύ-ς* begetter, *τόκο-ς* birth, interest. — *τέκ-μαρ* aim, goal, *τεκ-μήρ-ιο-ν* token, *Τέκμησσα*, *τόξο-ν* bow, *τόσσαις* (Pind.) hitting, happening, *τέχ-νη* art. — *τέκ-τ-ων* (st. *τεκτον*) carpenter. — Root *τυκ* *τυχ τυγχ-άν-ω* (*ἔ-τυχ-ο-ν*) hit, *τύχ-η* success, *τεύχ-ω*, *τε-τύκ-οντο* they prepared, *τύκ-ο-ς* chisel, *Τεῦκ-ρο-ς*, *τεῦχ-ος* implement.

Skt. *ták-man* child, *tak-sh* to hew, prepare, make (OPers. *takhsh* build), *ták-sh-ā* (st. *tak-sh-an*) wood-cutter, carpenter, *takhsh-ana-m* a hewing, an axe, *tóká-s* proles. — Zd. *tash* cut, do carpenter's work, *tasha* (m.) axe, *tas-ta* dish, cup, *tuc* beget.

Lat. *tig-nu-m*, *tē-lu-m*, *tē-mo*, *tex-o*, *tex-tor*, *textura*, *tē-la*.

Goth. *theih-a* flourish(?), OS. *thigg-ju*, OHG. *dig-ju* 220 obtineo, impetro, OHG. *dēh-s-a* hoe, trowel, MHG. *dēhsen* to dress flax, *dīh-sel* shaft, pole (Germ. *Deichsel*).

Lith. *tek-ý-s* rain, *tenk-ù* fall to the lot of, *tink-ù* fit, suit, *tīnk-a-s* it happens, *tīk-ra-s* right, proper, OPr. *tik-in-t* facere, *teikusna* creatio, Lith. *tiký-ti* to aim, *taszy-ti* make (of a carpenter), hew at, *taisý-ti* prepare; ChSl. *tūk-nq-ti* figere, *tūk-a-ti* texere, *is-tūk-nq-ti* effodere, *tes-a-ti* caedere (Bohem. *tesař* faber), *tes-la* axe.

Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *taksh*, Pott ii². 614, W. ii. 2, 401, 404, iii. 799, 804, Benf. ii. 247 ff., Pictet ii. 127, Fick i². 588, Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' i. 52. — On the change of vowel and the three main meanings 'generate,' 'hit,' 'prepare' cp. above p. 58. — The root is one of the oldest applied to any kind of occupation without any clearly defined distinction, so that we must not be astonished if we meet the weaver in the company of the carpenter and the marksman. In the Zd. *tas-ta* 'dish,' which we cannot separate from the Lat. *testa*, we find traces of the potter as well. The Germ. *treffen* 'hit,' 'hit upon,' 'happen,' illustrates the change from these active meanings to the intransitive one of *τυχεῖν*. The *χ* is only an affected *κ* (cp. below p. 501 ff.). For *τυχεῖν*, the intransitive of *τεύξαι*, *τετυκ-έ-σθαι*, we get analogies in the OHG. *digju*, and the Lith. *tink-ù*, and the Lith. *tīnk-a-s* is specially instructive. I now connect *τεῖχος* with No. 145. Some of the Slav. words, especially the rt. *tūk*, are regarded differently by Miklosich ('Lex.' p. 1017). — The rt. *taksh* is formed by the addition of an *s* and to it belongs the Lat. *texere* and the OHG. *dehs-a*, *τέκ-τ-ων* arose by assimilation from *τεκ-σ-ων* (cp. p. 698). — Side by side with *taksh* we find the rare *tvaksh* with the same meanings. Acc. to some scholars this contains the primary rt. *tvak*, from which we might arrive at *tūk*, *τυκ*, and (though not so well) at *tak*. In any case the rts. *tak* and *tuk* have been in use side by side from the earliest times. — Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 327 finds a counterpart to the ChSl. *tesla* in the OIr. *tál*

'ascia,' but the OIr. *tuag* 'bow' does not belong here, but to the Skt. *tu* 'strike,' 'urge forwards.'

236. Root *τελ*, *ταλ* *τληναι* endure, *τάλα-s* (st. *ταλαν*), *πολύ-τλᾶ-s*, *ταλα-ό-s*, *τλή-μων* (st. *τλημων*) wretched, *τάλ-αντο-ν* balance, weight, *ἰ-τάλαντο-s* of equal weight, equal to, *τάλ-αρο-s* basket, *τελα-μών* strap, supporter (in architecture), *τόλ-μα* strength to bear and to dare, *τολμά-ω* bear, dare, *Τάν-ταλο-s*.

Skt. *tul* (*tōlá-jā-mi*, *tula-j-ā-mi*) lift up, weigh, esteem equal, *tul-ᾶ* scales, *túl-ja-s* equal, *tōluna-m* a lifting up, weighing.

OLat. *tul-o*, *te-tul-i*, Lat. *tu-li*, (*i*)*lā-tu-s*, *toll-o*, subst. *toll-o*, *tolleno*, *tolerare*, *tol-ū-tim*.

Goth. *thul-a* ἀνέχομαι (OEng. *thole*), *us-thul-aín-s* patience, OHG. *dōlem*, *dultu* I suffer (Germ. *dulde*).

ChSl. *tul-ŭ* pharetra.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. ii 1, 394, 'Ztschr.' vii. 337, Benf. ii. 258, who 221 follows Pott, and justly so, in referring ἀν-τέ-ω 'draw' (water) to ἀνά and τλα. The instrument for drawing water was called in Lat. *tollo*, *tolleno* 'genus machinae, quo trahitur aqua, alteram partem prae-gravante pondere, dictus a tollendo' (Fest. p. 356). *τάλαρο-s*, the wool-spinner's basket for carrying and hanging up, belongs clearly to this stem. Special notice should be paid to the agreement between *τάλ-αντον* and the Skt. *tulā* (cp. *pondus* 'pound'), which also denotes a special weight, and to that between ἀτάλαντος and *túljas* (cp. ἰσόρροπος). With the latter Schleicher 'Ksl.' 114 connects also the ChSl. *pri-tul-i-ti* 'accommodare;' he doubts the connexion of the ChSl. *tul-ŭ*, but the origin of *φap-έ-τρα* of the same meaning makes it very probable (cp. above p. 115). — *tal* is no doubt to be regarded as the Indo-Germ. root; the *a* has degenerated in Skt., Teut., and ChSl. to *u*. The primary meaning is 'raise,' 'lift,' 'carry.' All the three *a*-sounds appear in Gk. To *τελ* belongs *τέλ-ος* in the sense of 'tax' (cp. *φόρος*), 'office,' 'task,' which is a completely distinct word from *τέλ-ος* 'end' (No. 238), and further also the hitherto little recognized *τέλλω* with its two modifications of meaning, i.e. (1) intransitive *rise* of constellations, so in ἀνατέλλειν, ἔξανατέλλειν, ἐπιτέλλεσθαι, περιτέλλεσθαι, ὑπερτείλειν ὁ ἥλιος Hdt. iii. 104, similarly Cic. 'Brut.' vii. 26 'orator se extulit;' (2) transitive, properly 'lift over somebody,' 'lay upon,' 'enjoin,' so in ἐπιτέλλειν, ἐντέλλειν, the latter meaning comes nearest to the common usage of *tulit*. — In Lat. *tol* is the primary form; the *o* is preserved in the OLat. *tolerint*, *toli* (Corssen ii^a. 73), in *tollo* (perhaps as Corssen holds 'Beitr.' 209 from *tol-jo*), *tol-ū-tim* 'trotting'

(which may well be from *tolō-tim* from a secondary verb *tolo-o* = *ταλά-ω*, cp. 'üb. d. Spuren einer lat. O-Conj. Symbola philolog. Bonn.' i. p. 271 ff.) and in other forms, while elsewhere it has been weakened to *u*. So in *Tullu-s*, *Tulliu-s* which acc. to Theod. Mommsen 'Rh. Mus.' xv. 197 is 'from tollere,' and acc. to Rob. Mowat 'Revue Archéolog.' 1868 p. 359 is the counterpart of 'projectus.' [Cf. *Tullianum* 'the well-house' (Burn's *Rome* p. 81), and Festus p. 352: 'tullios alii dixerunt esse silanos, alii rivos alii vehementes proiectiones sanguinis arcuatim fluentis quales sunt Tiburi in Aniene. Ennius in Aiace sanguine tepido tullii efflantes volant.'] Perhaps we should be right in adding *τολίπ-η* 'clew,' 'pensum,' with added *π*, whence comes *τολυνεύειν* 'unwind,' 'accomplish' (work), which has already in Homer its metaphorical meaning (Döderlein 'Gloss.' 2390). — Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 328 identifies with *τηλρός* the Cymr. *tlawd* 'poor,' 'wretched,' and compares with the Lat. *tollo* the Ir. *tallaim* 'I take away.'

237. Root *τεμ*, *ταμ* *τέμ-ν-ω* (ξ-*ταμ-ο-ν*), *τμή-γ-ω* cut, *τομή* a cutting, *τμή-μα*, *τέμ-α-χ-ος* slice, segment, *τομεύ-ς* knife, *ταμ-ία-ς* dispenser, steward, *ταμής* housekeeper.

ChSl. *tin-q* inf. *tē-ti* scindere.

Benf. ii. 245, Fick i³. 594. — The Skt. *tām-āla-s* that used to be compared appears in the 'Ptsb. Wtb.' with the meaning among many others of 'sword,' but this meaning has no authority, and the others start from the primary notion 'dark' (cp. *tām-as* 'darkness'). The rt. *tam* too has accordingly the meaning 'to choke,' 'to stand still,' 'to pinch.' All this group must therefore be put aside altogether. On the other hand we can hardly question the relationship of *τέμ-ενος* 'district,' 'a piece of land marked off' and *tem-p-lu-m* (*τέμενος αἰθέρος* Aesch. 'Pers.' 365 = 'caeli templa' Enn.). Cp. Corssen 'Beitr.' 440, Usener 'Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1878,' 59 ff. Further *ton-d-ē-re* belongs to these words (Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 414): its *n* arose from *m* through the influence of the determinative *d* (= *dh*) as in *fren-d-e-re* 'gnash the teeth' compared with *χρόμ-αδο-ς* (No. 200 b). *τένδ-ειν* 'gnaw' too, *τένθ-η-ς* 'a sweet-tooth,' seem to have sprung from a similar secondary root. The stem of *τραγ* and *τεμ-α-χ* is formed by the addition of a guttural. Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 376 compares *μίαχος* 'μίσσημα' (Hes.) with *τέμαχος*. — On the interchange between the nasals see below p. 545 ff. Fick connects also the Lat. *tin-ea* 'moth.'

238. *τέρ-μα* goal, extreme point, *τέρμων* (st. *τερμων*) boundary, *τέρ-θρο-ν* end, point, *τέρμ-ιο-ς* *τερμιόει-ς* reaching to the boundary.

Skt. *tar* (*tár-ā-mi*) take across, go through, overcome, *tar-aṇ-a-s*, *tar-ś-s* boat, *tar-antā-s* sea, *tár-man* top of the sacrificial stake, *tírás*, Zd. *tarō* trans, Skt. *tīra-m* bank, border.

Lat. *ter-mo*, *ter-men*, *ter-minu-s*, Osc. *teremenniú*, Umbr. *termnu*, *in-tra-re*, *ex-tra-re*, *trans*, Umb. *traf* = *trans*.

ON. *thrō-m-r* margo, OHG. *dru-m* meta, finis, Goth. *thair-h*, OHG. *durh* through (Germ. *durch*).

OIr. *tar* trans, Cymr. *tra(ch)*; OIr. *tairm-thecht* transgressio; *tri*, *tre* through, Cymr. *troi*, *trwy*.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. ii. 1, 261. — The primary meaning of the words here collected is *overstep*. *τέρ-μων* and *ter-minu-s* might be translated 'that which is stepped over.' Probably *Tápā-s* (st. *Tapavt*) belongs here as well, cp. *Πειραιεύ-s* (No. 357), perhaps even *Τρο-ία*, *Τρο-ιζήν*, on the *ζ* in which see p. 632. — The same root appears with *λ* instead of *ρ* in *τέλ-os* which corresponds in sound to the Skt. *tár-as* 'a pressing forwards,' 'strength' (that makes its way through; cp. *τορό-s*, *διά-τορο-s*, *τρά-ν-ής*), and clearly accordingly denotes the attained goal; with it come *τελέω*, *τέλειος*, *τελευτή*, but not the words mentioned under No. 236. — *ex-trā-bunt* Afranius Ribbeck 'Com.' p. 141, *ter-mo* Enn. 'Ann.' 470 sq. Vahlen, *ter-men* Varro 'L. L.' v. § 21 Müll., Osc. *teremenniú* (Corssen i². 573), Umbr. *termnu*, *traf* Aufr. u. Kirchh. i. 157, where too a conjecture is hazarded on *trāme(t)s* which is certainly related. — Corssen 'Ztschr.' iii. 276 ingeniously explains *Tras-im-enu-s* as 'that on the yonder side.' The *h* in the Teutonic *thair-h* must be the representative of a derivative *k*. The meaning *through* is related to that of *trans* as *τιτράω* is to *τείρω* (No. 239).

239. Root *τερ* *τέρ-ω*, *τρύ-ω*, *τρί-β-ω*, *τρύ-χ-ω* rub, *τιτρά-ω*, *τε-τραίν-ω* rub away, pierce, *τερ-έ-ω* bore, turn on a lathe, *τέρ-ε-τρο-ν* a gimlet, *ξ-τορ-ε* pierced, *τόρ-o-s* chisel, *τόρ-νο-s* a pair of compasses, a turner's chisel, *τορ-εύ-ω* grave, sculpture, *τρῦ-μα* hole.

Lat. *ter-o*, *ter-e(t)-s*, *ter-e-bra*, *tri-bula* tribulare, *trī-ti-cu-m*, *tur-unda* a roll, cake, *tru-a* ladle, *tar-me(t)-s* wood-worm.

AS. *thrā-v-an* torquere, OHG. *drā-j-an* tornare, Goth. *thair-kō* hole, eye of a needle (*τρυμαλιά*).

ChSl. *trě-ti*, *try-ti* terere, Lith. *trìn-ti* rub, file.

OIr. *tarathar* terebra, Cymr. *tarater* (Z². 831).

Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *tř*, Pott W. ii. 1, 285, Benf. ii. 260, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 112, Legerlotz 'Ztschr.' vii. 136, Leo Meyer viii. 259. — The words 223 here collected fall, as regards sound, under one or other of the primary forms *tar* (τερ, τωρ), *tra*, *tri*, *tru*, which supplement and approach each other in endless ways. The meanings we may divide into two main classes, *rub* and *bore*. The second is Graeco-Italian, the first European in general (Cp. Fick. i³ 595). — To the meaning *rub* (cp. *tritus*, *contritus*, *dēter-iōr*) belong τερύνη-s* τετριμμένος ὄνος καὶ γέρον (cp. No. 130), τερύ-ασθενές λεπτόν, τερύσκετο* εἰείπετο (Hes.). Cp. also the Skt. *tanū-s*, the Lat. *tenui-s*, *ten-er* (No. 230) and λεπ-τό-s. Further *tri-ti-cu-m* like *grā-nu-m* from the rt. *gar* (No. 130, cp. Hehn 400, otherwise Ascoli 'Ztschr.' xiii. 451). From the meaning of 'boring' we get *tur-unda* 'macaroni,' in which the hollowness is the essential thing, not (Corss. 'Beitr.' 126) the roundness. It is certain, at all events, that from the meaning 'rub' springs that of a 'twisting movement,' most clearly to be seen in the Teutonic words, to which Regel 'Ztschr.' xi. 114 ff. adds many provincialisms. To this class belong τερ-έ-ω and also the Lat. *tere-s* (Corssen 'Nachtr.' 257). Since now *tar-alá-s* in Skt. means 'moving hither and thither,' 'starting,' 'trembling,' this was perhaps the primary meaning from which the derived rts. *tram* (No. 245), and *tras* (No. 244) started. Under No. 238 are several words similar in sound, but it is better to consider the two groups as distinct. Fick 'Bezzenb.' i. 335 refers τωρ-ύνη 'ladle' along with the synonymous Lat. *trua* and the ON. *thvara* 'twirling-stick' to a rt. *tvar*. — τι-τρά-ω is to be regarded as intensive, τρύ-χ-ω, instead of Hesychius's τερύ-σκ-ω, τρύσκ-ω, as causative (cp. p. 710). θραύ-ω 'break up' comes near to τραῦ-μα 'wound,' this latter to τι-τρώ-σκ-ω, and this to the Homeric ἔ-τωρ-ε (A 236). θ may have arisen through the influence of the ρ. On the other hand it is true θραύ-ω suggests the Lat. *frau-(d)-s*, *frus-tu-m*, *frus-tra* ('Ztschr.' ii. 399) and the Skt. *dhṛú-ti-s* 'disappointment,' *dhūr-v* 'bend,' 'injure.' In case it belongs to the latter we must assume a rt. *dhru*. Cp. Pott W. i. 1092, Fröhde 'Bezzenb. Beitr.' i. 179. — Among the lengthened stems τρωπ (τρώπα 'hole,' τρώ-π-αυ-ν 'gimlet,' τρω-π-ά-ω) is most distinct, suggesting in sound the Lith. *trup-ù* 'crumble' and *trup-ù-s* 'loose,' and remaining as true to the meaning 'bore' as τρω-φ-ή, θρίπ-τ-ω to that of 'rubbing away,' which is afterwards applied like τρώχ-ω to softness of character. τρι-β-ω is hardest to explain.

239 b. τέρ-ην (st. τερεν) tender, fine, θρό-να flowers, herbs,
τᾶλ-ι-s bride.

Skt. *tár-una-s*, *tál-una-s* youthful, tender, *tál-unī*

(*καθέδρας* Hesych.). Remarkable too is the conformity of the Lat. *sella*, i. e. *sed-la*, and Hesychius's *ελλά· καθέδρα*, which also means τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ ἱερὸν (cp. Hesych. s. v. *ελλά*), no doubt in the sense of *ἱδρος*, 'abode of the gods.' Cp. Giese 'üb. den Aeol. D.' 249. — On the *ε* in *ἱδρύω*, which is compared by Benfey and Fick i³. 493 to the assumed Skt. *sad-ru-s* 'resting' (not in the Pet. Dict.) and ἱζω, see below p. 711. Another present-form from the rt. *ἑδ* occurs in *ἱν-νυ-ε-ν' ἐκαθέζετο* (Hesych.), which accordingly answers to *ἑδ-νυ-μι*, cp. 'Gk. Verb' p. 111. — On *soliu-m* Corssen i². 487 expresses a different view. — In Irish the pres in use with the meaning *sedere* is *sádia*, while the trans. -*sádaím* (cp. also *con-sádu* 'compono' Z². 434) contains the causative stem *sádaia*. OIr. *sál* 'heel,' Cymr. *sodleu* 'calces' ('Beitr.' viii. 428) perhaps belongs to No. 281.

281. Root *ἑδ* go. — *ἑδ-ό-ς* way, *ἑδ-ί-τη-ς* traveller, *ἑδ-εῦ-ω* travel, *ἑδ-ό-ς* (*οὐδό-ς*) threshold, *οὐδ-ας*, *ἑδ-α-φος* ground.

Skt. *sad*, *ā-sad* attain to, reach, *ud-sad* go out, disappear.

Lat. *sol-u-m*, *sol-ea*.

ChSl. *chod-ŭ* incessus, *chod-i-ti* ire, *šhd-ŭ* profectus.

Bopp 'Gl.' Benf. i. 442 f., Schleich. 'Ksl.' 117, Pott W. iv. 712, Fick i². 493. — *ἑδ-ό-ς* is properly 'tread,' 'that on which one treads,' *οὐδας*: rt. *ἑδ* = *πέδον* (No. 291): *πεδ*. Cp. page 114. ~~On the suffix~~ of *ἑδ-α-φος* (cp. *ἐφ-εδές· ἐπίπεδον, ταπεινόν, χαμαί* Hesych.) Jahn's 'Jahrb.' vol. 69 p. 95. — *solum* shows such close agreement with this root that we cannot separate it; the *l* is as in *soliu-m* (No. 280), whether by assimilation from *dl* or directly from *d*. *sōle-a* 'sole' must also be put here since *sōlu-m* itself means 'sole' as well Cp. No. 560. Otherwise Corssen i². 486, where the above irrefragable analogies for the transition to the ideas of *that which is trodden on* and *ground* or *site* (cp. too *βά-σι-ς*, *βά-θρο-ν*) are ignored. At all events we have in *sēd-ulu-s* a Latin representative of this root with the *d* preserved (cp. *bib-ulu-s*, *trem-ulu-s*), though here the *ē* is strange. In No. 273 we saw a similar instance of the idea of busy service developed from a verbum movendi. The same origin is conjectured by Bernhardt 'Gr. Etymologien' (Wiesbaden 1862) p. 20 and Pott ii². 788 for the Gk. *ἀογό-ς*, *ὑπηρέτης*, *ἀκόλουθος*, in which case the word would stand for *ἀ-οδ-jo-ς* 'fellow traveller' (cp. *ἀκόλουθος, ὁπαδός, gasinthja*). — Roth 'Ztschr.' xix. 214 comes to a totally different conclusion about the words here adduced. He assumes (cp. Pet. Dict.) only a rt. *sad* (No. 280), and refers *οὐδας*, *ἑδός* and *ἑδαφος* to No. 280, and conjectures for *ἑδός* a rt. *sadh*, which occurs most clearly in *sādh-ŭ-s* 'direct,' so that *ἑδός* would

properly mean 'straight line,' 'direction.' But I know of no example of the appearance of δ for θ on account of an initial aspirate.

282. Root id , fid $\epsilon\text{id-o-v}$ I saw, $\epsilon\text{id-o-mai}$ appear, $\text{o}\text{id-a}$ know, $\text{id}\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$, $\epsilon\text{id-os}$ species, $\epsilon\text{id-}\omega\text{lo-v}$ image, 'A- $\text{id}\eta$ -s, $\text{is-}\tau\omega\rho$ (st. $\text{is}\tau\omega\rho$) knowing, a witness,²⁴² $\text{is}\tau\omega\rho$ - ϵ - ω inquire, $\text{id-}\rho\text{i-s}$ knowing, $\text{iv}\delta$ - $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\text{i}$ appear. — $\text{v}\delta$ - $\nu\eta$ -s' $\epsilon\text{id}\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, $\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\text{i}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (Hesych.).

Skt. *vid* (*vēd-mi*, pf. *vēd-a*) know, *vind-ā-mi* find, *vēda-s* the scriptures, *vid-jā* knowledge, teaching.

Lat. *vid-eo*, *vīsu-s*, *vīs-o*, Umbr. *virs-e-to* = *vīsus* (part.), Lat. *vi-tru-m*.

Goth. *vait* $\text{o}\text{id}\alpha$, *un-vit-i* ignorance (*unwittingness*), *vit-an* $\tau\eta\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$, *far-vait-l* $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\nu$, OHG. *wizan*, (Germ. *wissen*) know, *gi-wizo* witness, ON. *vit-r-s* wise.

ChSl. *vid-ě-ti* see, *věd-ě-ti* know, Lith. *vėid-a-s* facies, *výzd-ė-s* eye-ball, *vėizd-mi* see, OPr. *waidimai* scimus.

OIr. *ad-fiadat* narrant, dep. pret. *ro fetar* scio, fut. *ro fessur* sciam, *finnaim* cognosco, *fíad* (c. dat.) coram.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. iv. 613 ff., Benf. i. 369 f., Grassmann 'Wtb.' 1270, 1274. — The idea of physical perception is clearly seen in the different families of speech; the more metaphysical idea of 'knowing' attaches itself generally to the form *vid* strengthened by the addition of a vowel, but passes also to the shorter form. For a conjecture as to the primary meaning see above p. 101. Sonne 'Ztschr.' xii. 339 ff. discusses it more at length: from the meaning *find*, *get a thing found*, and the Ved. *vi-vid* 'di-gnoscere' he gets as far as *di-vid-ere* and makes some very good comparisons. — For the *f* the name of the Spartan magistrates $\beta\text{id}\epsilon\omicron\iota$ or $\beta\text{id}\nu\omicron\iota$ is important: $\beta\text{id}\nu\omicron\iota$ = Att. $\text{id}\nu\omicron\iota$ (see below p. 565), cp. $\text{is}\tau\omega\rho$ and the ChSl. (Russ.) *vid-okā* 'testis.' On the traces of the *f* in Homer see Knös 110 ff.; on *vitru-m* Corssen 'Beitr.' 368. — The Lat. *viso* (cp. Goth. *gaveisōn* 'visit' Fick i³. 785) has the look of a desiderative, and was perhaps originally reduplicated like the Skt. *vi-vid-i-sh-a-ti*, and accordingly arose from *vi-vid-s-o* (Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' i. 190, Pott ii². 574). — For the Ir. forms see Z². 502, for Cymr. 573; on the Ir. *fetar* 'Beitr.' viii. 464.

283. Root id cfid $\text{id-l-}\omega$ sweat, id-os , $\text{id-}\rho\acute{o}$ -s, $\text{id-}\rho\acute{\omega}(\tau)$ -s sweat.

cussed by Corssen 'Beitr.' 238. — OIr. *fíal* (Z². 949) 'urina,' which Stokes 'Ir. Gl.' 222 was inclined to compare with Skt. *vāri*, owes its *úa* evidently to compensatory lengthening, and probably comes from rt. *vag* 'to be moist,' 'to wet,' Fick i³. 764 (cp. *ύγρός*).

511. *ράπυ-s* turnip (later *ράφυ-s*), *ράφ-ανο-s* cabbage, *ράφ-αί-s* radish. — Lat. *rāp-a*, *rāp-u-m* turnip. — OHG. *ruoba* wild turnip. — ChSl. *rěpa*, Lith. *rópė* turnip.

Pott i¹. 109, Benf. i. 73. — We might suppose borrowing both in Latin and in German. Still this does not seem probable. If we start with the form in π and assume aspiration in Greek, all is easily explained. For this and for many dialectic forms W. Roscher 'Studien' i. 2, 74. — Cp. No. 513.

512. *ράχι-s* spine (by-form *ράχ-ε-τρο-ν*, *ράχ-ία*), *ράχι-αίο-s*, *ράχι-τη-s* spinal. — OHG. *hrucki*, ON. *hrygg-r* back (?).

Pott ii¹. 205, Benf. ii. 316, Grimm 'Gesch.' 307 'a Gk. ρ may exceptionally correspond to an OHG. *hr*:' this is, however, probably the case only when κ has been lost in the Greek, and I do not know a second instance of the kind (cp. *λάξ* and *calx* No. 534). The origin of the word and its relation to *ράχ-o-s* 'thorn-hedge' (cp. *spina dors*), *ράχος* 'rag,' etc., is still very obscure, hence I regard this comparison as very uncertain. — To the OHG. *hrucki* belongs Ir. *crocenn* 'tergus,' 'pellis,' 'Beitr.' viii. 437.

- 351 513. Root $\rho\epsilon\pi$ $\Phi\pi\epsilon\pi$ *ρέπ-ω* incline (of the balance), *ροπ-ή* inclination, turning of the scale, momentum, *ἀντί-ρόπο-s* of equal weight, *ἀμφι-ρέπ-ής* inclining to both sides (*amb-ig-uu-s*), *ρόπ-αλο-ν* stick (for throwing), cudgel, club, *ρόπ-τρο-ν* knocker, clapper, bird-trap, *ράπ-ί-s* rod, *καλα-ῦροψ* shepherd's staff.

Lat. *rep-en(t)s*, *rep-ente*, *repent-īnu-s*.

Lith. *virp-iu* quake, tremble, waver.

Döderlein 'Syn. und Etym.' vi. s. v. *repente*, 'Gloss.' 2320 suggests the extremely probable comparison with *rep-ente*, which we must regard as a locative adverb formed from the participial stem (cp. *ἐθελο-οντι*); hence it means *ροπή τιμι*, *momento*. — The only trace of the ϕ is retained in the υ of *καλα-ῦροψ*: as to the first part of this word Döderlein 'Gl.' 2104 offers some conjectures; but it is very probable that *κάλο-s* 'cord' underlies it, and that so the word means 'cord-

stick.' This stick is used by shepherds for throwing, like the *ρόπ-αλο-ν* [cp. Ψ 845 f., and Paley on Theocr. iv. 49]. Hence the notion of a quivering motion through the air runs through all these words, and this is just as suitable to the wavering and trembling of the tongue in the balance. — *ρόπι-s* 'rod' seems — like the swinging ring used for knocking at a door, and the quivering tambourine, both *ρόπτρον* — to be also named from swinging, and, as the word is quoted in Hesych. also with the meaning *ρόπυ-s*, so perhaps all the words treated under No. 511 belong to this stem. — But *ράβ-δο-s* resembles still more the Lith. *vīrba-s* 'twig,' 'rod,' ChSl. *vrūb-a* 'salix' (cp. also *verb-er*, *vīrg-a*). — Benf. ii. 310 offers all kinds of other combinations. — *ρίπ-τω*, *ρίπ-ή*, which, in spite of the neglect of the 'shifting of mutes,' can hardly be separated from Goth. *vairp-a* [cp. *mold-warp*] is distinguished from the other forms by its *ι*, though not more, as Delbrück 'Stud.' i. 2, 132 (cp. Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 333) proves, than *κρί* from *hord-eu-m*. Cp. for *ρίπτω* and *είπτω* Pott i¹. 257, Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' vi. 176, xv. 5, Grassmann xii. 108, Fick xix. 264. — It is better to suppose that *ρέμβ-ω* 'turn,' *ρόμβο-s* 'turning,' etc. have come from rt. *φρεπ* by a nasal strengthening and a consequent softening of the *π* into *β*. Pott i¹. 260 holds *ρέμβ-ω* to be equivalent to Goth. *hvaīrb-a* 'verto' — whence the German 'Wirb-el,' — Fröhde 'Bezenb. Beitr.' i. 250 to the Skt. *varḡ* 'press,' so that it would only be an accidental variant of *féργω* (No. 142). — Cp. Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 388 f., Gustav Meyer 'Stud.' vi. 251.

514. *ρίγ-os* cold, *ρίγ-ιον* colder, worse, *ρίγ-ηλδ-s*, *ρίγε-δανό-s* frosty, awful, *ρίγ-έ-ω* (*ἐξρίγα*) shudder, *ρίγό-ω* freeze.

Lat. *frīg-us*, *frīg-idu-s*, *frīg-e-o*, *frīg-e-sc-o*.

Pott i¹. 258, Benf. ii. 110. — It is easier to assert than to prove a connexion with *rig-e-o*, *rig-or*, *rig-idu-s*; the entirely similar formation of derivatives where the quantity and the initial letter are alike different, would of itself oppose the assumption that *frig* and *rig* are originally identical. Cp. Corssen i². 451. — Gk. *ρίγ* has lost an initial labial. So the question must remain open whether this *φρίγ* may be perhaps only weakened from *φρίκ* (*φρίσσω*, *φρίξ*, *φρίκη*). — All further comparisons are extremely uncertain. The OHG. *frios-an* 'freeze,' in particular, agrees neither in its initial nor in its final letter. — Lat. *frig-ē-re* 'roast' belongs to No. 162.

515. *ρίζα* (Lesb. *βρίσθα*) root. — Lat. *rād-ix*. — Goth. 352

vairt-s root (*wort*), OHG. *wurz-ā*, *wurz-ala*. —

Cymr. *gureidd-yn*, Corn. *grueit-en* radix.

Pott i¹. 250, who has rightly seen that neither Skt. *rdh* nor *vrđh*

suit these words, which rather point to a rt. *vard*, *vrad*, Corssen i². 403, Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 315, 352. — For Aeol. βρίςα = *φριδ-ια* Ahr. 'Aeol.' 34 sq. There are suggested for comparison also Aeol. βραδινός (*βραδινός*), *βραδ-ανός* with the by-forms *βραδ-αλό-ς*, *βραδ-αλό-ς* (Σ 576), 'slim,' 'slender,' *βράδ-αμνο-ς*, *βράδ-αμο-ς*, *βρόδ-αμνο-ς*, *ὀρόδ-αμνο-ς*, *βράδ-ιξ* 'shoot,' 'twig,' the somewhat varying meanings of which have their analogy in the Teutonic languages, where *wurz*, *wirz* mean also vegetable, 'wort.' The rt. *vrad* which is thus deduced Sonne 'Ztschr.' xii. 367 finds in the 'Nirukta' v. 15 f. as a by-form of *mrad* 'to be pliant,' 'yielding.' Cp. Benfey 'Gött. Nachr.' 1875 p. 33. In the 'Pet. Dict.' *vrad* is translated by 'grow soft' (*avradanta dēvās* Rīgṽ.). *βραδ-ό-ν* 'rose,' Aeol. βρόδον is according to Pott 'E. F.' ii². 817 and Hehn³ 217, 527 of Iranic origin (Armen. *vard*), Lat. *rosa* certainly from *βρόδέα*, *βρόδια*, like *Clausus* from *Claudius*. [Cp. Max Müller in the 'Academy' for 1874, p. 488, 576]. — Perhaps Düntzer is right in connecting with this root the difficult *περι-ρρηδής*, which in χ 84 *περιρρηδής δὲ τραπέζῃ κάππεσε* is explained by *περιφερής*, while in Hippocrates it means 'waving.' We may therefore translate it in the Homeric passage by 'reeling.' Lobeck 'Paralip.' 156 connected the word with *βράδες* τὸ ἀμφοτέρωσθε ἐγκεκλιμένον, i. e. 'waving evenly.' *rādix* and *ρίζα* must have meant originally 'twig,' whence the transition to 'root' is easy. It is doubtful whether *rad-iu-s* and *rā-mu-s* (which may easily have lost a consonant) are related. But *rūd-i-s* 'staff' certainly belongs to the rt. *rudh* (also Skt. *ruh*) 'grow,' for it corresponds to AS. *rōd-a*, OHG. *ruot-a*, which require an ante-Teutonic *dh*. Add Zd. *rud* 'grow,' Goth. *liud-an* with *l*, ChSl. *rodī-t-i* parēre, etc. — Cp. Lobeck 'Elem.' i. 85. The weakening of *ā* into *ι* is as in *ῥω*, *πινέ-ω*. — Cymr. *gwreiddyn* (Z². 1077), if we strike off the suffix *-yn* (Z². 295), gives the primitive form **vrad*.

516. *ρίψ* (st. *ρίπ*) hurdle-work, mat, *ρίπ-ι-(δ)-ς* fan, *ρίπ-ίξ-ω* fan. — Lat. *scirp-u-s* rush, *scirp-eu-s*, *scirp-āre*. — OHG. *sciluf* rush.

Pott i¹. 140, who compares also *γρίπο-ς*, *γρίφο-ς* as 'rush-mat.' — Gk. *ρίπ* is thus for *σκριπ*, whence by metathesis came *scirp-u-s*, and with *ι* for *ρ*, the regular shifting of mutes and a subsidiary vowel, the German word. — Cp. Benf. i. 212. — The notion of a *ἱμαντῶδες φυτόν*, which the scholiast on Aristoph. 'Pax' 699 gives to the word *ρίψ*, comes out clearly in the three languages. — *Εὔ-ρίπο-ς* no doubt belongs here. — *ρίπ* : *scirp* = *rēp* : *serp*. — Otherwise Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 332.

517. Root *βυ*, *cpu* *βέ-ω* (*βέυ-σω*, *έ-βρύη-ν*) flow, *βέ-ος*, *βό-ο-ς*, *βέυ-μα* flood, *βό-ή*, *βύ-σι-ς*, *βέυ-σι-ς* flow-

ing, *ῥυ-τό-ς*, *ῥευσ-τό-ς* flowing, *ῥέ-ε-θο-ο-ν* bed of a stream, stream, *ῥύ-αξ* stream of fire, *ῥύ-μη* swing, press, *ῥυ-θ-μό-ς* time (in music).

Skt. rt. *sru* (*sráv-ā-mi*) flow, *sra-v-a-s* outflow, *sráv-ant-ī*, *sró-t-as* stream.

Lat. *Ru-mo* (older name of the Tiber), *ru-men* udder, 353

Rumin-a.

OHG. *strou-m* stream.

Lith. *sra-v-j-ù* flow, bleed, *srov-ě* a streaming.

ChSl *s-t-ru-ja* fluentum, *o-s-t-rov-ŭ* insula (literally *ἀμφί-ρυ-το-ς*).

OIr. *sruth* a flow, flood, *di-sruthigud* derivatio, *srúaim* (dat. plur. for *srúamann-aib*) stream.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. i. 1370, 'Personennamen' 400, Benf. ii. 8, Schleicher 'Ksl.' 130, 136. — After Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 27 had already discussed the *t*, which the Slavo-Teutonic words — but also *Στρύμων* — add to the forms of the other languages, Förstemann 'Ztschr.' iv. 277 and now even Kuhn himself xiv. 223 confidently assume *stru* as the root. Kuhn lays especial weight on the Zend form *thru* 'flow' (by the side of *gru* 'go'), *thraota* (masc.) 'stream.' It does not seem to me probable that the common combination of sounds *str*, if originally occurring, would become weakened into *sr*, which is nowhere a favourite: while on the other hand from an original *sr str* might very easily have come from the desire for greater ease of pronunciation. Pott W. i. 1373 quotes analogies, e. g. Czech. *s-t-řib-ro* = ChSl. *sreb-ro* 'silver.' In no case, however, can we, I think, make use of the aspiration of the *t* to *th* in this *thru* — an aspiration confined to the Zend, and to be explained by the special phonetic laws of this language — to assume a *sthru* for other languages, and to arrive from this, as Kuhn does, even at the Lat. *flu*. For *flu* cp. No. 412 d. — The Latin representatives of this root are discussed by Corssen 'Ztschr.' x. 18, 'Beitr.' 427, ii². 85, 1012. To those quoted above, he adds *Roma* for *Rou-ma* = *Στρύμη*, 'stream-town' (but see Ritschl 'Rh. Mus.' xxiv. 17), *Romulu-s*, *Re-ate*, for *Rev-ate*. — From Greek probably the Homeric *ῥά-ο-μαι* also belongs here (cp. *Εὐ-ρώ-τας*), which is related to *ῥέω* phonetically, as *πλώω* to *πλέω*. The meaning 'press on' (A 50), 'move with force' can be easily reconciled with that of 'streaming' (cp. rt. *plu* No. 369). Skt. *sru-ti-s*, which means not only 'outflow' but also 'way,' 'road,' points to a further use of the root. With regard to *ῥώμη*, *ῥώννυμι*, which strongly remind us of *rōbur*, I am now doubtful. *ῥώμη* is not seldom contrasted with *ισχύς*, e. g. in Plato 'Sympos.'

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. ii. 2, 228, Benf. i. 25, Grimm 'Gr.' i. 1070, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 183, ii. 137, Stokes 'Ir. Gloss.' p. 127. — The Skt. *ās-u-s* 'breath of life,' *āsu-ra-s* 'living,' and *ās*, *āsán* (n.) *ās-jā-m* 'mouth,' which is quite parallel to Lat. *ōs*, make it almost certain that the physical meaning of this very ancient verbum substantivum was 'breathe,' 'respire.' According to Renan 'De l'Origine du Langage' p. 129, éd. 4^{me}) the Hebrew verb. subst. *haja* or *hawa* has the same fundamental meaning. The three main meanings are probably developed in the following order: 'breathe,' 'live,' 'be.' So Max Müller ii. 349. The distinction of this root from the synonymous *bhu*, Gk. *φν* (No. 417) — a distinction traceable in many languages — suits this view. Rt. *as* denotes, like respiration, a uniform continuous existence: rt. *bhu* on the other hand a becoming. Hence the two roots supplement each other, so that the former is
 376 used exclusively in the durative forms of the present-stem, the second especially in the tenses which, like the aorist and the perfect, denote an incipient or a completed process of becoming (*ἔ-φῦ-ν*, *πῑ-φῦ-κα*, *φῦ-ν*). In all languages but Greek, however, the rt. *bhu* also has faded into a simple verbum substantivum. This satisfies the objections of Tobler 'Ztschr.' ix. 254. — The differing view of Ascoli ('Framm. linguist.' iv. p. 20) and Schweizer ('Ztschr.' xvii. 144), which rests especially on Skt. *ās-ta-m* 'home' (adv.), according to which the rt. *as* had as its fundamental meaning 'stand,' 'linger,' does not at all suit Skt. *ās-u-s*, *āsu-ra-s*. *ās* = *ōs* may have originated in *as*, just as well as *vāk* = *vōc* from *vāk* (Max Müller 'Asiat. Society' March 1868 p. 35), while the assumption that *ās* is contracted from *avas* or *akas* is not established by any striking example. — It is but a short step from the *living* to the *real*, thence to the *true*, and to that which realizes the purpose of its existence, the *good*. On *é-ú-s* (Ep. *ἡ-ú-s*) for *éσ-v-s*, in the neut. contracted to *εῦ*, see 'Rhein. Mus.' 1845 p. 245 ff.; we must reject, however, what is said there about the German *wahr*. Bugge 'Ztschr.' xx. 33 tries to show traces of *su-* 'good,' in European languages. I do not see any decisive reason for separating *éú* and *su*, as many scholars have attempted to do. The *η* of *ἡ-ú-s* (st. *ἡσ-ú-s*) is to be taken like that of *ἡδ-ú-s*. — With the Skt. partic. *s-at* is connected No. 208 *ἐτ-εό-s* = *sat-já-s*. Whether *ἐσ-θ-λό-s* (Dor. *ἐσ-λό-s*) comes directly from the root, or, as Kuhn holds ('Ztschr.' iv. 30), from a stem *ἐστ* = Skt. *sat*, I do not attempt to determine. Further *ἐτοι-μο-s*, like *ἔτυ-μο-s*, must have meant originally 'real,' 'ready;' the latter seems immediately comparable to the Skt. *sattvá-m* 'reality,' 'existence,' 'truth.' The Lat. *sons* has been discussed under No. 208.

difficile à croire que le plus réfractaire des métaux usuels ait tiré son nom de la notion de fusibilité.' There is no need though for the meaning of *σιδ-ηρο-ς* to be 'fusible,' it may be 'prepared by melting,' and that suits iron exactly, because it must first (cp. Max Müller ii. 226) be separated from other minerals by melting. — It is by no means, however, to be assumed from this comparison that the Indo-Germans were acquainted with iron before their division. Max Müller aptly recalls Hesiod *Ἔργα* 153 *μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σιδηρος*, as evidence that the Greeks themselves had an idea of a time when the *πολύκμητος σιδηρος* had not yet been discovered. It is only the root that is common to the languages, and applied in a similar way. — Otherwise Pott i¹. 127, who compares the Lith. *svīd-à-s* 'bright,' and the Lat. *sīd-us*.

294. Root *κεδ* (*σχεδ*, *κεδ*), *σκεδ-άννυ-μι*, *κεδ-άννυ-μι* burst asunder (trans.), scatter, *σκίδ-να-σθαι* to scatter oneself, spread oneself abroad, *σκέδ-α-σι-ς* a bursting asunder, *σχεδ-η* (dim. *σχεδ-άριον*) tablet, leaf, *σχεδ-ία* raft.

Skt. *skhad* (*skhad-ē*), (in dictionaries of roots) split, *kshad* take to pieces.

Lat. *scand-ula* (*scindula*) a shingle (used for roofing).

Cp. No. 284 and 295, Benf. i. 169, Fick i¹. 805. — *σχεδ-ία* is a collective to *σχεδ-η* in the assumable meaning of 'billet' or 'plank.' Müllenhoff compares with *σχεδ-η* the Goth. *skatts* 'coin,' OHG. *scaz*. It would in this case have arrived at its special meaning in the same way as *κέρμα*. — The *a* seems to be retained in the rt. *σχαδ* *σχάζ-ω* 'split,' 'tear,' to which *χάζ-ω* 'I separate myself,' 'yield,' seems to be the intransitive (Lob. 'Rhemat.' 84, Pott W. i. 311). In *σκίδνημι*, on the other hand, the *ε* is weakened to *ι* as in *πίτνημι* (cp. below p. 711). — The unexpanded rt. *σχα* (cp. No. 45 b) occurs in *σχά-ω*, a well-established Attic by-form of *σχάζω* ('Phrynichus' ed. Lobeck 219). Cp. 'Gk. Verb' p. 524.

295. Root *κιδ* *κιδ*, *σχίζ-ω* split, *σχίζ-α* log, *σχιδ-η*, *σχιδ-αξ*, *σχινδ-αλμός* splinter, shingle.

Skt. *khid* (*khinád-mi*, *khind-ā-mi*) cut off, tear in pieces, divide, destroy, partic. *khinna-s* enfeebled.

— Zd. *šcid* shatter.

Lat. *scind-o* (*sci-cid-i*, *scīd-i*), *caed-o*, *cae-lu-m* (chisel).

Lith. *skėd-žu* divide, *skėd-rà* chip, splint.

Bopp. 'Gl.,' Pott i¹. 244, who also adds the Maced. *σκοῖδος* or *κοῖδος οἰκονόμος* (Sturz 'Dial. Maced.' 26, Pollux x. 19), Benf. i. 168. Here

tam putant, quod ei publice a populo Romano datus sit locus, in quo sacra facerent Soli qui ex hoc Auseli dicebantur.' The root is *us* 'burn,' 'shine' (No. 610) and the Etruscan name of the Sun-god 400 *Usil* is probably akin (Gerhard 'Ztschr. f. Alterthsw.' 1847 No. 85). Cp. Schweizer 'Ztschr.' iii. 369, Ebel v. 67. Pictet, however, 'Ztschr.' iv. 351, 'Orig.' ii. 670 again tries to connect these words with *Σείριος*, Lat. *sōl*, Goth. *sawil*, which we shall have to discuss on p. 551 (No. 663). Others (Benfey 'Or. u. Occ.' i. 284, Corssen 'Beitr.' 386, i². 349, Pott W. ii. 1, 733, Fick i². 801) assume an intermediate form *Σαφέλιος*, from which they try to arrive at *ἥλιος* and *sōl*, though they differ again widely in the manner in which they do so. I cannot see why there should be so much opposition to the assumption that the chief name of the sun was different with the Greeks and with the Romans. In the Nighantu thirty-one Indian names of the sun are recounted. We see just the same with the names of the moon; *μήνη* = *mena* (No. 471) became obsolete in both languages and was replaced in the one case by *σελήνη*, in the other by *lūna*. Now we have in Greek two names for the sun handed down to us. The one, *Σείριος* (No. 663), may very easily be connected with *sōl*, the other, in its oldest form *ἥλιος*, still more easily with the similarly authenticated *Ausēlius*. Why not admit that of these two the former became the prevailing one in Latin, and also in the Northern languages, the latter in Greek? — Above all we must not once more conjure up the pretended Pamphylian *βαβέλιος*, as Benfey and M. Schmidt did. This phantom has been recognized as such by Ahrens 'Dor.' 49 note. As Hesychius gives us *ἀβελίην ἡλιακὴν Παμφύλιον*, which is confirmed by the alphabetic arrangement, the statement of Heraclides ap. Eustath. p. 1654, 20, that these same Pamphylians said *βαβέλιος* cannot be correct.

613. *ἥως*, Aeol. *αὔως*, Att. *έως* dawn, *έωςφόρος* dawn-bringing, *αὔριο-ν* tomorrow, *ἡ-ρι* (adv.), *ἡέρ-ιος* (adj.) early.

Skt. *ush* (f.) morning, *ush-ás* shining, *ush-ás* (f.) dawn, morning, *ush-ā* (adv.) early, *us-rá-s* (adj.) morning, *us-ríjā* brightness, light; Zd. *usha*, *ushanh* dawn.

Lat. *aur-ōra* for *aus-ōsa*.

OHG. *ós-tan*, ON. *aus-tr* oriens, OHG. *ós-tar* (adv.) in the east.

Lith. *ausz-rd* dawn, *áuss-ta* day breaks, ChSl. *u-tro* morning.

Bopp 'GL' Pet. W. ii. 1. 188. Band. i. 17. Berlin. Ztschr. iii. 470. Ebel v. 67. Sarelsberg vi. 182 f. Fick ii. 111. — The Greek forms to which *ish-irā-s* belongs. English also belongs are discussed by Ahrens 'Aeol. 18. 11. c. 15. For the view of the origin of the word 'Ztschr. iii. 141. is altogether erroneous. The root is *as* 'burn,' 'shine' from which comes also Nr. 611. as the Skt. shows to demonstration. The *ish-irā-s* and *ish-irā-s* from the words belonging here from the untranscribed *as* as the European nations from the form *as*, strengthened by the addition of *irā-s*. We may therefore assume *as-irā-s* as Greek-Italian from this all Greek forms may be explained by the loss of *as* the Latin by its rhyming, and by the addition of a derivative *as-irā-s* beside *as-irā-s*. The *as* in *as-irā-s* is derivative as in Skt. *as-irā-s* (Skt. *as-irā-s*). Fick adds also *as-irā-s* 'morning-wind' the East-wind of Nr. 611. From the Homer. *as-irā-s* we may assume for *as* an older *as* and regard it as an abbreviation of the stem *as*. Like *as* in *as-irā-s*. *as-irā-s* = *as-irā-s*: *as-irā-s* = *as*: *as* = *as-irā-s* 'we slept' *as-irā-s*. I say this to 411 remove Fick's objections 'Ztschr.' xii. 93. Cf. Brugman 'Stud. ix. 392. There is a fuller discussion in 'Stud. ii. 173. where I have shown that *as-irā-s* 'breakfast' belongs here: it has nothing in common with *as-irā-s* 'the best'. Roth 'Ztschr.' xix. 217 compares *as-irā-s* with the Ved. *vāsarā-s* 'of the morning'. This would be possible for this adjective, but not for the adverb *as*, which can hardly be separated from it, for its use in Homer does not admit a *as*. Fick (also ii. 27) altogether separates *as*, and compares it with the Zd. *as-irā-s* 'day,' Goth. *air* 'early' (with OIr. *an-irā-s* 'easterly' Zt. 611 f.). The combination 'Hēs *as-irā-s*' at any rate offers no ground for this, for the connexion between the proper name and the adjective can hardly have been felt.

614. *i-epō-s* vigorous, holy. — Skt. *ish-irā-s* vigorous, fresh, blooming.

Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 274 establishes the use of the Skt. word as an epithet of *mānas* 'sense' (*iepōn mēnos*), *dēvā-s* 'god,' *bhū-mi-s* 'earth.' According to the 'Pet. D.' it is also an epithet of various gods, but means originally 'juicy' (*ish* fem. 'juice,' 'strength,' 'freshness,' 'courage'). *ish-irā-s* is for *is-ara-s*, whence by the loss of the sibilant comes the Aeol. form *i-apō-s*, and from this 'Iāpōn' (Giese 'Aeol. D.' 409, Ahr. 26), later *i-epō-s* (Ebel 'Ztschr.' v. 67). I have discussed this, and the meaning 'vigorous,' 'active,' which alone suits phrases like *iepōs iχθύς* (II 407), *iepō is* in 'Ztschr.' iii. 154 ff. Of course in the time when the Homeric epos was most flourishing 'holy'

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. iv. 330 ff., Grimm 'Gesch.' 411, Benf. i. 448, Stokes 'Ir Gl.' 69. — We must start from a double form, *vad* the stronger and *úd* the weaker, of which only the latter occurs in Greek. Cp., however, Pott 'Ztschr.' vi. 264 on the supposed Phrygio-Macedonian form $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\nu$ 'water,' 'air;' he associates it with the dat. $\tilde{v}\delta\epsilon\iota$ in Hesiod *Ἔργα* 61, for which later writers furnished the nom. $\tilde{v}\delta\omicron\varsigma$. — For the form $\tilde{v}\delta\omega\rho$ I start from the stem $\tilde{v}\delta\alpha\rho$ which I hold to be derived by addition of τ from $\tilde{v}\delta\alpha\rho$ (cp. 'Ztschr.' iv. 214). The Lat. *udor*, adduced by Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 379 rests on a false reading in Varro 'L. L.' v. § 24 Müll. — $\tilde{u}v\text{-}eo$ to which belongs $\tilde{u}\text{-}du\text{-}s$, is discussed at No. 158. — The Gk. $\tilde{v}\delta\text{-}\nu\text{-}\eta\text{-}s$ in the sense of 'watery,' $\tilde{v}\delta\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ 'to water' have no authority, Hesych. knows only $\tilde{v}\delta\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\iota\nu$, which has nothing to do with this root. Lottner 'Ztschr.' xi. 200 gives instances of irregularities in sound-change which warrant our putting OHG. *unda*, *undea* here. — The Ir. *usce* (ia- stem Z². 230) was formed from *ud*- like *mesc* 'drunk,' *mesce* 'drunkenness' from *med*- (No. 322), Lat *esca* from *el*- (No. 279).

Θ

Greek θ corresponds to Indo-Germanic and Sanskrit *dh*, which is represented in Latin at the beginning of a word sometimes by *f*, in the middle usually by *d*, seldom by *b*, in Zend (with the occasional substitution of *dh*), Gothic, Slavonic, Lithuanian, Old Irish universally by *d*, in High German by *t*.

301. $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\epsilon\theta\text{-}\lambda\omicron\text{-}\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\epsilon\theta\text{-}\lambda\iota\omicron\text{-}\nu$ the prize of a contest, $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\epsilon\theta\text{-}\lambda\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ contest, $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\epsilon\theta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\text{-}\omega$ engage in a contest, $\acute{\alpha}\theta\lambda\eta\text{-}\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ competitor.

Lat. *vā(d)*-s, *vadi-moniū-m*, *vad-ari*, *prae(d)*-s.

Goth. *vad-i* pledge, *ga-vad-j-ōn* promise, OHG. *wetti* pignus, vadimonium, MHG. *wette* pledge, prize, prize-fighting, OFris. *wit-ma*, OHG. *widamo* price of a wife, OFris. *wed* bargain, bail, ON. *vedhja* pignore certare. [Scotch *wadset*, OEng. *wadd* pledge (whence *wedlock*).]

Lith. *vad-óju* to redeem a pledge.

Döderlein 'Reden und Aufsätze' ii. 109 (otherwise 'Gloss.' 973), Diefenbach 'Vgl. Wörterb.' i. 140 ff., where, however, the Greek words are not given. — Whoever compares the three primary meanings of

DR. WM. SMITH'S THEOLOGICAL, CLASSICAL, & LATIN DICTIONARIES.

'I consider Dr. Wm. Smith's Dictionaries to have conferred a great and lasting service on the cause of classical learning in this country.'—DEAN LIDDELL.

THEOLOGICAL.

- A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE; its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History.** By VARIOUS WRITERS. Edited by WM. SMITH, D.C.L. With Illustrations. 3 vols. Medium 8vo. 5*l.* 5*s.*
- A CONCISE BIBLE DICTIONARY.** Condensed from the above Work, for FAMILIES AND STUDENTS. With Illustrations. 9*th* Edition. Medium 8vo. 2*1s.*
- A SMALLER BIBLE DICTIONARY.** Abridged from the larger Work, for SCHOOLS AND YOUNG PERSONS. 11*th* Edition. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*
- A DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES.** The History, Institutions, and Antiquities of the Christian Church. By VARIOUS WRITERS. Edited by WM. SMITH, D.C.L., and ARCHDEACON CHEETHAM, D.D. With Illustrations. 2 vols. Medium 8vo. 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*
- A DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY, LITERATURE, SECTS, AND DOCTRINES.** By VARIOUS WRITERS. Edited by WM. SMITH, D.C.L., and HENRY WACE, D.D. Vols I., II., and III. Medium 8vo. 3*1s.* 6*d.* each (to be completed in 4 vols.).

CLASSICAL.

- A DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.** By VARIOUS WRITERS. With 500 Illustrations. (1300 pp.) Medium 8vo. 28*s.*
- A SMALLER DICTIONARY OF ANTIQUITIES FOR JUNIOR CLASSES.** Abridged from the above Work. 12*th* Edition. With 200 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*
- A DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN BIOGRAPHY AND MYTHOLOGY.** By VARIOUS WRITERS. With 564 Illustrations. (3720 pp.) 3 vols. Medium 8vo. 4*l.* 4*s.*
- A DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN GEOGRAPHY.** By VARIOUS WRITERS. With 4 Maps and 534 Illustrations. (2512 pp.) 2 vols. Medium 8vo. 2*l.* 16*s.*
- A CLASSICAL DICTIONARY OF BIOGRAPHY, MYTHOLOGY, AND GEOGRAPHY,** for the HIGHER FORMS IN SCHOOLS. Condensed from the above Dictionaries. 17*th* Edition. With 750 Woodcuts. 8vo. 18*s.*
- A SMALLER CLASSICAL DICTIONARY FOR JUNIOR CLASSES.** Abridged from the above Work. 19*th* Edition. With 200 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

LATIN.

- A COMPLETE LATIN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY.** With Tables of the Roman Calendar, Measures, Weights, and Money. 17*th* Edition. (1250 pp.) Medium 8vo. 2*1s.*

This work holds an intermediate place between the Thesaurus of Forcellini and the ordinary School Dictionaries, performing the same service for the Latin language as Liddell and Scott's Lexicon has done for the Greek. Great attention has been paid to Etymology.

- A SMALLER LATIN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY.** With a Dictionary of Proper Names. *A New Edition, the 27*th*. Thoroughly Revised and partly Re-written.* By Dr. WM. SMITH, and Prof. T. D. HALL, M.A. (730 pp.) Square 16mo. 7*s.* 6*d.* The Etymological portion by JOHN K. INGRAM, LL.D., of Trinity College, Dublin.

This Edition is to a great extent a new and original work. Every article has been carefully revised.

- A COPIOUS AND CRITICAL ENGLISH-LATIN DICTIONARY.** Compiled from Original Sources. 4*th* Edition. Medium 8vo. 2*1s.*

This work is a more complete and perfect English-Latin Dictionary than yet exists. It has been composed from beginning to end precisely as if there had been no work of the kind in our language, and every article has been the result of original and independent research.

- A SMALLER ENGLISH-LATIN DICTIONARY FOR JUNIOR CLASSES.** Abridged from the above Work. 11*th* Edition. Square 12mo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

JOHN MURRAY, Albemarle Street.

Benf. i. 573, and Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 134 f. were the first to break up the Skt. *sva-dhā* into the pronominal stem *sva*=Gk. *ἐ*, Lat. *se* (No. 601) and the rt. *dha*=Gk. *θε*. Accordingly I regard the primary notion of the words which differ only in their suffix—i. e. *sva-dhā*, *ἑ-θ-ος*, *σι-δ-υ-ς*—as 'one's own doing' (so Windisch 'Stud.' ii. 342). Cp. Grassmann 'Wtb.' 1623. — Hesychius's *ἐνέθ-ω-κα*· *ἐνωθ-α* is testimony to the *f* in the st. *ἐθ*. Cp. 'Gk. Verb' p. 85. Knös 217 f. deals with the traces of the *f* in *ἦθος*. The old and with Homer exclusive meaning of 'dwelling' (of man and beast) for *ἦθος* is striking; it reminds us of the Skt. *dhāt-man* 'house,' and accordingly on the above showing it must have meant 'one's own house.' Cp. Sonne 'Ztschr.' x. 115, xii. 373, Froehde xii. 160. I venture now with both these scholars to put *sōdā-li-s* also here, a derivative from a lost stem *so-dā* (for *sva-dhā*) 'habit.' On the other hand I have left out *sōdes*, which is moreover of the wrong quantity. — A kindred meaning is to be seen in the Lat. *sue-sco*, *suē-tu-s*, *con-suē-tūdo*, which have come direct from the pronominal stem *sva* (No. 601) 'self,' 'own' (cp. *suu-s*), and probably also in *ἑ-τη-ς*, *ἑ-ταπο-ς*, *ἐταίρο-ς*, ChSl. *sva-tū* 'affinis,' etc.

306. Root *ἐρυθ* *ἐρεύθ-ω* make red, *ἐρυθ-ρό-ς* red, *ἔρευθ-ος* 252 redness, *ἐρυθρ-ιδ-ω* blush, *ἐρυσίβη* mildew.

Skt. *rudh-i-rā-s* red, bloody, *ρόθ-i-ta-s* (for *rōdh-i-ta-s*) red.

Lat. *ruber*, *rufu-s*, *rob-igo*. — Umbr. *rufu*.

ON. *rjódh-r* rubicundus, *rjódh* *cruentare*, Goth. *raud-s* red, *ga-riud-jō* shamefacedness, OHG. *rōt*, *rost* red, rust.

ChSl. *rūd-ě-ti sę* blush, *rūd-rŭ* rutilus, *rŭžd-a* rob-igo; Lith. *raud-à* red colour, *rūd-a-s* reddish brown, *rūdli-s* rust.

OIr. *ruad* red, Cymr. *rhudd*.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. iii. 1017, Schleicher 'Ksl.' 118, Fick i³. 745. — The *ε* is prothetic, as in No. 143. — Bugge 'Ztschr.' xx. 5 ff. goes for the root to *rudh* 'flow' (of blood), though this root can only be found in its verbal use in Zend. According to him it has arisen from *sru-dh*. The Lat. *rū-tilu-s*, which anyhow has not, like *fū-tili-s* by the side of *fut-tili-s*, preserved a trace of a *d* in the length of its vowel, Bugge is perhaps right in separating altogether from these words.

307. Root *θα*, *θη* *θη-σθαι* (Hom.) to milk, *θή-σατο* he suckled, *θη-λή* teat, *θηλώ* wet-nurse, *θηλα-μών* suckling, nourishing, *τή-θη*, *τι-θή-νη*, *τίτ-θη* nurse,

τί-τθο-*s* teat, θῆ-λυ-*s* female, θή-μιο-ν milk (Hes.),
γαλα-θη-νό-*s* sucking milk.

Skt. *dhā* (*dhāj-ā-mi*) drink, suck, *dhā-trī* nurse,
mother, *dā-dhi* sour milk, *dhē-nū-s* milch-cow. —
Zd. *daēnu* woman.

Lat. *fē-la-re* suck, *fē-mina*, Umbr. *fē-l-iu*, Lat. *fī-l-
iu-s*, *fī-l-ia*.

Goth. *dadd-ja*, OHG. *tā-u* lacto, OHG. *ti-la* mamma.
ChSl. *dojā* lacto, *doi-l-ica* nutrix, *dě-tę* infans, *dě-va*
virgo.

OIr. *dí-th* suxit, *ro dīne-s-tar* suxit, *dínu* lamb (dat.
dínit), *del* teat.

Bopp 'Gl.' 'Vgl. Gr.' i. 299, Pott W. i. 176, Benf. ii. 270, Grimm
'Gesch.' 404, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 117. — The double *d* in the Goth. *daddja*
= OHG. *tāju* is discussed by Müllenhoff in Haupt's 'Ztschr.' xii. 387. —
Of the Latin words *fē-lā-re* undoubtedly belongs here; the form with
one *l* is, according to Bücheler, 'Jahn's Jahrb.' 1863 p. 780, the more
approved one. The verb proves the existence of a subst. *fēla*, corres-
ponding exactly to the Gk. θη-λή, Ir. *del*, and the OHG. *ti-la*. The
connexion of *fē-mina* and *fī-l-iu-s* with this root, on the other hand,
was denied by Dietrich ('Jahn's Jahrb.' 81, 39) and again by Corssen
(*'Beitr.'* 188, 'Ausspr.' i². 144, 'Ital. Sprachk.' 182 ff.). In deference
to Corssen's exhaustive discussion I concede that both words *can* be
derived phonetically from the rt. *fu* (No. 417), since *fle(v)-o*, for in-
stance (No. 412), shows that *fē(v)-o* could come from the rt. *fu*, and
since *fē-nus* (cp. *ρόκος*, 'interest'), *fē-cundu-s*, *fē-tu-s* can quite well be
explained by this root (otherwise Fick i². 630). But my etymology is, as
Corssen admits, just as admissible phonetically, and I hold it to be the
more probable one for the reason that the rt. *fu* is in no case applied

253 specially to the action of the woman in propagation, as is the case
with the rt. *gen* (No. 128), and is consequently less adapted to desig-
nate the female of man and beast as distinguished from the male. On
the other hand the rt. *dha* 'suckle' is precisely the one most adapted
for this. The Skt. *dhā-rū-s* 'sucking' is the intransitive to θῆ-λυ-*s*
'suckling.' If we consider again that in Greek, in Zend, and in the
Slavonic languages the idea 'woman' actually was designated by a
word from this root, it can hardly be doubted that this happened
before the separation of the languages, and that though the Romans
used a different suffix they brought their *fēmina* 'the suckler' with
them from the East. Since then the Gk. θηλαμών (cp. θηλαμινού·
νιογνού Hes.), Lett. *dēls* 'filius,' Lith. *dėlė* 'suckling' (Ebel. 'Beitr.'

viii. 369) and the Slav. words for 'child' come from the very same source, I think the Umbr. *feliuf* (*sif feliuf* = *sues filios*) comes in better here than under the rt. *fu*. The Messap. *bilia-s*, Alban. *bilj* 'son' compared by Stier 'Ztschr.' vi. 147 with *filii-s* are no obstacle to the above views. The stem *fil-io* would accordingly be derived from *fēla* 'teat,' in the sense of *ἰνομαστίδιος*. It can be no objection that this original meaning is to be seen nowhere but in the Umbr.—here at any rate it is present; we can hardly talk of the *sons* of a pig.—Among proper names *Τη-θύ-s*, translated by G. Hermann by *Alumnia*, and *Θέ-τι-s* seem related (Welcker 'Götterl.' i. 618). I. Bekker 'Hom. Bl.' i. 222 is no doubt right in explaining *Τη-θύ-s* to be for *Θη-τυ-s* by a transposition of the aspiration.—Whether *τι-θα-σό-s* 'tame,' as has been conjectured, and *τυτ-θύ-s* 'little' (cp. *τίτθη*) are related, I will not decide.—Lobeck 'Rhemat.' 5 (cp. Pott W. i. 180) conjectures, after Greek etymologists, that *θη-σθαι* is connected with *τιθέναι* (No. 309) 'quia lactantes uberibus adhibentur.' The OIr. *dúth* (t- pret. Z². 456) with the gloss *ro dinestar* Brocc. 'Hy.' 76: the latter word presupposes a pres. *dinim* (cp. Skt. *dhinoti* 'satisfy'; *dínu* 'agna' (Z². 257) is an old part. in *ant*, *dí* = Gk. *θη-*: *del* Corm. 'Transl.' p. 54, where Stokes also gives *delech* 'milch-cow.'—Cp. No. 310.

308. Root *θjaF* Hom. *θη-σαίατο* mirarentur, Dor. *θᾶ-μαι*, *θᾶ-έ-ομαι* (Ion. *θη-έ-ομαι*, Att. *θε-ά-ομαι*) stare, look, *θαυ-σ-ίκριον* (Hesych.) platform for sight-seers, *θαῦ-μα* a wonder, *θᾶ-τύ-s* *θεωρία* (Hes.), *θά-α* (Dor.), *θέ-α* view, *θέα-τρον* a place for seeing, theatre.

ChSl. *div-i-ti se θαυμάζειν*, *div-es-a θαυμάσια*, Bohem. *div-a-dlo θέατρον*.

Benf. ii. 364, Dietrich 'Ztschr.' x. 431. Cp. Pott W. i. 573. With Brugman 'Stud.' iv. 150 (Van. 404) I now start from the rt. *dhjav* and regard the *ε* of *θεά(f)-ο-μαι* as the representative of *j* (cp. *ἐτεός-s* No. 208), while in other forms, like *θαῦ-μα*, *θᾶ-μαι*, Hom. *θη-σαίατο* (σ 191) the *j* has been suppressed.—On the Doric forms (also the Lac. *ῥ-σα-μεν*, i. e. *ῥ-θᾶ-μεν*, *ῥ-θεωποῦμεν*) cp. Ahrens 'Dor.' p. 342 f. Perhaps there is no composition in *θᾶf-πο-s* (*θεῦποι* = *θεω-ποι* in the Thasian inscr. C. I. 2161, l. 2), *θᾶο-πο-s* and with interchange of quantity the Ion. *θεω-ρός-s* 'spectator.' Lobeck had already ('ad Aj.' p. 404) suggested that the word was no compound.—(Dor.) *θεᾶ-ρός-s* has the *f* suppressed. At Hes. 'Scut.' 165 the best reading is *θαυμα-ρά ῥργα*. Hesych. has *θη3ος* *θαῦμα* with *β* for *f*.—Bopp's and Fick's 254

(i³. 637) comparison of the Skt. *dhī*, *dhjāi* with *θεόμααι*, a comparison which leaves *θαῦμα* altogether out of the question, seems to me untenable.

309. Root *θε* *τί-θη-μι* place, do, *θέ-μα* propositum, *θέ-σι-ς* a placing, *θε-σ-μός-ς* rule, *θέ-μι-ς* law, *θε-μέ-λιον-ν*, *θέ-με-θλον-ν* foundation, *θή-κη* a chest, *θή-ς* (fem. *θήσσα*) hired labourer.

Skt. *dhā* (*dā-dhā-mi*) place, lay, do, *dhā-ma(n)* dwelling-place, law, way, condition, *dhā-tī* creator, *dhā-tu-s* stuff, radix verbi (thema). — Zd. *dā* place, make, produce, *dā-ta-m* rule, law, *dāman* creature, *dā-mi* creation.

Osc. *faa-ma* house (?), *fam-el*, Lat. *fām-ulu-s* οἰκέτης, *fām-il-ia*.

Goth. *ga-dēd-s* *θέσις*, OS. *dō-m*, OHG. *tō-m* do, OHG. *tā-t* deed; Goth. *dōm-s* [Eng. *doom*], OHG. *tuom* iudicium.

ChSl. *dě-j-a*, *de-žd-a* (= *de-dj-a*) facio, *dě-lo* opus, Lith. *dě-mi*, *de-dù* lay, place, put away.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. i. 138, Benf. ii. 266, Grimm 'Gesch.' 405. — The two main meanings of the root: *set*, i. e. 'put in a place,' and *do*, 'make,' i. e. 'bring into being,' 'set going,' are, as Grassmann 'Wtb.' 660 ff. has shown, clearly visible in the earliest Sanskrit. In Greek, it is true, the former prevails, but the second does unmistakeably occur from Homer onwards in usages like *σκέδασιν θείναι*, *εἰ δέ μιν αἰχμητὴν ἔθεσαν θεοί*, *γέλων θείναι*. In Teutonic and Slavonic, on the other hand, the second main use is the prevalent one. It is therefore inconceivable how Corssen ('Ital. Sprachkunde' 172 ff.) could in the meaning of the Ital. rt. *fak* (*fac-io*) find any grounds for separating it from the rt. *dha*, with which, according to Italian phonetic laws, it agrees. — On Italian soil this root is represented in four different ways: (1) in the Osc. words which are given above, *faama* is only a deduction from *faamat* 'he dwells,' and goes along with the Skt. *dhāman* (cp. *θε-μέ-λιον-ν*); (2) with an expanding *κ* in *fac-io*, Umbr. *faç-iu*, *fak-ust*, Osc. *fe-fac-ust* (Fick ii³. 114), cp. *θήκη*, *ἔ-θηκα*; (3) with a duller vowel (cp. Zd. *du*, by-form of *dā* 'make') in the OLat. forms *fuat* 'faciat,' *fuet* 'faciet,' which were found by Loewe ('Prodromus' 363) in glossaries and rightly interpreted; (4) in composition, with *d*, the regular Italian representative of *dh*, both (*a*) in *crē-de-re*, which shows a remarkable correspondence to the Skt. *çrad-da-dhā-mi* 'fidem pono,' *crēdo*, from *çrat* 'fides,' and to the OIr. *cretim* 'credo,' *cretem* 'fides'

(Z². 241, 435, Ebel 'Beitr.' ii. 157), and further in *ab-de-re*, *con-de-re*. Here the old *a* is represented by *e*, *o*, and that is how these compounds of the rt. *dha* became mixed up with those of the rt. *da* 'give,' like *ad-de-re*, *ē-de-re*, and (*b*) in *crē-du-a-m* and the like, where *du-a-m* is the form taken by *fu-a-m* = 'faciam' in the middle of a word. — In this way there is no need to separate *fio* from *facio*, to which it is the passive. It is a present formation in *-io* from the unexpanded rt. *fa* (i. e. for *fa-io*): *fio*: *fa-c-io*: : *eo* (rt. *ja*): *ja-c-io*. — The Osc. *famel*, Lat. *fam-ulu-s* (cp. *humu-s*, *humili-s*) are probably derivatives from *fama* 'house' (cp. the collective *familia*). The *ā* of the Latin words compared with the *aa* of the Osc. *faamat* is no more surprising than *θέμα* by the side of *θήκη*, Skt. *dhā-na-m* (acc. to Grassmann literally 'reward set before combatants') 'treasure,' 'riches,' by the side of *dhā-na-s* 'receptacle,' 'position,' and the Gk. *εὐ-θήμων*, *εὐ-θηνεῖν*. — On the Slavonic words belonging here cf. Jagić 'Das Leben der W. *dě* in d. sl. Sprachen' Wien 1871. — The OIr. *dénim*, ModIr. *déanaim* 'facio,' by the side of the Arem. *doen*, Corn. *doen*, Cymr. *dwyn* 'carry' (Ebel 'Beitr.' ii. 166, cp. however Z². 18) seems to have lost a consonant before the *n* and does not belong to the rt. *dhā*.

310. *θεῖο-ς* uncle, *τή-θη* grandmother, *τη-θί-ς* aunt.

ChSl. *dě-dŭ* avus, Lith. *dė-da-s* uncle, old man, *dė-dė* m. patruus, f. grandmother, *dė-dė-na-s* cousin.

Pott ii. 258. — On *τή-θη* and *τη-θί-ς* ('quasi parva avia') Lob. ad 'Phryn.' p. 134 sqq. — A comic derivative from the assumable diminutive *τηθαλλα* is *τηθαλλαδοῦς* 'grandmother's pet.' — Connexion with No. 307 is all the more probable because *τήθη* means also 'nurse' (Suidas, Stephanus 'Thes.' s. v.). The root extends itself in these words to the meaning of 'caressing treatment.' Cp. the Engl. *to nurse*.

311. Root *θεν* *θείν-ω* strike. — Lat. (*fen-d-o*) *offend-o*, *defend-o*, *in-fen-su-s* (?).

Pott W. ii. 2, 57, Benf. ii. 377, Fick i². 632. — Both compare the Skt. *han*, i. e. *ghan*, 'strike,' 'kill,' and Benf. also derives from it *nī-dhān-a-s* 'mors,' *pra-dhan-a-s* 'pugna.' — It is very strange that *θείνω* should stand so isolated in Gk. *θείνω*: *fendo* = *τείνω*: *tendo*. — Corssen 'Beitr.' 183 placed also *mani-fes-tu-s*, *in-fes-tu-s* 'storming against' under this head. Later, however, ('Ital. Sprachk.' 186) he has preferred to follow Grassmann ('Ztschr.' xii. 120) and Joh. Schmidt ('Vocal.' i. 95), who connect *fend-o* with the Skt. *badh*, *bādḥ* 'press hard.'

312. *θέν-απ* palm of the hand, sole. — Skt. *dhān-van* arch, shore, level land, *dhā-nus* arch. — OHG.

tēn-ar the flat hand, *tenni* threshing-floor [*Tenne*],
AS. *denu* valley (?).

Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 238, Grimm 'Gesch.' 405, Pott W. ii. 1, 339, Fick i³. 632. — Origin in the rt. *θεν* (No. 311) is very improbable. For *θέναρ* does not in the least mean the flat hand with which one strikes, but acc. to Pollux ii. 143 τὸ ἐνδοθεν τῆς χειρὸς σαρκῶδες ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου δακτύλου μέχρι τοῦ λιχανοῦ, while the back of the hand was called in part *δπισθέναρ*, in part *ὑποθέναρ*. Since according to this only the fleshy parts of the hand are properly called *θέναρ*, it is possibly connected with *θίν*, *θί-s* 'heap,' 'sand-heap,' 'sea-shore,' 'bottom of the sea,' in which case the primary idea would be that of a gentle rising. The 'Pet. Dict.', however, compares with *θί-s* the Skt. *dhānu-s* 'sand-bank,' 'projecting mainland,' 'island.' Acc. to Delbrück ('Ztschr. f. d. Philol.' 1, 8) *dhānvan* too seems in the Rv., in connexion with *samudrasja*, i. e. Oceani, to have the same meaning as *θί-s* ἄλος. As far as meaning goes all this exactly suits the OHG. *dān* 'promontorium,' NHG. *düne* 'down,' which in Grimm's 'Dict.' 256 is put under *donen*, *dunen* 'swell up.' The meaning 'arch' in *dhānu-s* also agrees with it. The absence of the second stage of sound-change which has, however, taken place in *tēn-ar* is accounted for, Delbrück says (vide supra), by the Low German origin of the words. [The French *dune*, like the AS. *dūn*, Eng. *down* is regarded as of Keltic origin: cp. OIr. *dun*, Cymr. *din*. Skeat takes these as akin to AS. *tūn*. Fick iii. 122.]

313. Root *θεF* *θέ-ω* (*θεύ-σομαι*) run, *θο-ό-s* swift, *θοάξ-ω* move quickly, *βοη-θό-ο-s* (cp. *βοη-δρόμο-ο-s*) helping.
Skt. *dhāv-ā-mi* leak, race, run.

Bopp 'Gl.', Pott W. i. 1079, Benf. ii. 274. — Cp. rt. *θυ* No. 320. *θο-ό-ω* 'I point,' 'sharpen' has nothing to do with it (cp. *θήγω*).

314. *θήρ* (Aeol. *φήρ*) game, *θηρ-ίο-ν* animal, *θηρά-ω* hunt, *θήρα* the chase. — Lat. *fer-u-s*, *fer-a*, *fer-ox*.

Pott i¹. 270, ii. 268, Benf. ii. 328, Miklos. 'Lex.' 223. — On *φήρ* Ahr. 'Aeol.' p. 219 and below p. 484. — All other combinations are doubtful (Schleich. 'Ksl.' 110). For the Goth. *dīus* (OHG. *tior*) *θηριον* can be compared only on the assumption that an *r* has been lost before the *s* and the ChSl. *zvěř*, Lith. *žvėrī-s* 'fera' only by starting from a primary form *dhvar* (Grimm 'Gesch.' 28, Miklos. 'Lex.'). Can it be that the unauthenticated Skt. *dhūr* 'injure' and even *fer-i-o* are related? So Corssen 'Beitr.' 177. There exists in Zend a rt. *dvar* 'run,' 'dash down' (used of things of an evil nature), which would fit in here well. With this would agree *θοῦρο-s*, *θοῦριο-s* 'raging,' 'hurry-

ing,' *θορ-εῖν* (*θόρηνυμαι*, *θρώσκω*) 'spring,' 'rage,' 'hurry.' Cp. the Lith. *pa-dur-mù* 'impetuously.' Otherwise Corssen 'Beitr.' 205, i², 145, Fick i², 695.

315. *θρασ-ύ-s* bold, *θράσ-os*, *θάρσ-os* boldness, courage, *θαρσ-έ-ω* (*θαῤῥέ-ω*) am courageous; *θαρσ-ύνω* encourage, *Θερσ-ίτη-s*, Theraic *Θαρύμαχος*, Rhodian *Θαρύβιος*.

Skt. *dharsh* (*dhársh-ā-mi*, *dhr̥sh-ṇō-mi*) dare, *dhr̥sh-ta-s* bold, impudent, rash, *dhr̥sh-ṇú-s* bold, *dharsha-s* impudence.—Zd. *daresh* dare, *dharshi* vehement, strong.

Goth. *ga-dars* *τολμᾶ*, OHG. *gi-tar* (pret. *gi-tors-ta*), dare.

ChSl. *drǫz-ŭ* *θρασύς*, *drǫz-a-ti*, *drǫz-na-ti* *θαῤῥεῖν*, Lith. *dras-ù-s* courageous, *dras-à* courage.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 419, Benf. ii. 327, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 117, who, however, has doubts on account of the *z*, Miklos. 'Lex.' s. v.—The preservation of the *σ* between the two vowels in Gk. is due to the fact that the original arrangement of the letters was *θάρσος*.—Benf. brings in the *φap-v-μός-s* adduced by Ahrens 'Aeol.' 42 (*τολμῆρός*, *θρασύς*) with *φ* for *θ* and *ρ* for *ρρ*, *ρσ*.—The Macedon. *Δάρρων* *δαίμων* *ὃς ὑπὲρ τῶν νοσούντων ἐῤῥονται* (Hesych.) with *δ* for *θ* acc. to rule, is also related (cp. note to No. 302), accordingly 'a god of courage.'—Bréal conjectures ('Ztschr.' xx. 79), I think rightly, that the Lat. *fas-tu-s* (for *fars-tu-s*) and *fas-tid-iu-m* (for *fasti-tidiu-m*) belong to this root.—The OIr. *trén* 'fortis' (Z². 37) arose, as the compar. *tressa* and the Cymr. *trech* show, directly out of **trex-na* (Stokes 'Ir. Gl.' 1117), and this does not suit *θρασύς* either in the initial or in the final letter of its root-syllable. By way of objection to Zimmer's attempt ('Ztschr.' xxiv. 257 207) to prove that an Ir. *tr* is the regular representative of an original *dhr*, reference may be made to his remark at 'Suff. a.' p. 297. l. 8.

316. Root *epā* *θap*, *θρή-σα-σθαι* to seat oneself, *θpā-v-os* seat, bench, *θpῆ-vv-s* trestle, *θρό-vo-s* seat, chair.

Skt. *dhar* (*dhár-ā-mi*) hold, carry, support, *-dhara-s* carrying, maintaining, *dhar-tár* bearer, preserver, *dhur* part of the yoke, *dhúr-ja-s* beast of draught.—Zd. *dar* hold.

Lat. *frē-tu-s*, *frē-nu-m*.

Benf. ii. 327, Fick i². 631.—*θρή-σασθαι* Philetas in 'Athen.' v.

p. 192. As we have *μεν* and *μνη*, *τελ* and *τλᾶ* and *τλη*, *θαν* and *θνη*, so here we have a double root-form, Indo-Germ. *dhar* and *dhra*. *dhar* is more prevalent in Skt. and Zd., *dhra* (*θρᾶ*, *θρη* = *frē*) in Greek and Latin. A by-form of *θρη* is *θελ*. In meaning we can distinguish between a purely physical one: 'hold, protect,' and a metaphysical one: 'hold by something, hold something in honour, observe.' Both meanings are united in the Skt. *dhár-a-s*, *dhru-vá-s* and the Lat. *fir-mu-s* (to which *ferme* = Germ. *fast* 'almost' by the side of *fest* 'firm' also belongs) 'fast,' and also in *for-ma*, which Leo Meyer 'Gött. Anz.' 1850 p. 469 was the first to compare with the Skt. grammarians' *dhár-i-man* 'form' (cp. Corssen 'Ital. Sprachk.' 157 ff.). — We have a purely physical meaning in the Gk. *θέλ-υ-μνο-ν* 'foundation' (*προ-θελ-υ-μνο-s* 'from the foundations,' Homer) as in the synonymous Skt. *dhár-ú-na-m* and a metaphysical one in *ἀ-θερ-ές* (*ἀνόητον*, *ἀνόσιον* Hesych., cp. Skt. *dhár-ma-s* 'right,' 'custom'), to which belongs *ἀθειρής* (Theogn. 733, Bergk² = *θεῶν μηδὲν ὀπιζόμενος*) and in the closely allied words *ἐνθρεῖν* 'φυλάσσειν, θρή-σκει' νοῶ, *θρά-σκειν* ἀνα-μιμνήσκειν 'to cling to a thing' (Hesych.): *θρη-σκο-s* (or *θρη-σκό-s*) 'pious' first in the N. T., but Herodt. has *θρησκ-εύ-ειν*, *θρησκ-ηῖν*, with the shorter by-forms *θρε-σκή* ἀγνή, πάντα εὐλαβουμένη (cp. *religio*, *religiosus* No. 538), and *θρε-σκό-s* περιττός (cp. *superstitiosus*), *δαισιδαίμων* in Hesych. *θέλειν*, *ἐθέλειν* 'be willing' has been put with this group. — An expanding *gh* produced from the rt. *dhar*, the Skt. *darh* 'make fast,' mid. 'be fast' = Zd. *darez*, whence comes *derez-ra* 'fast,' along with the ChSl. *drūža-ti* 'hold' (cp. No. 167). Perhaps Hesychius's *θρέξατο* ἐφνύλαξτο, *ἐρεβάσθη* and the OLat. *forc-ti-s* ('frugi et bonus'), later *for-ti-s*, with *forc-tu-m*, *horc-tu-m* ('pro bono dicebatur' Paul. 'Epit.' 102) belong here. Cp. Corssen 'Beitr.' 171.

317. Root *θρη* *θρέ-ο-μαι* cry aloud, *θρό-ο-s* noise, *θρη-νος* dirge, *θρῦ-λο-s* (*θρύλλο-s*) murmuring, tumult, *θόρυ-βο-s* noise, *τον-θρύ-s* murmuring, *τον-θορ-ύζω* murmur.

Skt. *dhraṇ-ā-mi* make a sound (intens. *dan-dhraṇ-mi*)?

Goth. *drun-ju-s* φθόγγος, NHG. *droenen* drone.

Pictet 'Ztschr.' v. 323, Benf. ii. 265, 'Ztschr.' ii. 228. Otherwise Pott W. i. 1028. — It is true that the Skt. *dhraṇ* is unauthenticated. — *θρώναξ* κηφήν *λάκωνες* (Hesych.) forcibly suggests the OHG. *treno* 'drone' and *τεν-θρή-νη*, *τεν-θρη-δών* 'a kind of bee' (Fick i³. 639). Perhaps too *τερ-θρεία* 'empty talk' (Heinr. Schmidt 'Synon.' i. 168) is of the same origin. — This word reminds us of the Ir. *derdrethar* (dep.) 'it cries,' 'resounds.'

318. *θυγ-ά-τηρ* (st. *θυγατερ*). — Skt. *duh-i-tā* (st. *duh-i-tar*), Zd. *dugh-dhar*. — Goth. *daúh-tar*, OHG. ²⁵⁸ *toh-tar*. — ChSl. *dŭš-ti* (st. *dŭš-ter* for *dŭg-ter*). Lith. *duk-tė* (st. *dukter*) daughter.

Bopp 'Vgl. Gr.' i. 299, Pott W. iii. 868, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 115. — I agree with Grassmann 'Ztschr.' xii. 126 in regarding *dhugh-atar* as the primitive form. Of the two aspirates the first is preserved in Gk., the second in Skt. and Zd., and the Gothic form points to an earlier *dh*. Lassen's etymology then from the Skt. *duh* (for *dhugh*) 'milk' — 'the milker' — is not impossible; Bopp prefers to give the meaning 'suckling,' as we did above to *filius* (No. 307). Cp. Pictet ii. 353. Quite otherwise Schweizer 'Ztschr.' xii. 306, otherwise again Benfey 'preface to Fick' vii., Fick i³. 638.

319. *θύρα*, *θύρ-ε-τρον* door, gate, *θύρασι* foris, *θυρί-ς* door or window aperture, *θυρ-εός* door-stone, *θαιρός* hinge, axle-tree.

Skt. *dvāra-m*, *dvār* f. door, gate; Ved. *dur* (f.) door, *dūr-ja-s* belonging to the door, to the house, *dūrjā-s* (nom. pl.) dwelling. — Zd. *dvare-m* gate, palace.

Lat. *for-ēs*, *foris*, *foras*. — Umbr. Osc. *vero* gate.

Goth. *daúr* *θύρα*, OHG. *tor*.

ChSl. *dvŭr-ŭ* *θύρα*, *dvor-ŭ* aula, Lith. *dūr-ys* (pl.) fores.

Cymr. *doreu* valvae, Corn. *darat* ostium, OIr. *dorus* porta, limen (Z². 238, 285, 1078).

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott ii. 1, 15, Benf. ii. 276, Fick i³. 640, Stokes 'Ir. Gl.' 124. — The shortest Gk. form is contained in the Arcad. *θύρ-δα* discussed under No. 263b. — Greek, Latin, and Teutonic point to an initial *dh*, Slavo-Lithuanian does not oppose it. I conclude therefore the primary form to have been *dhur*, *dhvar*, and the Skt. to have lost the aspirate (cp. Grassmann 'Ztschr.' xii. 95). — *θαιρός* comes from *θap-ιος* for *θfap-ιος*, and corresponds therefore to the Skt. plur. *dūr-jās* for *dvar-jās*, for which the 'Pet. Dict.' conjectures the primary meaning 'door-post;' the Umbr. and Osc. *vero* has lost its initial consonant (Corssen 'Beitr.' 177). Otherwise Pott W. i. 1010. The root is obscure, for the only certain meaning for the Skt. *dhvar* is 'bend,' 'cause to fall.' Bugge 'Stud.' iv. 328 tries another course; cp. Brugman 'Stud.' ix. 394.

320. Root *eu* *θύ-ω* rush, rage, sacrifice, *θύ-ν-ω* (*θυά-ω*,

θυδ-ζω) rage, rave, storm, *θῦ-νο-s* press, crowd, *θύ-ελλα* stormwind, *θυά-(δ)s*, *θυι-ά-s* a Bacchaten, *θυ-μό-s* courage, passion, feeling. — *θύμα*, *θυ-σία* sacrifice, *θύ-os* incense, *θυή-ει-s* fragrant, *θύ-μο-ν* (*θύ-μο-s*) thyme.

Skt. *dhū* (*dhū-nō-mi*) shake, move swiftly hither and thither, fan into a flame, *dhū-má-s* smoke, *dhū-li-s* dust, st. *du-dh* (= *du-dhu*) to be vehement, wild. — Zd. *dun-man* mist, vapour.

Lat. *fū-mu-s*, *sub-fū-o* fumigate, *sub-fū-men*.

OHG. *tun-s-t* storm, press, crowd, Goth. *daun-s*, odor, OHG. *toum* vapor, fumus, AS. *du-s-t* dust.

259

ChSl. *du-na-ti* spirare, *dy-mǫ* fumus, *du-chǫ* spiritus, *du-ša* anima, Lith. *dū-mai* (pl.) smoke.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott ii². 462, W. i. 1067, Benf. ii. 271 ff., Grimm 'Gesch.' 404, Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' i. 157. Cp. above pp. 60, 115. — The primary meaning was that of 'a violent movement,' and of this there appear three modifications: (1) rush — excite, (2) smoke — fumigate, (3) sacrifice; the metaphysical meaning comes from (1). (Cp. No. 36.) With respect to the third meaning Aristarchus's doctrine that *θυσαι* in Homer does not mean *σφάξαι* but *θυμιάσαι* (Lehrs 'Aristarchus' p. 92) is important, as it helps us to see clearly the transition from (2) to (3). Cp. Theophrastus *περὶ εὐσεβείας* ed. by Bernays p. 40: *ἐκ τῆς θυμιάσεως θυσίας ἐκάλουν*. — The intimate interconnection of these different uses is shown by the differing meaning of the Indo-Germ. *dhū-ma-s*, the correlative of which comes under the head of the second modification in four families of speech, under the first only in Gk. Plato 'Crat.' p. 419 already guessed the physical meaning of *θυμός-s* — *θυμός ἀπὸ τῆς θύσεως καὶ ζέσεως τῆς ψυχῆς*. — I cannot accept the wider combinations of Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iii. 434. On the other hand there is to be seen in Gk. an expansion of the root by *σ* in *θύσ-τη-s*, *θύσ-τά-s* (= *θυιάς*), *θύσ-θ-λα* (pl.) (cp. the ChSl. *dych-a-ti* 'flare' with *ch* = *s*), perhaps too in *θύσ-ανο-s* 'tassel' [cp. Eng. *bob*]. *θεί-ειο-ν* 'sulphur,' 'sulphur fumes' (contr. *θειο-ν*) comes without doubt from the second meaning and is to be derived from a lost *θεf-os*. — The Skt. *dhūp*, expanded from *dhū*, = Gk. *τύφ-ω* has been discussed under No. 251. Pott compares moreover the Lat. *fav-u-s* 'honeycomb' (?), *fav-illa*, *fū-nu-s*, *fī-mu-s* and *foe-t-eo*. On the latter words cp. Corssen 'Beitr.' 179. — The Lat. *tūs* is clearly borrowed from the Greek and proves nothing at all as to the Latin substitute for the aspirate. — The Skt. *hu* 'sacrifice' belongs to No. 203.

321. Root $\kappa\upsilon\theta$ $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\theta$ - ω ($\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\theta$ - $\omicron\nu$, $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\kappa\upsilon\theta$ - $\omicron\nu$) hide, conceal, $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\theta$ - $\omicron\varsigma$, $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\theta$ - $\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ hidden depth.

Skt. rt. *gudh* (*gúdh-jā-mi*) veil, clothe (unauthenticated), *guh* (*gúh-ā-mi*) veil, conceal, *gúh-ā* ambush, hollow, *gúh-ā* secretly, *gúh-jā-s* secret, *góh-a-s* ambush. — Zd. *guz* conceal.

Lat. *custō(d)-s*.

AS. *hȝd-an* hide.

Corn. *cuthe*, Cymr. *cuddio* celare (*Z*². 142).

Bopp 'GL,' Pott W. iii. 782, Ebel 'Beitr.' ii. 160, Fick i³. 50. — The initial *g* is softened in Skt. and Zd. from *k*, while acc. to Albr. Weber ('Omina u. Portenta' p. 343) the Skt. forms *kūh-ā* 'mist,' *kūh-anā* 'hypocrisy,' *kuh-ū* 'new-moon,' have preserved the original sound; the *h* at the end of the root is weakened in Skt. as in other cases from *dh*. — On *custō(d)-s* cp. my essay on the traces of a Lat. o-conjugation 'Symbola Philol. Bonn.' i. p. 280, Corssen 'Nachtr.' 133, somewhat otherwise i². 355, Fröhde 'Bezenb. Beitr.' i. 194.

322. $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\theta$ - ν wine, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\acute{\upsilon}$ - ω am drunk, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\acute{\upsilon}$ - $\sigma\kappa$ - ω make drunk, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\theta$ - η drunkenness, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\nu$ - $\sigma\omicron$ - s drunk.

Skt. *mádh-u* something sweet, sweet drink, honey, 260 *mádh-u-s* sweet, Zd. *madhu* honey.

OS. *med-o*, OHG. *met-u* mead.

ChSl. *med-ŭ* (m.) honey, wine, Lith. *mid-ù-s* honey.

OIr. *med* mead, *mesc* ebrius, *mesce* drunkenness;

Cymr. *medw* ebrius (*Z*². 130).

Bopp 'GL,' Pott i¹. 245, Stokes 'Corm. Gl. Transl.' 116. — The change in the meaning is noticeable: it was originally as in Skt. the more general one of a pleasant drink. Cp. Pictet i. 408, 'Ztschr.' v. 323, Hehn³ 136. — Ir. *mesce* from *med*, like *usce* 'water' from *ud* (No. 300), *med* 'mead' is for **medu*.

323. $\mu\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\omicron}$ - s pay. — Zd. *mīzhda* pay. — Goth. *mīzd-ō* $\mu\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\omicron}$ s, AS. *meord*, *méd* [Eng. *meed*]. — ChSl. *mīzda* (f.) $\mu\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\omicron}$ s.

Pott W. i. 148, Grimm 'Gesch.' 413, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 126, Diefenb. ii. 67, Benf. ii. 33. — Pott 'Ztschr.' xiii. 349 justly calls these words of unknown origin. Justi 'Handb. des Zd.' p. 233 regards the word as a compound of the rt. *dha*. [Cp. 'Greek Verb' p. 507, Vaniček 'Et. Dict.' p. 379.] Then we might state the following proportion; $\mu\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\omicron}$ s : $\mu\epsilon\delta$ (No. 286) = $\epsilon\sigma\theta\omega$: $\epsilon\delta$, $\mu\epsilon\delta$ of course in the sense of measure. Another combination worth notice is given by Delbrück 'Ztschr.

f. d. Philol.' i. 10, who goes to the Zd. *myazda* 'flesh used in sacrifice.'—Cp. above p. 89.

324. Root $\acute{\omega}\theta\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\omega$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\omega\text{-}\sigma\alpha$) thrust, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\sigma\sigma\acute{\iota}\text{-}\chi\theta\omega\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\text{-}\sigma\sigma\acute{\iota}\text{-}\gamma\alpha\iota\omicron\text{-}s$ Earth-shaker, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\sigma\sigma\acute{\iota}\text{-}\phi\upsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\text{-}s$ shaking its leaves.

Skt. rt. *vadh* strike, *apa-vadh*, *prati-vadh* strike back, avert. — Zd. *vad* strike, *vādhay* strike back.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. iv. 866. — *apa-vadh* is just like $\acute{\alpha}\pi\text{-}\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ A 97 (Arist.). The rt. *vādḥ*, as it is now written in the 'Pet. Dict.' (no longer *bādḥ*), has such similar meanings, that it cannot be a separate root from *vadh*. — Delbrück 'Ztschr.' xvi. 266 connects with the Skt. *vādḥ-ar* 'storm,' 'bolt,' Zd. *vad-are* 'instrument for striking,' the AS. *veder*, Germ. *Wetter* 'storm,' 'weather,' which accordingly has arrived gradually at its neutral meaning of weather from its original one of 'thunderstorm' or 'rain-storm.' — On the initial in Gk. see Ebel 'Ztschr.' iv. 166. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\sigma\sigma\iota$: $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\phi\omicron\sigma\iota$:: Aeol. $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\sigma$: Corcyr. $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\phi\omicron\sigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\sigma\sigma\iota$ -like the Homeric $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\sigma$. — I do not venture to place $\delta\theta\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$ under this head on account of the same difficulties which prevented Buttmann 'Lexil.' i. 270 from doing so, especially on account of $\delta\theta\eta$ (Hesych. $\phi\rho\omicron\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$), $\delta\theta\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ (ib. $\phi\rho\omicron\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu$), $\delta\theta\mu\alpha$ (Nicand. $\delta\mu\mu\alpha$). I omit the Lat. *ōdi* on account of the Armenian *at-el* 'hate' discovered by Hübschmann ('Ztschr.' xxii. 18).

325. $\omicron\upsilon\theta\text{-}\alpha\rho$ (st. $\omicron\upsilon\theta\alpha(\rho)\tau$). — Skt. $\acute{u}dh\text{-}ar$, $\acute{u}dh\text{-}as$, $\acute{u}dh\text{-}an$.
— Lat. *ūb-er*. — AS. *ūder*, OHG. *ūtar* udder (Germ. *Euter*). — Lith. *udr-oju* suckle.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott i¹. 106. — With Benfey i. 261 I take *ūdhar* to be the primary form, and consider the τ in $\omicron\upsilon\theta\alpha\rho\tau$ as accessory. — What is the case with the Lat. *ūber* 'abundance,' and the adj. *ūber* 'abundant?' Have we here merely a metaphor as in $\omicron\upsilon\theta\alpha\rho$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ (I 141), or are both meanings developed from one root which we do not know? After Walter 'Ztschr.' x. 77 had separated the adj. *ūber* with its subst. *ūber*=*ubertas* from *ūber* 'udder,' deriving the former from $\omicron\iota\upsilon\beta\text{-}er$ and the rt. *aidh* (Skt. $\acute{e}dh$ 'flourish,' 'be happy'), the latter from the rt. *udh*, Roth 'Ztschr.' xix. 221 again connects the two words *uber* and tries to establish *vadh*, *vandh* 'to stuff full' as their root, with which he connects also the Gk. $\delta\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$ 'dung-heap,' and 'stuff;' cp. Van. 880.

$\pi\epsilon\nu\theta$ $\pi\epsilon\nu\theta\text{-}\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\text{-}s$ father-in-law, brother-in-law,
 $\pi\epsilon\nu\theta\text{-}\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$ mother-in-law, $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\text{-}\mu\alpha$ string,

bind, fetter, unite, *bandhā-s*,

bándh-a-na-m band, union, *bándh-u-s* union, connexion, relation, *bandhu-tá* relationship. — Zd. *bañd* bind, *bañda* (m.) band.

Goth. *binda* bind, *band-i* δεσμός, OHG. *bast* bast.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. iv. 855, Benf. ii. 94, Fick i³. 689. — With Grassmann 'Ztschr.' xii. 120 (cp. above p. 49) we must consider *bhandh* to be the Indo-Germ. root, from which by the regular loss of the aspirates in Zend and the Teutonic languages arose *band*. In Gk. it was hardened into φενθ, and then, owing to the dislike felt to the conjunction of two aspirates at the beginning of two consecutive syllables, became πενθ. The Lat. *of-fend-iæ* 'strap,' 'knot,' *of-fend-i-men-tu-m* (Fest. p. 205), clearly belong here, as is pointed out by Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' i. 127. Fick ii³. 416 finds Lithuanian cognates in *band-a* 'hearth,' *bendra-s* 'shared in common.' — Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 332 connects with this root OIr. *buden* 'troop,' Cymr. *byddin* 'band,' 'troop,' OCymr. *bodiniou* 'phalanges' (Z³. 826).

327. Root πῖθ *πειθ-ω* persuade, *πειθ-ο-μαι* obey, *πέ-ποιθ-α* trust, *πίσ-τι-ς* faith, *πειθ-ώ* persuasion, *πέι-σα* obedience.

Lat. *fīd-o*, *fīd-ē-s*, *fīd-u-s*, *Dius Fidius*, *foed-us*, *foederatei*.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. iv. 874, Benf. ii. 95. — The aspirates have behaved as in the case of No. 326. The root is the same as 326 only ε is weakened to ι. So Corssen 'Beitr.' 227, Grassmann 'Ztschr.' xii. 120. Both conjecture justly that the Graeco-Italic rt. *bhidh* is weakened from *bha(n)dh*, and that its primary notion is 'unite.' The use of the Skt. compounds *ni-bandh* and *nir-bandh* and *bandh-aka-s* a 'pledging,' 'promise,' is analogous. Fulda 'Unters.' 158 points out that *πειθεω* in Homer frequently required the addition of θυμόν, φρένας, which, however, is entirely dispensed with in the case of the middle 'obey,' 'follow,' and the intransitive perf. *πέποιθα*=*confido*. Here we must supply the connecting links 'let oneself be bound,' 'join oneself,' 'feel oneself fast bound,' as also in the Lat. *fīdere*=*πειθεσθαι*. The physical meaning is most discernible in *πιθ-ο-ς* 'cask' (as being bound together) with the by-form *φιδ-άκ-νη* (Att.=*πιθ-άκ-νη*) 'little cask,' compared by Fick i³. 689 with the Lat. *fīd-ēlia*, AS. *bod-ig*.—*foedus*: 'bind': *pāx*: rt. *pak* (No. 343). — Fick i³. 699 and Bugge 'Stud.' iv. 388 connect *πειθεω* with the Goth. *beidan* 'bide,' *baidjan* 'compel.'

328. Root πνθ *πνθ-άν-ο-μαι*, *πένθ-ο-μαι* search, ask, *πύσ-τι-ς*, *πενθ-ήν* question, *πένθ-ήν* enquirer, spy.

262

Skt. rt. *budh* (*bōdh-ā-mi*, *būdih-j-ē*) to awake, remark, become aware of, *bōdh-ajā-mi* awaken, give to know, inform, *bud-dhi-s* (for *budh-ti-s*) insight, perception, view. — Zd. *bud* remark, awaken.

OS. *an-biōd-an* bid, let know, Goth. *ana-biud-an* ἐπιτάσσειν, παραγγέλλειν, *faūr-biud-an* forbid, and bid, OHG. *piot-an* offer, present [Eng. *bid*, Norse *bud*].

ChSl. *bŭd-ě-ti* vigilare, *bud-i-ti* expergefacere; Lith. *bund-ù* inf. *budėti* (intr.), *būd-in-u* (trans.) wake, *bud-rù-s* wakeful.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. iv. 885 f., who rightly gives the idea 'wake,' 'awake,' as the primary one, whence was developed in Greek the notion of 'wakeful perception' (*πυθ-έ-σθαι* become 'awake,' 'clear'), in Skt. and Zd. rather the continuous one of being awake, and therewith of knowledge. With Homer the derived meaning 'enquire' (e. g. i. 88) was only coming into use, and hence Aristarchus explained *πυθέσθαι* by ἀκοῦσαι (Lehrs 'Arist.' 148). It is strange that *bud* in Zend means also 'smell,' in compounds of the causative actually 'fumigate.' — Like the two previous roots this one had an aspirate at both ends originally: *bhudh* (Grassmann 'Ztschr.' xii. 120). Hence the Delphic name of a month *Bύσιος* is remarkable: it is explained by Plutarch 'Quaest. Graec.' c. 9 as Πύσιος "ἐν ᾧ πυστιῶνται καὶ πυνθάνονται τοῦ θεοῦ," and is supported by other instances in this dialect of β for π (Maittaire 'Dialecti' p. 140 a). — On the meanings of the Teutonic words which may be referred to the rt. *bhudh* see Delbrück 'Ztschr. f. d. Ph.' i. 9. — Benary's comparison of the Lat. *putare* ('Lautl.' 193) is mistaken; as *am-putare*, *putator*, *putamen*, *lanam putare* (cp. also Paul. 'Epit.' 216) show, *putare* is a derivative of *putus* 'clean' (No. 373), and accordingly means primarily 'to clear up.'

329. *πυθ-μήν* (st. *πυθμεν*) bottom, stock of a tree, *πύνδ-αξ* bottom. — Skt. *budh-ná-s*, Zd. *bu-na* bottom. — Lat. *fundu-s*. — OHG. *bodam*, ON. *bot-n*, [Germ. *Boden*]. — Ir. *bond*, *bonn* solea, Cymr. *bon* stem, base.

Pott W. iv. 872, Benf. ii. 67, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 320, Stokes 'Ir. Gl.' 96, Grassmann xii. 114, with whom I regard *bhudh* as the stem. — On *πύνδαξ*, a kind of diminutive with an added strengthening ν which in its turn accounts for the δ, cp. Lobeck 'Proleg.' 447 and below

p. 527. — Our stem *bhu-dh* seems to me to be a formation from the shorter rt. *bhu* 'grow,' and that accordingly 'ground' and 'root' get their name from their being the 'place of growth' and 'a growth' respectively; cp. OIr. *bunad* 'origo,' Cymr. *bonad* 'basement,' st. *bunata* (Z². 223, 801). So the Skt. *bhū* 'earth' comes from the rt. *bhu*. Otherwise Fick i³. 702. Cp. Corssen i². 145. — *βυθ-ό-s*, *βυσσό-s*, *βόθρο-s* are discussed under No. 635.

II

A Greek *π* corresponds to an Indo-Germanic *p*, Sanskrit *p* 263 or *ph*, Zend *p* or *f*, Latin and Slavo-Lithuanian *p*, Teutonic *f* or (in the middle of a word) *b*. In Keltic *p* disappears, and is replaced by *c*, *ch* only in the group *pt*.

330. *ἀπό* from, *ἀψ* forth, back. — Skt. *āpa* away, forth, back, as a prep. with abl. away from. Zd. *apa* with abl. from, *apa-na* distant. — Lat. *ab* (*ā*, *af-au-*), *abs*. — Goth. *af* *āpó*, *ēġ*, OHG. *aba*, *fo-na* far, from.

Bopp 'Vgl. Gr.' iii. 492, Pott i³. 435. — The connexion of *ἀπό* with the locative form Skt. *āpi* Gk. *ἐπί* is probable in spite of the difference of meaning (cp. *άντα* and *άντί* No. 204). — *ἡπερο* in *ἡπερ-οπ-εύ-ω* 'talk over,' 'deceive' (subst. *ἡπερ-οπ-εύ-s*, *ἡπερ-οπευ-τή-s*) corresponds to the Skt. and Zend *apara* (derived from *apa*) = Goth. *afar* 'later,' 'otherwise,' 'different' (Benf. i. 129). The second element in the word is rt. *fep*, whence *ψ* = *vox*; there is the Ionic lengthening of *ǣ* into *η*, as in *ἡνεμόεις*, *δουρηνεκές*, etc. The verb therefore means properly 'to speak otherwise' in a bad sense, that is, otherwise than one believes it to be, and the *ἡπεροπευτής* is *ὁς χ' ἔτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσίν*, *ἄλλο δὲ εἴπῃ* I 313. Schmalfeld 'Philol.' xxxiv. 594 compares the *ἀπ. εἶρ. κλοτ-οπεύειν*, which he explains 'to speak fine-spun talk.' (Cp. No. 63 b.) — Weber ('Ind. Studien' ii. 406) has a conjecture on the origin of the particle.

331. Rt. *ἀρπ* "*Αρπ-υιαι*, *ἄρπ-η* a kind of bird of prey, *ἄρπ-αξ*, *ἄρπ-αλέο-s* grasping, greedy, *ἄρπ-άζ-ω* rob, *ἄρπάγ-η* hook, rake, *ἄρπαγ-ή* robbery.

Lat. *rap-io*, *rap-ax*, *rap-idu-s*, *rap-tor*, *rap-īna*.

For Gr. *γ* = Lat. *c* cp. p. 533. — The rough breathing seems to be unorganic or a reminiscence of *ῥαπ*. Otherwise explained by Pott

'Ztschr.' vi. 334, i². 216. — Pott i¹. 258 (otherwise in W. v. 160) and Corssen 'Beitr.' 154 connect *rap-io* with the Skt. *lup lump-āmi* 'break to pieces,' 'rob.' This root underlies the Gr. *λυπ* and Lat. *rumpo* (No. 341), but it shows so many meanings analogous to these of our root, that we must certainly assume an early duplicate form *rap rup* (cp. *supra* p. 56 f., Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 292). The rt. *rup* in Zend means 'to rob,' and may unquestionably be compared with the Goth. *bi-raub-ōn*. More from the Teutonic languages in Diefenb. 'Wtb.' ii. 164.

332. ἄρπ-η sickle. — Lat. *sarp-o* prune, *sar-men*, *sar-mentu-m* twigs. — ChSl. *srǫp-ŭ* sickle.

Grimm 'Gesch.' 302, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 121, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 129, iv. 22 f. Corssen 'Beitr.' 32, 'Nachtr.' 70. — For *sarpo* cp. Fest. pp. 322, 348. — On the strength of the Germ. *scarf* by the side of *sarf* Kuhn assumes a rt. *skarp*, which by the loss of *k* became *sarp*, and ἄρπ (cp. No. 105), and by the loss of *s* became *karp* (No. 42).

264 333. Root *φελπ* ἔλπ-ω cause to hope, ἔλπ-ο-μαι I hope (pf. ἔ-ολπ-α), ἔλπ-ί-ς, ἔλπ-ωρή hope, ἔλπ-ί-ζω I hope.

Lat. *volop*, *volup*, *volup-i-s*, *volup-tā(t)-s*.

The *f* of *φελπ* is established by *ζολπα*, *ἐέλπετο* — cp. also Hesych. *μολπίς* ἑλπίς with *δλπίς*. Knös 80. In Pindar we still find *παρά ἑλπίδα* (Pindar ed. Boeckh ii. 2, 310). We have also the form *Velparun* = ἑλπίνωρ on an Etruscan mirror ('Denkmäler, Forsch. u. Ber.' 1864 p. 153). — *volup* Ennius 'Annal.' 247 (Vahlen) 'multa volup.' The word is probably shortened from *volup-i-s* which apart from its anaptyctic vowel (cp. p. 727 f. below) quite corresponds to the Gr. ἑλπίς. Schweizer 'Ztschr.' iii. 209. — The same stem occurs in the superl. *ἄλπ-ν-ιστο-ς* (Pind.) 'the most lovely' and in *ἐπ-αλπ-νο-ς* 'desired' (cp. *τερπ-νό-ς*), which in their meaning approach still more nearly the Latin words. There is also *ἀλπαλαῖον* (Hesych. ἀγαπητόν), for which we should perhaps write *ἀλπαλέον* (cp. ἀρπαλέος, ταρβαλέος). a Doric for ε Ahrens 'Dial. Dor.' 113. — For the shorter root of this stem see above p. 60.

334. ἐμπί-ς gnat. — Lat. *api-s* — OHG. *imbi* bee.

Pott ii¹. 74, Benf. ii. 75, Förstemann 'Ztschr.' iii. 55, 59, Lottner xi. 166, Fick ii³. 19. — The OHG. *bīa-*, NHG. *biene*, and Lith. *bi-tė*, *bi-t-īs* 'bee' are also referred to this form, by assuming a loss of the initial vowel. The neglect of the correspondence of mutes is explained by the nasal. A connexion with *πίνω* is more easily asserted than proved.

335. *ἐπί* on, to. — Skt. *ápi* (*pi*) as adv. further, also, as prefix to, after. Zd. *aipi* as adv. also, even, as prefix, to, as prep. with acc. after, on, with instrum. to, with loc. at the side of. — Lat. *ob*. — Lith. *apė* about, over (with acc.), *-pi* (after gen.) with, *api-*, *ap-* in the meaning of the Germ. *be-*.

Bopp 'Vergl. Gr.' iii. 490, Pott i². 506, Hübschmann 'Zur Casuslehre' 305. — It is worth noticing that *ápi* as a preposition with a case following it does not occur in Skt., while in its not very common use as a prefix, e. g. in *api-dhá-na-m* 'cover' (cp. *ἐπί-θε-μα*), *api-ḡá-s* = *ἐπί-γο-vo-s* it closely corresponds to *ἐπί*. The adverbial use of *api* reappears in the Gk. *ἐπ-εί*, where *ἐπί* is the anticipated particle of the apodosis, in the sense of 'then' ('Elucidations of the Greek Grammar' [E. T.] p. 215). — In the case of Lat. *ob* the meaning *ad* (cp. *obviam*, *obire*, *obdere* = *ἐπιθί-ναι*, *oboedio*, cp. *ἐπακούω*, *opportunus*) came out more clearly in the earlier language (Fest. p. 178). Cp. Corssen ii². 1026. — Lith. *ap-* in compounds: cp. *ἐπιχρυσος* 'gilded over,' *obaurare* (Appul.), Lith. *ap-áuksinu* 'I gild.' — With regard to form *ap-i* is related to *ap-a* as a locative to an instrumental (cp. *ἀπό* No. 330), but both have crystallized into adverbs, just as the Lat. abl. *apud* (old by-form *apor*), which is hence in meaning connected with *ἐπί*. Corssen i². 197 now agrees with Pott in regarding *apud* as a compound of *api* and *ad*, but without convincing me. — As to the origin of the word we may note the Skt. *api-tvá-m* 'distribution,' 'share.'

336. *ἐπ-οψ* (st. *ἐπ-οπ*) hoopoe. — Lat. *up-up-a*.

Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iii. 69. — The form is reduplicated, in Greek by 265 means of the *ε* usual in the perfect, in Latin as in *to-tondi* by the same vowel, *up-up-a* for an older *op-op-a*. Cp. *ἀπαφός* *ἐποψ*, τὸ ὄρνειν Hes. Fick ii³. 19.

337. *ἐπτά*, *ἑβδομο-s*. — Skt. *saptán*, Zd. *haptan* seven, *sap-ta-más* the seventh. — Lat. *septem*, *septumu-s*. — Goth. *sibun*. — ChSl. *sedmǐ*, Lith. *septyn-l* seven, ChSl. *sedmyj*, Lith. *septinta-s*, *sék-ma-s* the seventh. — OIr. *secht* septem, *sechtmad* septimus, Cymr. *seith* septem.

Bopp 'Gl.' Schleich. 'Ksl.' 187, etc. — For the weakening in the ordinal cp. *ἑβδοος* and p. 536. The change of the labial into a *k* in the Lith. *sékma-s* is highly irregular. — Ought we to consider *sak*, *sap* 'follow' as the root (p. 460)? Kölle in the 'Gött. Nachr.' 1866 p. 318 notices that the Turkish word for seven means follower. — For the guttural in Ir. *secht* cp. Windisch 'Beitr.' viii. 16.

338. Root ἐρπ *ἐρπ-ω* (impf. *ἐῖρπ-ο-ν*) I go, creep, *ἐρπ-ύ-ζω*
I creep, crawl, *ἐρπ-ετό-ν* creeping thing, *ἐρπ-η(τ)-ς*
tetter (on the skin), *Σαρπηδών* (?), *ὄρπ-ηξ* shoot (?).
Skt. rt. *sarp* (*sárp-ā-mi*) creep, crawl, *sarp-ā-s* serpens.
Lat. *serp-o*, *serp-en(t)-s*, *serp-ula*. — *Pro-serp-ina* (?).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. v. 207, Benf. i. 62. — *ἐρπειν* is far from meaning only 'creep.' But the proper meaning appears in all three languages to be that of 'an even motion along the ground.' — The Lat. *τῆρο* probably arose by metathesis from **srēp-o*, for *sr* is not an allowable combination of sounds. So the Zd. *rap* 'go,' which Justi identifies with Skt. *sarp*. Lottner ('Ztschr.' vii. 188) quotes Lett. *rahpt* 'creep.' Otherwise Joh. Schmidt ii. 354, Fick i³. 740. The question whether *Proserpina* is a genuine Lat. form, or borrowed from the Gr. *Περσεφόνη* has been discussed with reference to the old form of the gen. *Prosepnais* (Ritschl 'Suppl. prisc. latin.' i. p. xiv) by Usener 'Rh. Mus.' xxii. 436, Grassmann 'Ztschr.' xvi. 106, Zeuss xvii. 436; but I fail to find anywhere a decisive argument.

339. Root λαμπ *λάμπ-ω* I shine, gleam, *λαμπ-τήρ* lamp,
λαμπ-ά(δ)-ς torch, *λαμπ-ρό-ς* gleaming, *λάμπ-η*
scum, *λάπ-η* scum, slime. — **Ο-λυμπ-ο-ς* (?). —
Lat. *limp-idu-s*. — Lith. *lēp-s-nà* flame.

Bopp 'On the language of the Old Prussians' p. 40. — The comparison of Skt. *dīp* 'gleam,' is quite baseless. — The *v* in **Ο-λυμπο-ς* is Aeolic. — Lat. *limp-idu-s* is for *lemp-idu-s*. As the root appears without the nasal in *λάπ-η*, perhaps also *lēp-or*, *lēp-idu-s* (cp. *luculentus*) — which cannot be connected with Gr. *λεπ-τό-ς*, — and even *lēp-us* as the 'light, grey animal' (a Sicil. *λέπορις* quoted by Varro 'L. L.' v. § 101), might belong here. *Lanter-na*, only in late times *lātēna* (Bücheler 'Rhein. Mus.' xviii. 393, Schmitz xix. 301) is evidently derived from *λαμπτήρ*. The *s* in the Lith. word is inserted (Schleicher 'Lith. Sprache' i. 120). Bugge in 'Bezz. Beitr.' iii. 104 adds the ON. *leipt-r* 'lightning,' which, like the Lith. *lēp-s-nà*, has the *i*.

340. Root λιπ *λίπ-α*, *λίπ-ος* fat, *λιπ-αρό-ς* fatty, shining,
266 *λίπ-αρ-ής* persevering, eager, *λίπαρ-έ-ω* I hold
fast, entreat, *ἀ-λείφ-ω* I anoint, *ἄλειφ-αρ*, *ἄλειφα*
salve.
Skt. *lip* (*limp-ā-mi*), Ved. *rip* besmear, *anu-lip* anoint,
lēp-a-s, *lēp-a-na-m* ointment.
ChSl. *lēp-i-ti* conglutinare, *lēp-ŭ* viscum, *lēp-ŭ* de-
corus, Lith. *limp-ù* inf. *lip-ti* stick, *lip-ù-s* sticky.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. v. 180, W. i. 608, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 121. — λίπα ἀλείφεισθαι in Thuc. i. 6 and elsewhere removes all doubt as to the vowel elided in the Hom. λίπ', though Kissling goes wrong 'Ztschr.' xvii. 201. In ἀ-λείφ-ω we may easily recognize prothetic ἀ and aspiration. The latter perhaps also occurs in λιμφό-ς σκυφοάντης, φειδωλός 'dirty fellow,' λιμφεύειν ἀπατᾶν 'trick' (cp. Germ. *anschmieren*) Hesych. — Lat. *lippus* Pauli 'Ztschr.' xviii. 10 maintains to be a genuine Latin form for *lipu-s*. But *adepts* is borrowed from ἀλειφα (Benf. ii. 122) with *d* for *l* as in *Capitodium* (Corssen 'Nachtr.' 276). Cp. ἀλέφεισι· στέασι, ἀλεφάτισον· ἀλειψον Hesych. — Müllenhoff regards also OHG. *lēbara* 'jecur' and *libir-meri*, *ge-liber-ōt* 'coagulum,' 'concretum' as related, while Pauli ('Körpertheile' 18) connects *lēbara* with the Hom. λαπάρη, 'flank.' — The meaning passes from that of 'fat' into that of 'brightness' on the one hand, and to that of 'stickiness' on the other. Plato 'Crat.' 427 b: τὸ λιπαρὸν καὶ τὸ κολλῶδες. Fick i³. 754 connects the Goth. *bi-leiþ-an* 'to cleave,' 'to remain,' with this root, not with Gr. λείπω (p. 462). The Lat. *liqu-eo* on the other hand is related rather to the Zend *ric* 'pour out.'

341. Root λυπ λυπ-ρό-ς troublesome, λῦπ-η trouble, pain,
λυπ-έ-ω trouble, λῦπ-η-ρό-ς annoying.

Skt. *lup* (*lump-ā-mi*) break to pieces, beat, damage,
lup-tá-s destroyed, *lup* decay.

Lat. *ru-m-p-o* (?), *rūpes*.

ON. *ríf* rumpo.

Lit. *rūp-ē-ti* trouble, *rúp mán* it troubles me, *rup-ū-s*
anxious.

Pott W. v. 166, Benf. ii. 4, Fick i³. 746 f. — Many difficulties still present themselves in this grouping, on individual points. Still we may perhaps derive the notion of 'troubling' and of 'troublesome' from the more physical idea of 'breaking' as above under No. 148 and No. 284. With regard to this, it is worth noticing that in Homer we find only λυπρό-ς as an epithet of poor soil, while λέν-η with its derivatives does not occur till later. — For the interchange of *r* and *l* see p. 547 ff. — Cp. on No. 331.

342. Root νεπ ἀ-νεψ-ιό-ς sister's son or brother's son (fem.
-ā), νέπ-οδ-ες offspring, descendants.

Skt. *nápāt*, *náp-tar*, scion, grand-child, fem. *naptī*
daughter, grand-daughter, Zd. *naptar*, *napat* des-
cendant, *napt-i* (f.) kinship, *naptya* (n.) family.

Lat. *nepō(t)-s*, fem. *nept-i-s* (by-form *leptis* Loewe
Prodr. 340).

267

ON. *nefi* brother, OHG. *nefo* nepos, cognatus, ON. *nift* sister, OHG. *niftila* neptis. — Goth. *nith-ji-s* m. *nith-jō* f. *συγγενής*.

ChSl. *netij* filius fratris vel sororis, Bohem. *neti* (st. *neter*) niece.

OIr. *necht* neptis, Corn. *noit* neptis; Ir. *niae* (gen. *niath*) filius sororis, Cymr. *ney*, *nei* (plur. *neyeynt*, *nyeint*) fratris vel sororis filius (Z². 293).

Bopp 'GL.' Pott ii². 821, Ebel 'Beitr.' ii. 168, Kuhn 'Ind. Studien' i. 326, Benf. 'Sāmavēda Wörterb.' 106, where proofs are given of the more general meaning of the Skt. word, 'offspring,' 'child,' e. g. *napāt aprām* 'child of the waters.' Precisely the same phrase occurs in Zend. Fick i². 647. — Schleich. 'Ksl.' 125 and Miklos. 'Lex.' explain the Goth. and Slav. forms by the loss of the labial. — *ā-veψ-ιό-s* is for *ā-νεπ-ιό-s* and is rightly explained by Ebel 'Ztschr.' i. 293 and Max Müller 'Oxford Essays' (1856) p. 21 as 'fellow-nephew' (Mitenkel), as it were *con-nepot-iu-s*. — As to the much-discussed *νέποδες* (δ 404 *φῶκαι νέποδες καλῆς Ἀλοσύδνης*) I start from the fact that Alexandrian poets used the word in the sense of *ἀπόγονοι*: Theocr. xvii. 25 *ἀθάνατοι δὲ καλεῦνται εἰς νέποδες*, Cleo Sic. (Bergk 'Poet. Lyr.' p. 666) *βριαροὶ Γοργοφόνου νέποδες*, Callim. ap. Schol. Pind. 'Isthm.' ii. 9 *ὁ Κεῖος Ὑλλίχου νέπους*. They certainly would not have ventured to do this had there not been an old tradition in favour of this meaning. *κατά τινα γλῶσσαν οἱ ἀπόγονοι* says Eustath. on 'Od.' p. 1502, 52. Hence we must not be misled by the opposite views of other grammarians in the scholia to the 'Od.,' in Apollon. 'Lex.,' etc., but we must assume an ancient *νέποδες* = *nepōtes*, the δ being explained perhaps by the resemblance in sound to *πόδες*. Is the gloss of Hesych. *νεόπτραι νιῶν θυγατέρες* possibly a corruption of *νέπτρια*? The difference in quantity between *νέποδες* and *nepōtes* is the less surprising, inasmuch as we find side by side in the Eastern languages the three stems *napāt*, *napat* and *napt* (*napt-i*). — For the loss of the *p* in Ir. *niae* (st. *nepat*) and for Ir. *necht* for *nept* cp. Windisch 'Beitr.' viii. 16.

343. Root παρ *πήγ-νυ-μι* (ἐ-πάγ-η-ν) fix, *πήγ-μα* joined work, stand, *πηγ-ό-s* firm, strong, *πάγ-ο-s*, *πάχ-νη* rime, frost, *πάγ-η* trap, snare, *πάσσ-αλο-s* peg, nail. Skt. *pāṣ-a-s* snare, noose, *pāṣā-jā-mi* bind, *paḡ-rá-s* fat, stout. — Zd. *paṣ* bind.

Lat. *pac-i-sc-or*, *pāx*, *pac-i-o(n)*, *pac-tio(n)*, *pang-o* (*pag-o*), *pig-nus*, *pā-lu-s* — (*con*, *dis*) *-pe-sc-o*?

Goth. *fah-an* catch, *fulla-fah-jan* ἱκανὸν ποιεῖν, *fagr-s* εὐθετος, OHG. *fuog-a*, *ga-fuogi* aptus, *ga-fag-jan* satisfacere, *fah* (Germ. *Fach*) department.

Pott ii. 2, 551, Benf. ii. 90. 'Ind. lect. Kil. aest.' 1857 p. ix. where I believe I have proved that *pak* was the primary form, and *pag* weakened from it. — From the former is derived πάσσαλο-ς (for πακ-ῖαλο-ς). In Latin both occur side by side (Corssen i². 393), the Gothic forms 268 presuppose *k*. — As even in Skt. *paḡ-rá-s* the soft sound appears, the weakening of the form is apparently very old. — We must assume the fundamental meaning to be that of 'binding fast,' from which the ideas of 'catching' (cp. πάγη), 'making firm' ('freezing') and 'joining' are easily derived. Some also derive from this root Skt. *paḡ-u-s* = Lat. *pec-u*, Goth. *faīh-u* ('possessions'), OHG. *fihu*, OPr. *pek-u* and wrongly connect them with Gk. πῶν 'flock' Pott W. i. 205, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 272): but the last word, whose meaning differs, and which the Greek laws of sound do not allow us to connect with them, cannot be separated from the rt. πο: ποι-μήν (No. 372), and has therefore absolutely nothing to do with the present root. *pak-u* is 'that which is captured,' 'fastened' (Zimmer 'Suff. α' 294, cp. κτῆ-νός), πῶν 'that which is protected.' — Cp. ἄ-παξ under No. 599.

344. παί-ω strike. — Lat. *pav-io*, *pavī-mentu-m*, *de-puv-ere*.

Benf. ii. 77. — Add ἔμ-παιω-ς 'striking in,' πρὸς-παιω-ς 'pushing against,' (Aeschyl. Zacher 'Suff. αἰος' 76). The *u* of *depuvere* (Paul. 'Ep.' p. 70, 3 from Lucilius pf. *depūvit*) is weakened from *a* as in *contuberniu-m*. — Whether Skt. *pav-i-s* 'tire' of a wheel, 'ferrule' of a spear and *pav-ira-m* 'a weapon,' ῥόν-ἱρου-ς 'thunderbolt' are related, the isolation of these words makes it hard to determine. — Further combinations with regard to the Latin words in Pott W. i. 1113, Corssen i². 358.

344 b. Root παλ πάλλω swing, brandish, quiver, πάλῃ swinging, wrestling, παλαίειν to wrestle, πάλ-ο-ς lot; πεπαλάχθαι (Π.) to cast lots, πάλιν swinging back, πελ-εμ-ίξειν to shake, hurl back, πόλ-εμο-ς war. — Lat. *pello*, *pul-su-s*, *pul-sa-re*. — OS. *fálma* waver, *us-filma* scared.

Fick i³. 671, Van. 1183. — A connexion with rt. σπαρ No. 389 is uncertain. The intransitive use of πάλlein ἡ καρδία πάλλει, whence παλ-μός-ς 'beating of the heart,' and Lat. *pul-su-s* 'beating of the pulse,' is significant for the cognate character of the words.

345. παλάμη flat hand. — Lat. *palma*, *palmu-s*. — AS.

folma, OHG. *volma* flat hand. — OIr. *lám*, Cymr. *llaw* hand.

Pott i². 109, Grimm 'Gesch.' 396, Windisch 'Beitr.' viii. 8. — With the meaning 'span' which *palmus* also has, is connected *παλαιστή*, Att. *παλαστή* (τεττάρων δακτύλων μέτρον Hesych.). Pauli 'Körpertheile' p. 21 (cp. Delbrück 'Ztschr. f. d. Phil.' i. 145) conjectures that the word is connected with Skt. *pāñi-s* (m.) 'hand,' where the *ñ* points to the loss of *r*, and derives it from rt. *par*, *πλα* (No. 366): Kühn 'Metathesis' p. 50 from rt. *pal* 'to be flat' (No. 353). — From the meaning 'grasp' come *παλαμά-ο-μαι*, *Παλαμάων*, *Παλαμήδης* (Pott 'Ztschr.' v. 277).

346. *παρά*, *παράί*, *πάρ*, *πά* by the side of, to the side of.
— Skt. *pārā* away, from, forth, towards, *para-m* beyond, *parē* thereupon, further, *pārēṇa* further, gone by, *para-tās* further, away, Zd. *para* before, besides. — Lat. *per*, Osc. *perum* without. — Goth. *fra-*, *faír*, OHG. *far-* *fer-*, NHG. *ver-*. — Lith. *par-* back, *pèr* through, throughout.

Bopp 'Vergl. Gramm.' iii. 501, where also an explanation is given of the incontestably related forms *περί* Skt. *pāri*, etc., Grimm. 'Gr.' ii. 269 724, Pott i². 457. — Skt. *pārā*, like *pārēṇa*, bears the plainest marks of being an instrumental, which we must also assume to be the case with *παρά*: by the side of this we have the Epic *παράί*, and *παροι* in *προ-παροι-θεν*, which, as being evidently a locative, corresponds to the Skt. and Zd. *parē*. Another case again, the accusative, occurs in Skt. *param*, Osc. *perum*, where the meaning, 'without' is established in 'perum dolum mallom' 'Tab. Bantina' l. 22. The shortest form of *παρά* is *πά* in inscriptions from Knidos (Wachsmuth 'Rh. Mus.' xviii. 570). From the fundamental meaning 'by the side of,' which, if viewed in relation to motion, gives the meanings 'towards,' 'past,' the various significations of the particles here brought together, may be derived. The Gr. *παρά* in its temporal use with the accusative, e. g. *παρά πάντα τὸν βίον*, corresponds completely with the Lat. *per* (cp. also *parum-per*, *paulis-per*): in the same way *παρά τοῦτον γίνεται ἡ σωτηρία* = *per hunc servamur*, cp. *per me licet*; *perhibere* answers to *παρέχειν* just as *παρалаμβάνειν* to *percipere*, *perire* and the old Lat. *perbitere* to *παρήκειν*, *pervertere* to *παραρπείν*, *perjurium* to *παράνομος*. The use in *malam partem* may, however, be recognized also in the Skt. *pārā*, e. g. in *parā-i* 'to go away,' 'depart,' *parā-dā* 'prodere,' 'perdere.' There is a striking agreement between the Lit. *pèr* and the Latin, for which cp. Schleicher 'Lit. Gr.' p. 282 ff., 'pèr

through, of spaces traversed,' 'to denote the means, only with persons:' and yet the same Lith. *pēr* in uses such as *pēr mēr* 'beyond measure' may be compared again with the Gr. *παρά* (*παρὰ μέτρον*). The grouping above rests on these evident analogies, for which may be compared the thorough discussion by Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 99 ff. — Fritsch too ('Vergleichende Bearbeitung der griech. u. lat. Partikeln' 2 Theil. Giessen 1858 p. 24) compares Lat. *per* with *παρά*. Cp. Nos. 347, 356, 357, 359. — Rau 'de praep. *παρά* usu Stud.' iii.

347. *πάρος* before. — Skt. *purás* in front, before, Zd. *para* before. — Goth. *faúra*, OHG. *vora* before, Goth. *faúr*, OHG. *furi* for. — OIr. *ar*, *air*, Cymr. *ar*, *er*, *yr*, by, before, for, on account of.

Cp. No. 346. Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iii. 240. — *πάρος* looks like a genitive-form from a stem *παρ*, and corresponds so far to the Skt. *parás*. But this is connected by its meaning with *pārā*, while *pur-ás* (gen). *púr-ā* (instrum.) mean 'in front,' 'before.' In Zend *para* with acc. instr. and abl. means 'before,' with dat. 'without,' *parō* 'sooner,' *parē* 'before.' Hence *purás* is probably weakened from *paras* and radically identical with No. 346. — Hübschmann 'Zur Casuslehre' 321. — OIr. *ar*, *air* corresponds to the OGall. *are-* (for * *pare*) in *Are-morica* (*Armorica* Caes.) Z². 866. This preposition has hardly any connexion with *περί* (Ebel 'Beitr.' i. 311) in its usage: whether we are to assume as its primitive form *pari*, *parai* or *para*, cannot be easily decided. The cognate intensive *er-*, e.g. in *er-chosmil* ('very similar') has its correlative rather in *prae-clarus* than in *per-similis*.

348. *πα-τήρ* (st. *πατερ*). — Skt. *pi-tā* (st. *pitar*). Zd. *pita* (st. *pitar*). — Lat. Umbr. *pa-ter*. — Goth. *fa-dar*, OHG. *fatar*. — OIr. *athir* pater, gen. *athar*.

Bopp 'Gl.' etc. — The root is preserved in the Skt. *pā* 'nourish,' 'protect;' the specifically Eastern *i* in *pi-tar*, recurring in the Lat. 270 compound *Juppiter* is a weakening from *a*. On the doubled *p* cp. Corssen 'Ausspr.' i². 211, Pauli 'Ztschr.' xviii. 8. — We may notice the correspondence of *pitr-vja-s*, *πάτρω-s* and *patruus* 'father's brother' to which OHG. *fataro* 'uncle,' AS. *fadhu* 'aunt on the father's side' (Pictet ii. 367) also belong; and of Skt. *pitr-ja-s* 'paternal' = *πάτρ-ιος-s*, *patr-iu-s*.

349. *πάτο-s* path, step, *πατέ-ω* step. — Skt. *pathá-s* way, path, st. *path*, *panth*, *pathi*, *panthan* way, Zd. *pathan* way. — Lat. *pon(t)-s*, *ponti-fex*. — ChSl. *pa-lŭ* way.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott ii'. 241, Benf. ii. 93. — I stated in 'Ztschr.' i. 34 my conjecture, that *πόντος* also meant properly 'path' (like *ὕπα κέλευθα*, cp. 'Ἑλλήσποντος, εὐξείνιος π. etc.) and was related to *πάτος* as *πένθος* to *πάθος*. For the Greeks the sea is the uniting path. Otherwise Heinr. Schmidt 'Synon.' i. 643. Cp. Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 75, Pictet i. 115. In the 'Pet. Dict.' the meaning 'water' is also given for *páthas* and *pátha-m*, and 'sea' for *páthi-s*. — On the older meaning of *pon-s* 'way' cp. Cic. 'ad Att.' i. 14, 5, Lange 'Röm. Alterth.' ii'. 457. — Fick i³. 135 connects these words with *path* 'spread out' (*πετάνωμι* No. 215). — The connexion of the OIr. *áth* 'vadum' (*u-stem*) with this number ('Beitr.' viii. 2) is doubtful.

350. *πατ-έομαι* (ἐ-πάσ-σα-το) eat, *ἄ-πασ-το-s* without food. — Zd. *path* fill up (?). — Goth. *fōd-jan* τρέφειν, *fōd-ein-s* τροφή. — ChSl. *pít-a-ti* τρέφειν, *pít-omŭ* fattened.

Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *pā*, which root with the meaning 'support' probably underlies these words which are extended by *t*, and certainly the Lat. *pa-sc-o-r* (cp. Skt. *gō-pā-s* 'cowherd'), *pa-bu-lu-m*, *pas-tor*, *Pales* (cp. Preller 'Röm. Mythol.' 365) perhaps also Gk. Πάν, Lat. *pā-ni-s* (Messapian *panós*), Lith. *pē-na-s* 'fodder,' *pē-nū* 'nourish,' *pē-tu-s* (plur.) 'noon:' while Gk. *πά-ο-μαι* 'acquire,' *πέ-πā-μαι* belongs to No. 377. The Lith. words remind us also of the Lat. *pē-n-us* ('omne quo vescimur' Cic.), *penātes*, *penes*, *pene-tro*; the idea 'stores,' 'store-room,' furnishes the intermediate step to the latter. — Pott. W. i. 198 ff., Benf. ii. 72, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 119. Fick i³. 135, 655, who adds the words quoted by Athenaeus iii. 111c from Doric comic writers *πανία πλησμονή*, *πάνια πλήσμα*. — We may notice for the formation of the present *πάσσεται* *έσθλει* (Hesych.). — The connexion of the OIr. *íthim* 'edo' with the ChSl. *pítati* assumed in 'Beitr.' viii. 5, is disputed by Zimmer 'Ztschr.' xxiv. 213.

351. Stem *παυ* *παύ-ω* make to cease, *παύ-ο-μαι* cease, *παύ-λα*, *παυσωλή* rest, *παύ-ρο-s* small.
Lat. *pau-lu-s*, *pau-cu-s*, *pau-per*.
Goth. *fav-ai* (plur.) few, OHG. *fōhé*, AS. *feáwa*, Eng. *few*.

Grimm 'Gesch.' 396, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 515. — The second element in *pau-per* must be undoubtedly compared, as Pott ii'. 481 saw, with *opí-paru-s*, *parère*, *parare*. Cp. Kuhn 'Ztschr.' x. 320. But *parvus* presents a difficulty, for it lies very near to Gk. *παῦρος* (cp. *nervus* and *νεῦρον*), but on the other hand it can hardly be separated from *paru-m*, *par-cu-s*, *par-c-o* (Corssen 'Beitr.' 457). — For *paulu-s*

Corssen ii². 531. — Fick ii³. 153 refers all the words containing the syllable *pau* to a rt. *pu*, to which he also traces *pá-f-is país, puer*, 271 *putu-s* (No. 387) with the notion of 'smallness.' — OIr. *óa* 'minor' (cp. 'Beitr.' viii. 434) seems to occur only in the meaning 'minor natu,' and hence is everywhere the comparative to *ó-ac* 'juvenis,' and like this belongs to the Cymr. *ieuanc* (compar. *ieu*), Lat. *juvenis*.

352. *πελ-ό-s, πελ-ιό-s, πελ-λό-s, πελιδνό-s* swarthy, pale, πολ-ιό-s gray. — Skt. *pal-i-tá-s* gray. — Lat. *pall-e-o pall-idu-s, pullu-s*. — OHG. *falo* (*fal-aw-êr*). — ChSl. *pla-vŭ* albus, Lith. *pál-va-s* fallow, yellowish, *píl-ka-s* ash-gray.

Bopp 'Gl,' Pott i¹. 120, Benf. ii. 81, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 120. — The Lat. *pullu-s* has the clearest analogy in the Macedon. *πέλλη-s*, fem. *πέλλη*, which is explained by *τεφρώδης* (Sturz 'de dial. Maced.' p. 45) and from which the name *Πέλλη* is derived, though others, it is true, prefer to connect it with *οι πέλ-αι λίθοι* (= *fel-s*). — Corssen 'Nachtr.' 232 assumes for *lī-ve-o, līv-or, līv-idu-s* (cp. Cymr. *līu*, OIr. *lí* 'color,' Z². 57, 129) an adjective stem *plī-vo*, identical with the ChSl. *pla-vŭ*. The common fundamental meaning is 'pale;' the loss of the *p* is as in *la-tus* (No. 367 b). — Hehn³ 300 f. connects *πέλεια, πελειάς* and *palumba*, which denote the 'grey dove,' with these words.

353. *πέλλα* fell, hide, leather, *πέλας* hide, *έρυσί-πελας* inflammation of the skin, *ἐπί-πλοο-s* caul, *ἐπι-πολ-ή* surface.

Lat. *pellī-s, pellīnu-s*.

Goth. *-fill, thruts-fill* leprosy, OHG. *fēl*, Goth. *fillēin-s* *δερματινός*.

Lit. *plėnė, plėvė* skin, caul.

Pott i¹. 264, Benf. ii. 83. — The fundamental meaning of this stem, confined, as it seems, to the European languages, must have been that of 'surface.' Now as this conception is very near that of 'plain,' we might compare the Lat. *pala-m* 'on the open field' (cp. Germ. *auf der Hand*) and so far the opposite to *arcānum* and *secretum*, ChSl. *polje* 'field' (Mikl. 'Lex.') and also the OHG. *fēld*, though here the suffix is different. In *pala-m* then we should have the same petrified case-form, as occurs in *cla-m, perpera-m, oli-m*, in a locative sense. Nos. 102, 367 b, 368 are related.

353 b. *πελ-ί-κη πέλιξ* cup, basin, dim. *πελίχνη, πέλλα* milk-pail, drinking cup, *πελλί-s* bowl, basin. — Skt. *pālavī* a kind of vessel. — Lat. *pel-vi-s, pēl-ui-s* bowl.

Fick i³ 667 — *pēlui-s*, trisyllabic in the comedians Caecilius and Laberius (Ribbeck 'Comici' Index), closely resembling the Indian word. — Ir. *ro* (Z². 411, 864) reminds us of the Lat. *prō*, but has lost no consonant, for it aspirates: *re* had originally a final nasal (*re m-bās* ante mortem Z². 641), like *co(n)*, *i(n)*: *rem* (Z². 878) reminds us of the Lith. *prim*, and is distinct from *riam*, which contains a diphthong in the stem-syllable. Cp. Beitr. viii. 13. [Moore's 'Windisch' § 251.]

354. Root πεν πέν-ο-μαι work, am in need, πέν-η(τ)-ς, πεν-ι-χρό-ς poor, πεν-ία poverty, πενέσται serfs, πόνο-ς work, πονέ-ω work, suffer, πον-ηρό-ς troublesome, bad. — πείνα hunger, ἡ-παν-ία need (?).

Lat. *pēnūria* (?).

OHG. *spannan*, Goth. OHG. *spinnan* spin, OHG. *spanna* span.

272

ChSl. *pñn-a* (inf. *pē-ti*) crucify, Bohem. *pn-ou-ti*, strain, ChSl. *sŭ-pē-ti* compedibus adstringere, *pā-to* compes, Lit. *pñn-ti* twist, *pán-ti-s* cord to tie the feet of cattle.

Schleicher 'Ksl.' 120, Benf. 360, Fick i³. 830. — We must assume a rt. *span*, preserved in its purest form in *σπάν-ι-ς* 'want,' as in OHG. *spanan* 'to entice,' 'urge on,' *spannan* 'strain,' 'be strained,' with a loss of the *v* in *σπά-ω* 'draw' (*σπά-σ-μα*, *σπα-σ-μός*) *spa-ti-um*, but with a loss of the initial consonant in the form *πεν*, acquiring herewith a less physical signification. From the fuller root-form *cna* the Dor. *σπά-διο-ν* = Att. *στάδιον* (Ahrens 'Dor.' 109) 'race-course' is derived. — In *pēnūria* the *ē* seems to be diphthongal, and the word is most closely connected with *πείνα* (Pott W. i. 247). — Thus rt. *πεν* (for *σπεν*): *σπα* = *τεν* : *τα*, *γεν* : *γα*. Add *πέ-πον-θ-α*, *ἔ-πα-θ-ο-ν* p. 63, words which others (e.g. Fick i³. 689) separate from this root, and refer to the Skt. *bādḥ* 'press,' 'torture,' ChSl. *bēda* 'need.' Cp. Joh. Schmidt 'Vocal.' i. 93 f. What is said there about the 'almost contrasted' meanings of *πείνεσθαι* and *πάσχειν* is not to the point, as is shown by *πίνης*, *πενιχρός*. As *laborare* means both 'work' and 'suffer,' so two meanings might well unite in the rts. *πεν*, *παθ*. For the loss of an initial *s* see p. 694. Cp. Pott W. i. 382, Corssen 'Nachtr.' 109, i². 479, where *inter alia* he translates *sua spon-t-e* 'from one's own impulse' [cp. *aliena sponte* Madvig 'Advers. Crit.' iii.], and compares the OHG. *span-s-t* 'incitement.' Cp. No. 362.

355. *πέος*, *πόσ-θη*. — Skt. ved. *pas* pudenda, *pās-as* membrum virile. Lat. *pēni-s*. — MHG. *visellin* penis. — Lit. *pis-à* cunnus, *pīs-ti* coire cum muliere.

Pott W. ii. 2, 430, cp. W. i. 203, Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' i. 288, who derives *πέ-ος* from *πεσ-ος*, *πέ-νι-s* from *pes-ni-s*, and compares also OHG. *fas-al* 'foetus.'

356. *περά-ω* (*περήσω*) press through, *πόρο-s* way, way through, *πορ-θ-μός-s* ferry, *πορεύ-ω* convey, procure, *πορίζ-ω* procure, *ἔμ-πορο-s* passenger, merchant, *πεῖρ-α* trial, attempt, *πειρά-ω* attempt.

Skt. *par* (*pí-par-mi*), carry over, conduct, further, surpass. Zend *par* bring over, *hu-pere-tu* εὑπορθμος.

Lat. *por-ta*, *por-tu-s*, *ex-per-i-o-r*, *per-ī-tu-s*, *perī-culu-m*.

Goth. *far-an* go, *far-j-an* convey, OHG. *ar-far-u* = *erfahre* I experience [originally *eundo assequi* Grimm], ON. *fiōrdh-r* bay.

OCymr. *rit* vadum, Gall. *Augusto-ritum* (Z². 88), Cymr. *Rhyd-ychain* Ox-ford.

Grimm 'Gesch.' i. 397, Pott W. ii. 1, 395, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 333, Rhys 'Rev. Celt.' ii. 326. — Here only the indubitably equivalent words are compared. — *πέιρα* = *περ-ια* (Aeol. *πέρρα*). The verb *πείρω* 'pierce through,' 'bore through' (*πε-παρ-μένο-s*) is generally given as the stem-verb, because of *πέιρε κέλευθον* (β 434) and similar phrases; but as this word cannot be separated from *περόνη* 'spike,' 'pin,' *πόρπη* 'needle,' 'tongue,' *πειρά* 'edge,' *πηρό-s* 'mutilated,' the meaning is very remote: I exclude it the more readily from our present group, because it recalls the ChSl. *por-jq* (inf. *pra-ti*) σχίζω, though I do not on that account wish to deny the possibility of any relation between the roots, for *πέιρω*: *πέραν* = *τορό-s*: *trans* (No. 238). — On the other hand this group is evidently connected with the following.

357. *πέρᾱ* ultra, *πέρᾱν* trans (comp. *περαι-τέρω* ulterius), *περαίν-ω* bring to an end, *περαιό-s* on the farther side, *περά-τη* land on the farther side, *Πειραιεύ-s*, *πέρας*, *πεῖραρ* goal, end, *ἀ-πειρέσ-ιο-s*, *ἀ-περείς-ιος* unlimited, infinite.

Skt. *pāra-s* on the farther side, distant, another, *para-m* (adv.) out over, to the farther side, *para-mā-s* the farthest, outermost, *pāra-s* the farther bank, *pār-ā-m* goal, end.

OIr. *ire*, *ireiu* ulterior.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott i. 108, Mikl. 'Lex.' — To the adjectival meaning of the Skt. *pāra-s* are akin (besides *πέρ-ναι* No. 360), Lat. *peren-die*

(cp. Skt. *parē-djav-i*) 'on another day,' *per-egre* 'in another land,' *per-per-am* ἄλλως in a bad sense, while *perjuriu-m* has been already mentioned under *per*, *παρά* (No. 346). Cp. Corssen i². 776. There is evidently a radical connexion with the forms there collected, as with No. 356, but in Greek the vowel of the stem-syllable separates *παρά* from *πέρα*, and this is unmistakeably accompanied by a difference of meaning. — The OLat. 'polteo pro ulteriore' (Fest. p. 205) reminds us of the ChSl. *polŭ* 'ripa ulterior;' still I place both here only conjecturally. — In the same way the Osc. *pert* which is explained by 'the other side' (Ebel 'Ztschr.' v. 417, Corssen xiii. 189) may be just mentioned. — OHG. *fer-no*, Goth. *fairra* 'far' is certainly also related (cp. No. 360). — OIr. *ire* 'ulterior' (Z². 277) is compared by Ebel 'Beitr.' i. 311 with Gk. *περαιός*: hence the comparative form *ire-iu* 'superior' (Z². 275), cp. *περαι-τερος*.

358. *περά-ω* (fut. *περά-σω*) carry over, sell, *πέρ-νη-μι*, *πι-πρά-σκ-ω* sell, *πρί-α-μαι* buy, *πρά-σι-ς* ἀγορα-σία Hesych. — *πρα-τία-ς* ὁ τὰ δημόσια πωλῶν Hesych. — *πόρ-νη* meretrix.

Skt. *par* (*pri-j-ē*) *ā-pr-ta-s* busy, *pāra-jā-mi* (compounded with *vi*, *ā*) employ.

OIr. *renim* vendo, *as-renim* = *érnim* do, impendo, *as-ririu* impendam.

Benf. ii. 34, 'Ztschr.' viii. 1, where he compares also Skt. *paṇ* (*paṇ-ē*) 'exchange,' 'purchase,' 'wager,' *paṇ-a-s* 'wager,' 'bargain,' 'pay,' *pāṇ-ja-s* 'purchasable,' etc. The lingual *ṇ* points to the loss of *r*, so that *paṇa-tē* and *πέπνα-ται* correspond. Cp. 'Ztschr.' iii. 414 f. where I have compared also the Lit. *per-k-ū* 'buy' as a form expanded by the addition of a *k*; the word *prék-i-s* 'price,' which is certainly related, approaches closely to the Lat. *pre-tiu-m*, but as here the form in *t* seems to be the only legitimate one, the resemblance does not extend beyond a community of root. — *περάω* in its relations to *πι-πρά-σκω*, etc. is discussed by Lobeck 'Paralipp.' 401. The form 274 *ἐ-πρα-σεν* ἐπραγματεύσατο (Hesych.) attaches itself to the meaning of Skt. *vj-ā-pāra-s* 'business:' I regard as an expansion of this *πρά* the stem of *πράσσω* (Ion. *πρήσσω*, *πρήξις*) whose meaning in Homer is much more material than is the case in later usage. Cp. No. 273 and I. Bekker's fine discussion in 'Homer. Blätter' ii. 50 ff. The older form of the stem was *πῶακ*, preserved in *πρακός* C. I. No. 1702 l. 4, from which *πῶα* arose by softening (cp. p. 674). — With No. 356 (cp. 357) *περάω* was originally identical; *πρίασθαι* (cp. 'Greek Verb' p. 120) Pott W. i. 251 well translates 'I bring to myself:' it was

only by degrees that 'transfer' and 'traffic' (*Wandel* and *Handel*) parted off into distinct forms of similar origin. On the Irish words cp. Windisch 'Beitr.' viii. 11: *renim* is to *πέρνῃμι*, as Lat. *sisto* is to *ἵστημι*; the reduplicated future *ri-riu*, like *πρίσθαι*, goes back to a root-form *πρι*. The Lith. *pèlna-s* 'service,' 'reward,' is identical with Skt. *para-s*; with the Lith. verb *pelnaũ*, inf. *pelnyti* 'deserve' is connected the OIr. *ar-illiud* 'meritum,' *att-roi-lli* 'meruit' (Z². 869), pres. stem *palnia*, cp. 'Beitr.' viii. 5.

359. *περί* about, over, very, *πέρι-ξ* round about, *περι-σός-s* excessive, *-περ* however much. — Skt. *pári* as adv. round about, as prep. with acc. about, against, with abl. from, compounded with adjectives, very. — Zend *pairi* as adv. round, as prep. with acc. about, with instrum. and abl. before, over, in comp. very. — Lat. *per-* before adjectives.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott i¹. 108, i². 483. — As *περὶ πάντων ἔμμεναι ἄλλων* in Homer, so Skt. *pari-laghu-s* 'very light,' Lat. *per-mag-nu-s* (cp. *περιμήκης*). Pott also adds *Πειρί-θοος*, the *ει* of which he holds to have been produced as in *εἰνί* and the *αι* in Zend, by anticipation (Vorklingen) of the *i* (Umlaut). An unusually careful discussion of the whole of the material here coming under consideration is given by Sonne 'Ztschr.' xiv. 1 ff. The most remarkable coincidences between the Vedic and Homeric language result from this: e.g. *περί-οιδε*=*pari-vēda*, *περί-εσσι*=*parj-asti*. Cp. Hübschmann 'Zur Casuslehre' 319. — The particle *περ*, in form equivalent to the apocopated Aeol. *περ*=*περί*, Hartung 'Partikeln' i. 327 ff. recognizes in its connexion with *περί*. — Cp. *παρά* (No. 346) and *πάρος* (No. 347). In Skt. the use of *pári* is less sharply distinguished from that of the forms quoted under *παρά*. — In C. I. No. 11 we find *πὰρ πολέμω* in the sense of *περὶ πολέμου*, with the original *a* preserved, as in *φάργον*, and the augm. *ά* (Ahrens 'Aeol.' 226). — The Celtic intensive particle, Ir. *er-* (*er-chosmil* 'persimilis' Z². 864). Cymr. *er-* (*er-drym* 'valde compacta,' Z². 895) cannot be with certainty traced back to *pari*, but it certainly belongs to the particles originally beginning with *par*. The length of the vowel, e.g. in Ir. *ær-mall* 'admodum lentus,' is doubtless only secondary.

359 b. *περκ-νός-s* (also *πέρκο-s*) spotted, blackish. — Skt. *p'ṛc-ni-s* spotted, pied (especially of cows).

Fick i³. 669, Pott W. ii. 2, 441. — The Greek word has the especial meaning 'sprinkled with dark spots,' and hence is often used especially of fruit which is getting dark and ripe, but no one who

examines the glosses of Hesychius, περκάζει· μελανίζει ποικίλλει, ἡ πεπαίνεται, περκαίνειν· διαποικίλλεσθαι, περκνόν· μελανόν ποικίλον, περκνός· 275 γλανκός μέλας καὶ τὰ ὅμοια, περκώματα· τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου ποικίλματα, πρακνόν· μέλανα, περκνόν· ποικιλόχρουν ἔλαφον, will doubt the fundamental meaning here stated, nor that πόρκ-as· ἐλάφους, πρόξ (st. προκ) and προκά-s ‘hind’ or ‘fawn’ or ‘roe,’ for the meaning of the word is disputed, belong here.—By the side of the words with *ç* we find in Sanskrit others equivalent in meaning, but presenting *sh* in the place of *ç*, and regarded as related, *prsh-atá-s* ‘spotted gazelle,’ *prshant* ‘dappled,’ *prshatī* ‘dappled cow.’ In the case of several of these words we have the by-meanings ‘spot,’ ‘fleck,’ ‘drop of water’ (as with *prshatá-s*): hence it seems probable that ‘sprinkle’ is the fundamental meaning of the root, and that πρόξ, ‘drop of water’ (Hesych. πρόξ) has also the same origin. Finally, Πρόκη is probably the ‘pied swallow.’—With περκ-νός Benf. ii. 82 connects the Lat. *spure-u-s*, the meaning of which is related to that of the Greek word as the MHG. *smuz* to *smitzen* ‘to throw upon.’ Cp. above p. 114. We should thus be brought back to a rt. *spark*, which Fick identifies with the Skt. *sparç* ‘tangere,’ ‘consperegere,’ the meaning ‘to bespot’ linking the two. As to meaning the Lat. *sparg-o* (whose *g* might be softened from *c*), MHG. *sprengen* ‘spar-gere,’ *sprengel* ‘tuft for sprinkling with,’ and Skt. *parsh* (for *park-sh* ?), Zend *paresh* ‘besprinkle,’ come nearer: to these we may add Bohem. *prš-e-ti* ‘drizzle,’ ‘rain’ (Miklosich ‘Lex.’ s. v. *prŭch*-p. 716).—On the connexion with rt. *spar* and on by-forms with λ cp. No. 389.

360. πέρυσι (Dor. πέρυτι, πέρυτις) last year, περυσι-νό-s of last year.—Skt. *parut* πέρυσι, *parut-tná-s* περυσινός.—MHG. *vért*, *věrent*, *věrn* anno superiore.—OIr. *inn uraid* last year.

Pott i¹. 108, ii¹. 266, 587, Benf. i. 312, Stokes ‘Corm. Gl. Transl.’ p. 97.—The Skt. word is clearly a compound of *para* ‘alius’ (No. 357) and *vat*=*fétos* (No. 210). Hence we have here one of the few certain cases in which compounds date from a time earlier than the separation of the languages.—With the MHG. *vért*, however, we must also compare the Goth. *faírni-s* ‘old,’ *faírniþo jēr* ‘the old year’ (Diefenbach ‘Goth. Wtb.’ i. 353).—OIr. *uraid* (*onn urid* ‘ab anno priore,’ Z¹. 611) stands for **paruti*.

361. πηλό-s mud, πήλ-ινο-s of mud, προ-πηλακ-ίζ-ω defile, insult.—Lat. *pal-ū(d)-s*, *palus-tri-s* (?).

Bopp ‘Gl.,’ Pott i¹. 242, ii¹. 493, 580, ‘Ztschr.’ viii. 179.—Benf.

ii. 81 connects these words with those discussed under No. 352. Perhaps he is right in explaining the length of the first syllable from a form *παλφο-s* (cp. *γούνα = γονφα*) to which the Skt. *palva-lá-s* 'pool,' 'pond,' points. — *πηλακ-ίζ-ω* presumes a noun formed like *βῶλαξ*, though its actual occurrence cannot be proved. However Hesych. has *πάλ-κο-s* *πηλό-s*. — Is *pal-ū(d)-s* compounded with the st. *ud = úð* (No. 300), meaning thus 'muddy water?'

362. *πήνο-s*, *πήνη*, *πην-ίο-ν* (Dor. *πᾶνίο-ν*) weft, woof, *πην-ίζ-ομαι* reel, weave, *πηνί-τι-s* weaving woman.

Lat. *pannu-s*, *pannu-vellu-m*, *pānu-s* weft.

Goth. *fana* *ράκος*, OHG. *fano* linteum, vexillum.

ChSl. *pon-java* linteum, *o-pona* aulacum, velum. 276

Grimm 'Gesch.' 396. — These words are probably connected with No. 354. — Miklosich 'Lex.' 624. — *pannuvellum* Varro 'Ling. Lat.' v. § 114 with the commentators. In the case of *pānu-s*, which also means 'swelling,' it may be doubted whether it is not a Doric word borrowed. No importance is to be attached to the doubled *n* in *pannus* (cp. *quattuor*), and we need not on that account assume a formation originally distinct from *πήνο-s*. — Of Greek words the river-name *Πηνειός* (cp. *ἄρν-ειός*) 'thread' (?) and *Πηνελόπεια* probably belong here: the latter Pott has already (ii¹. 261) connected with *πήνη*, and Welcker also ('Ep. Cyclos' ii. 15, 'Götterlehre' i. 659) explains it 'weaving-woman.' I divide it *Πηνελ-όπ-εια* and regard the first part as an offshoot from *πήνο-s*, like *πιμ-ελή*, *κυψ-έλη*, *θυμ-έλη*, *νεφ-έλη* (by the side of *νέφος*), the second as a feminine nomen agentis, formed, like *δυσ-αριστο-τόκεια*, from the rt. *όπ*, preserved in Lat. *op-us* = Skt. *áp-as*, and perhaps in *φύλ-οπ-ι-s* ('race-work?'), *Δρύ-οψ* and in *Παν-οπ-εύς* father of 'Επειός. Other traces of the rt. *όπ* are discussed in 'Studien' i. 1, 261. The word would thus mean 'worker in weaving,' 'clothes-worker' (cp. τ 142).

363. Root *πι* *πί-ων* (st. *πιον*), *πιαρό-s*, *πιερό-s*, *πιαλέο-s* fat, *Πιερία*, *πίαρ*, *πιό-τη(τ)-s*, *πιμ-ελη* fat, *πιαίν-ω* fatten.

Skt. rt. *pī* (*páj-ē*) swell, be swollen, make to swell, *pī-na-s*, *pī-van*, *pīvará-s* fat (adj.), *pīvas* fat (subst.), *pinv* (*pīnv-ā-mi*) swell. — Zd. *pivañh* (n.) fat.

Bopp 'Gl.', Pott W. i. 578, Benf. ii. 76, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 375, with whom I cannot agree in the identification of the suffixes. — Clearly the 'unmarried' feminine *πίερα*, as Döderlein calls it ('Gloss.' 2250) corresponds to the Skt. *pīvarī*. — *Περία* Fick i³. 674. — *pīngui-s* I regard as

a nasalized form which has arisen out of *pengu-i-s* = *παχύ-s*. Cp. p. 521, Corssen 'Nachtr.' 88.

364. *πίλος* felt, felt hat. — Lat. *pilleu-s* (*pīleu-s*). — OHG. *fil-z*. — ChSl. *plǫstŭ* coactile.

Pott i¹. 109, Grimm 'Gesch.' 398, Mikl. 'Lex.' — According to Fleckeisen 'Fifty Articles' p. 35, we must write *pilleus* with *ll*, but this can hardly have any etymological significance. How it is related to the Lat. *pīlu-s* 'hair' is not quite clear. Corssen i². 525 proposes an extensive combination, which is however too hair-splitting for me. Fick ii³. 151 connects *πίλος* with rt. *pis* 'pound' (*πίσσω*).

365. *πίνο-s* dirt, *πιναρό-s* dirty, *σπί-λο-s* spot, *ἄ-σπι-λο-s* spotless. — Old Bohem. *spī-na*, New Boh. *špína* smut.

Schleicher 'Ksl.' 120. — Other combinations in Benf. ii. 77, rejected in 'Ztschr.' iii. 416 in favour of that here given. The Slavonic form points to a rt. *σπι*, from which *πί-νο-s* as well as *σπί-λο-s* have been derived. Cp. also *πίνακος* *κουρά*, τὰ *τμήματα* καὶ *ἀποκαθάρματα* τῶν *ξύλων*, *σπίδος* *κηλῖς* (Hesych.).

365 b. *πίσ-ο-s* pea, *πίσ-ινο-s* of pease. — Lat. *pis-u-m*, *Piso*.

Pictet ii. 288, Pott W. ii. 2, 431. — Both derive the word from rt. *pis*, whence the Skt. *pish* 'grind,' 'pound;' from this come *pish-tikā* 277 'a kind of groats,' Lat. *pīns-o* *pīs-o* 'pound,' *pīs-tor* *pī-lu-m* (cp. p. 193 above), *pīlumnu-s* ('Symbola Phil. Bonn.' i. 277) ChSl. *pīš-eno* *ἀλφίτον*, *pīš-enica* 'triticum' (Miklos. 'Lex.' 760). Hehn³ 191 is probably right in adding the ChSl. *pēs-ŭkŭ* 'sabulum,' 'calculus,' and in conjecturing 'globule,' 'grain-fruit,' to be the primary meaning, one which is easily derived from the rt. *pis*. For *πίσσω* and its relation to *pīnso* cp. p. 498. — Lottner 'Ztschr.' vii. 21, Delbrück 'Ztschr. f. d. Phil.' i. 144 add to this group also OHG. *fesa* 'chaff.'

366. Root *πλα* *πί-μ-πλη-μι* (inf. *πιμ-πλά-ναι*) Homer. *πιμ-πλά-νε-ται* fill, *πλή-θ-ω* am full, *πλέ-ω-s*, *πλή-ρ-ης* full, *πλη-θ-ύ-s*, *πληθ-ος* crowd. — *πλοῦ-το-s* fullness, riches.

Skt. rt. *par* (*pī-par-mi*, *pṛ-ṛā-mi*) fill, *prā-na-s*, *pūr-ṇā-s* plenus. — Zd. *par* fill up, *perena* full.

Lat. *im-ple-o*, OLat. *ex-plē-nunt*, *plē-nu-s*, *plē-be-s*, *pŏ-pulu-s*.

Goth. *full-s* πλήρης, *fullō* πλήρωμα, OHG. *fol* full, *folc* folk.

ChSl. *plŭ-nŭ* plenus, *plŭ-kŭ* turba, populus, *ple-me* tribus, Lith. *pŭl-ti* fill, *pŭl-na-s* full.

OIr. *lán*, OCymr. *laun* plenus, OIr. *com-all* praeg-nans, *com-alnaim* impleo; *for-óil* abundantia, *der-óil* penuria, *lín* numerus, pars, *lnaim* I fill, *lunmaire* plenitudo.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. i. 249, ii. 1, 358, who also compares *amplu-s*, Benf. ii. 85, Ebel 'Beitr.' ii. 162. — For the formation of the present cp. 'Gk. Verb' p. 170. — Lottner 'Ztschr.' vii. 19 calls attention to the *l* common to all the European languages; the first inclination to which, however, is found in the Vedic *pulu-s* = *purú-s* 'many,' with the unauthenticated rts. *pul* 'magnum esse,' *pŭl* 'colligere' (cp. No. 375). These words with their ramifications are certainly related, and elucidate the meaning of *populus*, *folc*. Cp. No. 247. — The root-form *πλα* here assumed has at its side a metathesized *πελ*, like *γεν* by the side of *γνα*, *τεμ* by *τμη*, *μεν* by *μνα*. Pictet ii. 111 adds *πλή-μνη* 'nave' 'le plein de la roue.' For the secondary *θ* in *πλή-θ-ω*, etc. cp. p. 63: the suffix of *ple-bē-s* belongs to the series of formations with *b* (*her-ba*, *mor-bu-s*). — Lobeck 'El.' i. 245 explains *πέλ-θρο-ν* as 'spatium expletum, dimensum atque descriptum,' connecting with it *ἀ-πέλ-ε-θρο-ν* (*ὁ οὐκ ἔστι μετρήσαι*), *πλή-θρο-ν* (*εἶδος μέτρου* Hesych.) and *ἀ-πλε-το-ν* 'quod mensuram excedit.' Otherwise Hultsch 'Metrologie' 31, who resorts to the rt. *πελ* 'turn,' in the sense of the Lat. *vorsu-s*. But *ἀπέλεθρος* at any rate cannot be arrived at thus. — On the rts. *πλα* and *πρα* cp. 'Stud.' iv. 228. — Fick i³. 665, 668 derives OIr. *lán* (= *-all* in *com-all*) from rt. *pal*, like Goth. *fulls*: but *lín* from rt. *plā*, like Lat. *plēnus*; cp. 'Beitr.' viii. 8.

367. Root *πλαγ* (for *πλακ*) *πλήσσω* (*ἐ-πλήγ-η-ν*, *ἐξ-ε-πλάγ-η-ν*) strike, *πληγ-ή* blow, *πλάζ-ω* strike, drive off (*ἐπλάγχθην*, *πλαγκτός*), *ὑσ-πληξ* (p. 228).

Lat. *plang-o*, *plang-or*, *planc-tu-s*, *plāg-a*. — *plec-t-ere* punish (?).

Goth. *flēk-an* *κόπτεισθαι*, lament [Scot. *fleech*].

Lit. *plak-ù* strike, *plēk-ti* flog.

Pott W. iii. 188, Benf. ii. 98. — In the 'Ind. lect. aest. Kil.' 1857 p. vi. I have shown that *plak* is the root-form, from which *πλαγ* arose 278 by weakening. For the connexion of *πλήσσω* with *ἐπλάγχθην*, *παλμ-πλαγχθείς* and *πλάζε* (Φ 269) cp. 'Philologus' iii. p. 2 ff. Cp. Lobeck 'Elem.' i. 237. Fick i³. 681. — Lobeck (as also Ahrens 'Formenl.' p. 117) justly assumes a rt. *πελ*, from which come also *πλησίο-ν* and *πέλ-as*, *τειχεσι-πλή-τη-s*, *ἀ-πλά-το-s* with the fundamental meaning of

'striking' or 'hitting against something.' This more physical meaning still occurs plainly in *δασ-πλῆ-τι-s*, which Welcker 'Götterl.' i. 699 translates by 'hard-hitting' as an epithet of the *Ἑρμύς*. The shortest form of the root, originally *par*, occurs in Zend, where it means 'to fight,' and in Church-Slavonic and Lithuanian, with the meaning of 'to strike' in *pra-ti*, Lith. *për-ti*. To this belongs the proper name Πάρι-s, translated 'Ἀλέξανδρος' 'champion,' and the Vedic *pāri-par-in* 'opponent' ('Ztschr.' i. 35, v. 394). From *πελ* we also arrive at *πέλ-ε-κυσ*, No. 98. On the vowels which appear here as in *πέλας*, *πελάζω*, see p. 727. — From this *πελ*, *πλα* we get *plak* by means of an accessory *k*, and thence *πλαγ*, as from *πῤῥᾱ πῤῥᾱγ* (No. 358). I conjectured some time ago that *πελαγ-ος* was of the same origin and meant 'beating,' 'tossing,' and to this I hold even after the discussion of Heinr. Schmidt 'Synon.' i. 644 f. The explanation suggested by Lobeck 'Proleg.' 305, Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 420, and Heinr. Schmidt from *πλάξ* 'board,' in the sense of *aequor*, I cannot reconcile with the Homeric *ἀλός ἐν πελάγεσσι* ε 335. The stem *πλακ* (No. 102) is thus a form which was retained for certain meanings, by the side of which the later forms here discussed, having separated from the others only on Greek soil, went their own distinct way. — OHG. *fleg-il* [cp. Eng. *flail* from OIr. *flael*] is probably regarded with justice as borrowed from *flagellum*, but the Goth. *flēk-an* [Scotch *fleech*] points to an ante-Teutonic *plag*, so that this weaker form by the side of the stronger is shown to be very ancient. Cp. J. Grimm 'Wörterb.' under *fluchen*, Delbrück 'Ztschr. f. d. Philol.' i. 145, Corssen i². 395.

367 b. *πλατύ-s* flat, broad, *πλάτ-ος* breadth, *πλάτ-η* blade of the oar, plate, *πλάτ-ανο-s* plane. — *πλάθ-ανο-ν*, *πλαθ-άνη* pastry board.

Skt. rt. *prath* (*prathē*) spread out, *prthi-s* (compar. *prāth-īja-s*) broad, wide, *prāth-as* breadth. — Zd. *frath-añh* breadth.

Lith. *platù-s* broad.

OIr. *lethan*, OCymr. *litan* broad.

Pott i¹. 93, Bopp 'Gl.', Benf. ii. 98, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 40, Ebel 'Beitr.' i. 310, Windisch ibid. viii. 14. — The verb *πλάσσω* with a dental stem (*πλάσ-μα*, *πλάσ-τό-s*) probably belongs here, so that the fundamental meaning is *extendere*, *expandere*, a meaning well adapted to denote working in soft masses; hence also *ἔμ-πλασ-τρο-ν* 'plaster.' — From Latin we may compare *lāt-us* with a lost *p* (cp. *lanx* under No. 102), and *lat-er* 'brick,' properly 'plate,' but certainly not *lātus*, for which, from 'Fest.' p. 313 'stlata genus navigii latum magis quam altum,'

we must assume an initial *stl* (cp. under No. 227): though perhaps we may add *planta* 'sole of the foot,' the meaning approaching that of *πλάτη*: Corssen, however, i². 637 explains it from *plānc-ta. plā-nu-s* so far as form goes might belong here as well as to No. 102. — *Latium* which I formerly placed here must be kept apart on account of the 279 Umbrian form *Platie*, discovered by Bücheler (Fleckeisen's 'Jahrb.' 1875 p. 133).—Cp. also Nos. 215, 353.

368. *πλίνθο-s* brick. — OHG. *flins* stone, [AS. *flint*.]

Pott ii¹. 444, Benf. ii. 99, Fick i². 682. — Does *πλίνθος* belong to the series of forms in *νθ* (*θακίνθος*, etc.) discussed by Pott 'Personennamen' p. 451? It might easily be derived from the *πέλ-αι* 'rocks' mentioned under No. 352, with the syncope of the *ε* (cp. *ἐπλετο*).—The relation to the German word is not properly cleared up, and other comparisons are extremely doubtful (cp. p. 523).

369. Root *πλυ πλέ-ω* (*πλέυ-σομαι*) sail, float (by-form *πλώ-*), *πλό-ο-s* voyage, *πλω-τός* fit for a voyage, seaworthy, *πλώ-τη-s* floater, sailor. — *πλύν-ω* wash, *πλῦ-μα* dish-water [*πλῦ-μα* Bekker in Arist. H. A. iv. 8, p. 534, l. 27: cp. Lidd. and Scott s.v.] *πλυ-τός-s* washed, *πλυν-τήρ* washer.

Skt. rt. *plu* (*plāv-ē*) float, sail, hover, spring, *ā-plu* bathe oneself, wash, *plāva-jā-mi* cause to float, bathe, wash, *plav-ā-s* boat, floating, flood.

Lat. *plu plu-i-t*, *pluv-ia*, OLat. *per-plov-ere* cause to flow through, be leaky.

Goth. *flō-du-s* ποταμός, OHG. *flew-iu* fluito, lavo, *fluu-z-u* fluo.

ChSl. *plov-a*, *plu-jā* (inf. *plu-ti*) *πλέ-ω*, *plav-ī* (fem.) navis, Lith. *pláu-j-u* (inf. *pláu-ti*) wash, *pláu-ti-s* catarrh, *plú-s-ti* to begin to float, overflow.

OIr. *luam* celox, *luath* velox, *im-luad* agitatio, *im-luadad* saltabat, *lúud* velocitas.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. i. 1128, Benf. ii. 96, Grimm 'Gesch.' 397. — The root denotes movement in water and of water under four main heads: (1) float (flood, wash); (2) sail; (3) flow; and (4) rain; and only in Skt. and Old Irish motion generally. For 'spring' we have the older Vedic form *pru*. With the meaning 'fluctuate' may be connected *plūma*, becoming in German *Flaum*. — For *πλύν-ω* = *πλυ-νι-ω* cp. 'Ztschr.' vi. 89. To the stem *πλυν* belongs also *πλυν-τήρ* (ms. *πλυ-τήρ*, but cp. *πλύτρη*) which Hesych. considers equivalent to *πλυσμός*

[or rather *πλύνος* L. and S.]. It seems therefore to have meant 'wash-trough,' = Lat. *linter* ('trough,' 'boat,' 'washing-boat'), Old Lat. *lunter* (Bücheler 'Rh. Mus.' xi. 298). [This comparison is rejected by Nettleship, 'Essays' p. 29.] In Prisc. v. p. 151 Hertz *πλυντήρ* or *πλύντηρ* (Aeol.) is to be read. — 'pateram perplovare, pertusam esse' Fest. p. 250; Corssen 'Ausspr.' ii¹. 20, where *plōra-re* (which reminds of the Homeric *δακρυπλώειν*) is also discussed, and explained as a denominative from a lost adj. *plōru-s* from *plōveru-s*. (Otherwise i². 361.) — *πύελο-s* is put for *πλυελο-s* to avoid labdacism. — The Lith. *plau-k-ti* 'swim' is expanded by the addition of a *k*. — For the Celtic words (Z². 22, 25, 224, 876) cp. 'Beitr.' viii. 9, 475.

370. Root πνυ *πνέ-ω* (*πνεύ-σω*) blow, breathe, *πνεύ-μα*, *πνο-ή* breath, *πνεύ-μων* (st. *πνευμον*) *πλεύμων* lungs, *πε-πνυ-μένο-s*, *πινυ-τό-s* intelligent, *πινυτή* understanding, *ποι-πνύ-ω* puff.

280

Lat. *pul-mo* (st. *pulmōn*).

ChSl. *plušta* (neut. plur.), Lith. *plaučiai* (pl.) lungs.

Pott W. i. 1124, Benf. i. 605, Grimm 'Gesch.' 398, Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 402 with my reply xiii. 396. — The Slavo-Lith. words point to a stem-form expanded by a *k*, which is possibly more closely connected with *πνίγ-ω* (for *πνυ-κ-ω*?). For it is not improbable that *πνίγω* starts from the fundamental idea 'I make to breathe hard' (Benf.). Cp. Goth. *hvarþja* (No. 36). Otherwise Corssen 'Nachtr.' 117, Fick i². 251. — *πινυ-τό-s* (*πινυτός* 'ἐμφρων, πνίτο' *ἐπνευσεν, ἐνόησεν* Hesych.) with an anaptyctic *i*, like the Lat. *p-i-tu-īta* compared with *πτύ-ω* (No. 382). Cp. p. 730. The breath is here, as in the Lat. *animus*, a symbol of the life of the soul. — In the case of *pulmo* it may be supposed that there has been borrowing, still we should rather in that case expect *plumo* and instead of the long vowel a short vowel in the suffix (*pul-min-is*). — The replacement of *n* by *l*, which shows itself in a remarkable manner in three families of speech, is explained by the rarity of the sound-group *pn* and the frequency of *pl*. — Pauli 'Körpertheile' 15 adopts an entirely different explanation, identifying *πλεύμων* and *pul-mo* with the OHG. *flou-m* 'fat of the intestines' (and also 'dirt'), and thinks that the lungs are called so from their floating on the surface (No. 369) and that *πνεύμων* is a later form, arising in an endeavour to secure resemblance to *πνέω*. Cp. p. 450.

371. Root πο, πι Aeol. *πώ-ν-ω*, *πί-ν-ω* (fut. *πί-ομαι*, aor. *ἔ-πι-ο-ν*, *πί-θι*, perf. *πέ-πω-κα*) drink, *πό-το-s*, *πό-μα*, *πῶ-μα*, *πό-σι-s* drink, *πό-τη-ς* drinker, *πο-τήρ-ιο-ν* cup, *πί-νο-ν* barley-drink, beer. —

$\pi\iota\text{-}\pi\acute{\iota}\text{-}\sigma\kappa\text{-}\omega$ give to drink, $\pi\acute{\iota}\text{-}\sigma\text{-}\omega\varsigma$ meadow, $\Pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha$
 $\pi\acute{\iota}\text{-}\sigma\text{-}\tau\rho\alpha$ watering place [also, drink].

Skt. rt. $p\bar{a}\text{-}$ ($p\acute{a}\text{-}mi$, $p\acute{\iota}\text{-}b\bar{a}\text{-}mi$, later $p\acute{\iota}\text{-}v\bar{a}\text{-}mi$) drink,
 $p\bar{a}j\acute{a}\text{-}j\bar{a}\text{-}mi$ give to drink, $p\acute{a}\text{-}tra\text{-}m$ drinking vessel,
 $p\acute{a}\text{-}na\text{-}m$ drink, draught, $p\bar{a}\text{-}ta\text{-}s$ drunken, having
 drunk.

Lat. $p\bar{o}\text{-}tu\text{-}s$, $p\bar{o}\text{-}ti\text{-}o(n)$, $p\bar{o}\text{-}tor$, $p\bar{o}\text{-}c\text{-}ulu\text{-}m$, $p\bar{o}tare$. —
 $bi\text{-}b\text{-}o$.

ChSl. $pi\text{-}ti$ bibere, $pi\text{-}vo$ (st. $pives$) $\pi\acute{o}\mu\alpha$, $na\text{-}poi\text{-}ti$
 $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$, Lith. $po\text{-}t\grave{a}$ tippling, $p\acute{e}\text{-}na\text{-}s$ milk.

OIr. $ibim$ bibo.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. i. 188, Benf. ii. 74, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 119, Stokes
 'Corm. Gl. Transl.' p. 93. — We must assume pa as the original root,
 but by the side of it in all families of language the weaker form pi
 also presents itself. Cp. No. 475. — Lat. $bi\text{-}b\text{-}o$ perhaps by a weaken-
 ing which, just as in *Boblicola* (Corssen 'Ausspr.' i². 129) proceeding
 from a letter in the middle of the word attacked the initial consonant
 by assimilation (cp. Skt. $p\bar{a}\text{-}b\bar{a}\text{-}mi$). We have further $vini\text{-}bu\text{-}a$
 (Non. p. 81), $ex\text{-}bu\text{-}res$ (quasi epotae Paul. 'Epit.' 79), where bu ap-
 pears to have arisen from po (Corssen 'Nachtr.' 176). *Im\text{-}bu\text{-}o*
 according to Fick i³. 654 for *im\text{-}bu\text{-}jo*, is a sort of causative to *im\text{-}bibo*:
 cp. ChSl. $po\text{-}j\acute{a}$ (inf. $poi\text{-}ti$) 'give to drink.' A similar weakening in
 $\Pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha$, the later form for the fountain $\Pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha$ (Lob. 'Proleg.' 419) men-
 tioned by Strabo viii. p. 356: for $\Pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha$ see also Aug. Mommsen 'Philol.'
 viii. 724. The etymology is as early as Strabo. — For the Aeolic forms
 $\pi\acute{\omega}\text{-}\nu\text{-}\omega$, etc. see Ahr. 'Aeol.' 131. — OIr. $\bar{o}l$ potus (Stokes 'Beitr.'
 viii. 371) must belong to No. 366: cp. 'Beitr.' viii. 8.

372. $\pi\alpha\iota\text{-}\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ (st. $\pi\alpha\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$) shepherd. — Skt. $p\bar{a}\text{-}j\acute{u}\text{-}s$ guardian, 281
 Zd. $p\bar{a}\text{-}yu$ protector, $paya$ pasture. — Lith. $p\bar{e}\text{-}m\acute{u}$
 (st. $p\bar{e}\text{-}men$) shepherd.

Pott W. i. 245, Benf. ii. 73, Sonne 'Ztschr.' xii. 278. — By the dis-
 covery of the Vedic $p\bar{a}\text{-}j\acute{u}\text{-}s$ light is thrown upon the origin of the
 words. $p\bar{a}\text{-}j\acute{u}\text{-}s$ is derived from the rt. $p\bar{a}$ 'protect,' and hence means
 'shepherd:' to this belongs $\pi\acute{\omega}\text{-}\nu$ for $\pi\acute{\omega}\text{-}j\acute{u}$ 'herd,' to which, as being a
 neuter, the passive meaning was attached. From $\pi\acute{\omega}\text{-}j\acute{u}$ came $\pi\alpha\iota\text{-}\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$
 as $\delta\alpha\upsilon\nu\text{-}\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ from $\delta\alpha\upsilon\nu$. The Lith. $p\bar{e}\text{-}m\acute{u}$ also points by its \bar{e} to an i
 once present in the stem-syllable.

373. $\pi\omega\eta\acute{\eta}$ 'penalty,' $\bar{a}\text{-}\pi\omega\alpha$ 'ransom,' which, along with Lat. *poena*,
pūnio, *paenitet*, I previously placed here, belong to the cases of labial-
 ism: p. 472.

374. πόλι-s town, dim. πολί-χ-νη, πολί-χ-νιο-ν, πολί-τη-s.
— Skt. *pur*, *purí-s*, *purī*, *púra-m* town, citadel.

Bopp 'Gl.,' etc. — The derivation from the rt. *πλε* (No. 366) conjectured also by Pott ii¹. 118, Benf. ii. 86 has been discussed above, p. 79. It is noteworthy that in Sanskrit as in Greek the notion of stronghold comes into prominence, and on account of this Pictet ii. 290 perhaps rightly compares the Lith. *pil-ì-s* 'castle.' — πολί-τη-s Dor. πολιά-τα-s, presumes a stem *πολια*. The stem *πολισσα* in *πολισσοῦχος* must be traced back to *πολι-κ-ια* with a double hypocoristic suffix, and the same *k*, aspirated by the influence of *ν* (cp. *λύχ-νο-s*), occurs also in *πολι-χ-νη* (cp. *κύλιξ* *κυλί-χ-νη*). — *πολι-ε-θρο-ν* (cp. *θύρ-ε-τρο-ν*) seems to go back to a verbal stem (cp. Hom. *πολί-ξ-ω* 'build'). — For the *τ* of the Homeric and Cyprian *πόλις* see p. 498.

375. πολύ-s (by-stem πολλο) much (comp. *πλε-ί-ων*, sup. *πλεῖ-στο-s*).

Skt. *purú-s* much (Ved. *pulu-s*), *pul-a-s* wide. OPers. *paru-s* much.

Lat. *plūs*, *plūr-imu-s*, *plēri-que*.

Goth. *filu* πολύs, *filu-sna* πλῆθος, ON. comp. *flei-ri*, sup. *flest-r*.

OIr. *il* multus, *ilar* multitudo, *lia* plus, plures.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 1, 361, Benf. ii. 85, Ebel 'Beitr.' i. 310. — For the Vedic form *pulu-s* cp. Max Müller 'Ztschr.' v. 141. The unmistakeable connexion with rt. *πλε* (No. 366) shows itself with especial clearness in the comparative forms developed from the shorter stem *πλε*: *πλε-ιον* = Lat. *ple-(i)os* (*pleores* = *plūres* Carm. Arv.) whence also *plērique*, while the old Latin forms *plous*, *plousima*, *plourime*, *plisima* presuppose the form *plo-(i)os* (Corssen 'Ztschr.' iii. 283, Leo Meyer 'Gött. Anz.' 1861, p. 967). — The *u* of the stem-syllable is a specifically Indic weakening from *a*, and *paru* the original form, *πολλο* = *πολφο* goes back to *par-va*. — For OIr. *il*, *lia* cp. 'Beitr.' viii. 4 (corrected *ibid.* 475). — *πλήν* (Dor. *πλάν*) 'except' is, according to Pott W. ii. 1, 365, identical with *πλέον*: it may be explained from a primitive form **prā-jans*, while *πλέον* goes back to **pra-jans*. Still there are difficulties remaining.

376. Root *пор* *ξ-πορ-ο-ν* gave, brought, *πέ-πρω-ται* is given, determined, *πορσύν-ω* afford, prepare.

Lat. *par-(t)-s*, *por-ti-o-(n)*, *par-a-re* (?), *por-tā-re*.

Ebel 'Ztschr.' v. 417. — The developement of the meaning of 282 μέρος (No. 467) shows that the fundamental idea of *pars* is 'share,'

'portion.'—I conjecture that the root appears also in the Lat. *par-i-o*, *pe-per-i*, which has its nearest analogue in the Lith. *per-iù* 'I brood,' 'hatch.' We have a similar transition of meaning in the OHG. *bir-u* 'pario' = Gk. *φίρω* (No. 411) and in the German word *trächtig* ('bearing,' 'pregnant') and there is a like relation between to 'bring' and to 'bring forth.' Hence *parentes* (on the aorist form of which see 'Studien' v. 440) are οἱ *παρόντες*. Thus we may without any violence place in this group also the poetic *πόρ-ι-s* 'juvencus' (κ 410). But *πόρ-τι-s*, *πόρ-τα-ξ* have the same meaning, words which Benf. i. 583 compares with the Skt. *pṛthu-ka-s*, *prathu-ka-s* 'young.' We may therefore assume derivation from the same root, by the aid of a dental consonant, and connect them with *παρθένος* 'maiden,' and somewhat more distantly with OHG. *far* 'taurus,' which Grimm 'Gesch.' 32 derives from *fars*, whence *fersa* 'cow.'—*Por-tā-re* is the frequentative to *πορεύω*. Corssen 'Beitr.' 78 connects with *portio*, *o-porte-t* for *ob-porte-t*, 'it falls to me as my share.'—A connexion with No. 356 is probable.—Fick indeed (i³. 664) connects this group with the Skt. *pī-par-mi* (No. 366) which besides meaning 'fill' also means 'deal out lavishly,' 'bestow.' But the notion of lavishness is wholly wanting to the Graeco-Latin words.

377. *πόσι-s* (for *πότι-s*) husband, *πότ-νια* the holy, *δεσ-πότη-s* master, *δέσ-ποινα* mistress, *δεσπόσυνο-s* lordly, *δεσπόζ-ω* am lord.

Skt. *pá-ti-s* lord, husband, *pá-t-nī* lady, wife, *pat-j-ē* am lord, share.

Lat. *com-po(t)-s*, *im-po(t)-s*, *pot-is* (*potis-sum*, *pos-sum*), *pot-ior*, *pot-ens*, *pot-es-tā(t)-s*, *pot-ī-ri*.—Osc. *pūtīad* possit.

Goth. *-fath-s* lord, *bráth-fath-s* bridegroom.

Lith. *pà-t-s* husband, male, self, *pa-lì* wife, *pàt* precisely, very, *vész-pat-s* lord, ruler.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. i. 238, Benf. ii. 75.—The root is *pa* (Skt. *pā*, *pāmī*) 'guard,' 'protect,' from which come also *pā-lā-s* 'ruler,' 'prince,' Bohem. *pá-n* 'lord;' and also Gk. *πά-ο-μαι* 'acquire,' *πί-πᾶ-μαι* 'possess.' The close connexion of the notions 'to be master' and 'to possess,' which recur in all words of this root, is shown by the proverbial use in Theocritus xv. 90 *πασάμενος ἐπίτασσε*. A noun *pá-ti-s* formed from this root is preserved in four families of speech. The Lat. *potis*, identical even in the *o*-sound, Corssen 'Ztschr.' iii. 279 regards as a comparative like *magis*, *satis*, because of *potis-sent* and similar forms; still in these forms *potis* might also be explained

as a plural (= *poteis*, cp. 'divi qui potes' Varro 'Ling. Lat.' v. § 58, Kvíčala 'Ber. d. Wiener Acad.' 1870 p. 141 ff.). Another form direct from the root is *Po-ta Vica*. *Pota* was the old name of *Victoria* (Preller 'Röm. Myth.' 609).—As in Skt. a secondary verbal-stem has been formed in Latin from which come *pot-ens* and *pot-iri*. For the Oscan forms see Corssen 'Ztschr.' xi. 356.—Of the compound *δεσπότης* and its feminine no less than five explanations have been given, which agree only in translating the second part of the two words by 'master,' 'mistress,' viz. (1) from the mythical *Dāsā-patnī*, traditionally 'mistress of the foes' (Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 464, Max Müller v. 151), but according to Benfey (ix. 110) and the 'Pet. Dict.' 'having the demons as rulers,' and hence strange to the meaning of the Greek words; (2) from Skt. *gās-pati-s* 'master of the family' (Benfey u. s.) with an inconceivable change of sound; (3) from Skt. *sādas-pati-s* (Sonne 'Ztschr.' x. 136) literally 'master of the seat' (*sādas*=*ἰδωρ*), i.e. 'of the settlement,' a sense which is not quite established for the word, besides the unusual loss of the initial syllable; (4) from the Skt. *dam-pati-s* 'master of the house' (Benfey u. s. 'Pet. Dict.'), so far as the sense goes, excellent, but without giving a sufficient explanation of the syllable *δεσ-*, which is far enough from *δέμο*, *δῶ*; (5) from the Zend *danku-paiti* 'master of a district' (Pott W. i. 240), so far satisfactory that Zd. *h* points to an older *s*, but not without difficulties arising from the meaning and derivation of the former word (Skt. *dās-ju* 'barbarian,' 'non-Aryan'). More in Van. 450.—For *δεσπότης* cp. 'Greek Verb' p. 239.

378. Root *πρᾶ πῖ-μ-πρη-μι* (inf. *πιμπρά-ναι*), *πρή-θ-ω* burn, *ἔ-πρη-σ-εν* (Hom.) blew, caused to stream, *πρη-δών* (st. *πρηδον*) burn, sore, *πρη-σ-τήρ* flash of lightning, storm, *πρη-μαίνω* blow fiercely.
ChSl. *pal-i-ti* burn, *pla-my* (gen. *pla-men-e*) flame, *pe-pel-ŭ* ashes, Lith. *pel-ena-i* (plur.) ashes.

Sonne 'Ztschr.' x. 104, Walter xii. 377.—Both consider *par* as the root, and the Skt. roots *prush*, *plush* 'burn' as expansions with a dulling of *a* to *u*. The special connexion of the ideas 'blow,' 'puff up,' 'cause to stream out,' and 'burn' is discussed in 'Studien' iv. 228 (cp. Buttm. 'Lexil.' i. 105).—Cp. Pott W. i. 249, Fick i². 665.

379. *πρᾶο-ς*, *πραῦ-ς* (Ion. *πρη-ῡ-ς*) gentle, *πρα-ό-τη(τ)-ς* gentleness, *πραῦ-ν-ω* make gentle.
Skt. rt. *prī* (*prī-ṇā-mi*) delight, gladden, rejoice, *prī-jā-s* dear, valued, friendly, *prī-ti-s* joy, *prē-*

mán love. — Zd. *frī* love, prize, *frī-a* loved, friend.

Goth. *frī-j-ōn* ἀγαπᾶν, *frījōnd-s* φίλος.

ChSl. *pri-ja-ti* providere, curare, *pri-ja-telī* friend.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. i. 580, Fick i². 680. — The well-established form *prā-o-s* is of importance for this combination. Before *v* the *i* has been entirely lost. — *prai* seems to come from *pri* as *aiθ* (No. 302) from root *idh*; and to this was added the suffix *v*, *praj-vs*. The length of the *a* is to be explained just as in the verbs in *-āw*, **prā-io-s* contracted *prā-o-s* is expanded by the suffix *-io*, like αἰμύλ-*io-s* from αἰμύλ-*o-s*. Otherwise Konr. Zacher 'De nom. in *aios*' p. 77; he goes back to the OHG. *frawjan* 'rejoice,' which is not so near in meaning.

380. *prō* before, *prō-τερο-s* prior, *prō-το-s* (Dor. *prātos*) primus, *prō-μο-s* the foremost, *prō-τανι-s* prince, headman, *πρ-ίν* sooner, before, *πρω-ῖ* early, *πρῶ-ην* (Dor. *πράν*) before that, the day before yesterday, *πρό-σσω*, *πρό-σω*, *πόρ-σω*, *πόρρω* forwards, forth, afar.

Skt. *pra-* (only a prefix) fore-, *pra-tha-mā-s* the first, 284 *pūr-va-s* the fore, *prā-tār* early in the morning.

— Zd. prefix *fra*, *frā* fore-, forth-.

Lat. *prōd*, *prō*, *prae*, *pr-ior*, *pris-tinu-s*, *pris-cu-s*, *prī-mu-s*, *pran-diu-m*, *porro*. — Umbr. Osc. *pru*, *pro*, Umbr. *pre* = *prae*, *per-ne* before, *per-naio* anterior, *-per* for (?), *pro-mo-m* primum (?).

Goth. *fru-ma* first, *frum-ist* in the first place; OHG. *fur-iro* prior, *fur-isto* princeps, *fruo* early.

ChSl. *pra-*, *pro-*, *prě-* fore, *prǎ-vyj* primus; Lith. *pra-* fore-, by-, *pro-* through, for, *pār-ma-s* primus, *pirm* (prepos.) before.

OIr. *ro*, *ru* (1) verbal particle, *ro char* amavit, (2) intensive particle *ro-már* nimis magnus; *re(n)* ante *rem-suidigud* praepositio, *riam* antea.

Bopp 'Vergl. Gr.' iii. 499, Pott i². 541, Benf. i. 137 f., Schleicher 'Ksl.' 119, 121, Grimm 'Gesch.' 397, Ebel 'Beitr.' i. 311. — Cp. παρά, πάρος No. 346, 347, between which words and many of those here quoted the line of demarcation vanishes. All conjectures as to their origin are extremely uncertain, but we may perhaps with Bopp regard the form *prā* (Zend *frā*) as an instrumental case, accompanied

by the Lat. *prō-d* as an ablative; for which *prae* (*pra-ī*) would supply the locative. — *πρίν* = *πρo-ιν* is for *πρo-ιον*, as the Lat. *pris-* = *prius* for *pro-ios* (cp. *πρeī* in *πρeī-γυς*, *πρeī-βυς* below p. 479) comparative, *pri-mu-s* superlative of *pro*. Corssen's differing view ('Beitr.' 434), according to which the locative form *prae* is the basis of all the Latin words, appears to me improbable, if only because it would do away with the identity of *pris-* and *πρίν*. — *πρᾶν-διu-m* 'properly that early in the day' (*die-s*). — *πρω-ί* (Brugman 'Stud.' iv. 154) probably for *πρo-ι*, closely connected with ChSl. *prā-vyj*, Skt. *pūr-va-s*. We may add *πρωι-ζό-s* used in a different sense, cp. p. 619. To the same stem *pra-va*, *pra-vi* we may refer *πρῶπα* 'the fore-part of the ship.' — Hom. *πρόσσω* (adv.) from the stem *πρo-ρjō* (suffix *rjō* = Skt. *tja* cp. *ἔπ-τιo-ς* No. 393), shortened to *πρό-σω*. For *πρό-σω*, *πρόρjω*, and Lat. *porro* cp. Siegmund 'Stud.' v. 158. The Doric *πρᾶνός*, *πρᾶνής*, Homer. *πρηνής* = Lat. *prō-nu-s*, and *πρῶν*, *πρῶν* 'headland,' 'height,' to which Fick i³. 663 adds Skt. *pravānā-s* 'slope,' as adjective 'inclined,' 'steep,' perhaps all go back to the latter form as their base. — Ir. *ro* (Z². 411, 864) reminds us of the Lat. *prō*, but has lost no consonant, for it aspirates; *re* had originally a final nasal (*re m-bās* 'ante mortem' Z². 641), like *co(n)*, *i(n)*: *rem-* (Z². 878) reminds us of the Lith. *pirm*, and is distinct from *riam* which contains a diphthong in the stem-syllable. Cp. 'Beitr.' viii. 13. [Moore's 'Windisch' § 251.]

381. *πρo-τί*, *πρό-s* to, beside, *πρόσ-θε(ν)* in front, before.

Skt. *prá-ti* (prefix and prep. with acc. and abl.)
towards, after, to, with.

ChSl. *pro-ti*, *proti-vq* ad, Lett. *pretti*.

Bopp 'Vgl. Gramm.' iii. 500, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 120, Pott. i². 268.—
On the three Homeric forms *πρoτί*, *πoτί*, *πρós* I. Bekker 'Hom. Bl.' i.
285 497. The nine different Greek forms of this preposition have been
carefully investigated by Baunack 'Stud.' x. 101 ff.: there are four
with *ρ*, viz. *πρoτί* (Homeric, perhaps also Aeolic), *πoπρί* (Cretan),
πeπρί (Pamphylian), *πρós* (Ionic and Attic), and five without *ρ*, viz.
πoτί (Homeric and Doric), *πóτ* (Doric), *πó* (Locrian, Laconian), *πός*
(Arcadian, Cyprian), *πoί* (Argive). The first four may be traced
back to the primitive form *práti*, retained in Skt., an evident expansion
of *pra* = *πρό*, just as easily as the last five to *páti* (OPers. *pátiy*,
Zd. *páti* 'to,' 'on,' 'at'). It is more difficult to answer the question
whether *práti* and *páti* are originally identical, as I have hitherto
maintained with confidence, or quite distinct, as is the view of Pott
i². 272, and recently of Baunack. There is not the slightest trace of
any difference in meaning. There is also no lack of examples of an
occasional loss of *ρ* in Greek, especially after a vowel and before a con-

sonant, as in ὕδαρ-ος, σκατ-ός (st. ὑδαρ-τ, σκαρ-τ), ἐγκαπῆ· ἐπι-καρπία, βράδιστοι· βραδυτάτοι, δασκάζει (i. e. *δασκάζει=δρασκάζει), ὑποφεύγει Hesych. Cp. also Lat. *pēdere* beside *πέρδειν*. Hence from the Cretan ποπί we can very well arrive at the ordinary Doric ποτί. Certainly in that case the Argive ποί was necessarily formed afterwards by epenthesis from ποτί. But the Iranic phonetic laws, as Baunack shows on p. 107, exclude the origination of *pati*, *paiti* from *prati* or **parti*. I quite see the weight that is to be attached to this argument for the separation. The common origin of *prati* and *pati* can be maintained only by assuming that even before Iranic branched off from Sanskrit two forms had been produced, and that the Greek rejection of the *p* was brought about quite independently of this on Greek soil.—Following Corssen's explanation ('Beitr.' 87) we may regard *port* (Umbr. *pur* 'Auf' and Kirchh. ii. 271) as the Latin representative of this preposition, occurring with different phonetic modifications in *pol-lingo*, *por-ricio*, *pos-sideo*, *pō-no* (for *posino*).

382. Root πτυ, πντ, πτύ-ω spit, πτύ-αλο-ν spittle, πῦτ-ίζ-ω spue, spirt, ψύττ-ω spue.

Skt. *shṭiv* or *shṭīu*, (*shṭīu-ā-mi*) spuo.

Lat. *spu-o*, *spu-tu-m*, *pītu-īta*.

Goth. *speiva* spuo, OHG. *spīwan*, *spīhan* [ModG. *speien*] spue.

Lith. *spīáu-j-u*, *spjáu-d-au* spue, ChSl. *plju-jā* πτύω.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. i. 1362, 1367, Benf. i. 416, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 33, Grassmann xi. 11, 17, 34. — I assume *spju* as the original form, preserved in Goth. and Lith. Thence we get in ChSl. by the rejection of the initial *s* and the insertion of the *l* common before *j* *plju*, in Latin by the loss of the *i* *spu*, in Skt. by the shifting of the organ and the weakening of the *u* into *v* *shṭiv*. — Gk. πτυ is therefore for σπju. For τ originating by assimilation in τ cp. χθής=(g)hjas (No. 193): the form ψύττω is due to metathesis and the rejection of the *j*. In σίαί· πύσαι Πάφιοι [cp. M. Schmidt, Hesych. s. v., 'Ztschr.' ix. 367] the labial has entirely disappeared. πῦτίζω is probably a frequentative for πτυ-τί-ζω (cp. πειρη-τί-ζω). *pītu-īta* seems to point to a verbal-stem *pītu* for *spūtu*, to be compared with *metu-o*, *futu-o*, unless indeed it is borrowed, so corresponding to a lost πτυτη (cp. on No. 370). — The root appears aspirated, perhaps by the influence of 286 the original *s*, in the Doric ἐπι-φθύ-σδ-ω *despuo*. Bugge 'Ztschr.' xx. 37 has a different view on the course of the phonetic changes.—Cp. p. 697.

383. Root πν πύ-θ-ω make to rot, πύ-θ-ο-μαι rot, πνθ-ε-

δών (st. -δον) rottenness, Πυθ-ώ, Πύθων (?), πύ-ο-ν pus, πύ-ω bring to a head.

Skt. *pūj* (*pūja-ti*) to grow foul, to stink, *pūja-s*, *pū-ti* pus, *pū-ti-s*, *pūti-ka-s* foul, stinking. — Zd. *pā* stink, *pāi-ti* rottenness.

Lat. *pūs*, *pus-cīnu-s*, *pur-u-lentu-s*, *put-eo*, *puter*, *put-i-du-s*.

Goth. *fūl-s* [Mod. Germ. *faul*] foul, ON. *fāi* putredo, *fāki* foetor.

Lith. *pū-v-ù* (inf. *pū-ti*) rot (intrans.), *pū-d-au* make to rot, *pū-lei* pus.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. i. 1117, Benf. i. 270. — On the *t* of *put-eo* 'Ztschr.' ii. 335, Grassmann 'Ztschr.' xii. 87, Corssen 'Beitr.' 79. On the *θ* in *πύθ-ω* see above p. 63.

384. *πύξ* with the fist, *πύκ-τη-s*, *πύγ-μαχ-ο-s* boxer, *πύγ-μή* fist, boxing. — Lat. *pug-nu-s*, *pug-il*, *pugillu-s*, *pugill-ari-s*. — OHG. *fū-st* fist. — ChSl. *pę-stŭ* pugnus.

Bopp 'Gl.' and Schleich. 'Ksl.' 120, Benf. ii. 78 compare Skt. *mushṭi* 'fist,' the *m* of which then must have originated in a *p*. But where are there analogies for this? The *st* in the northern languages, before which the guttural has been lost as in Goth. *vaurstv* *ἔργον* (No. 141), reminds us of the *st* of *maihstu-s* 'dung' (No. 175). — *πύξ* looks like an abbreviated dat. pl. It seems probable that *πύγ-ων* 'cubit' is of the same origin—perhaps with an amplifying suffix—from the similar use of *πύγμή* (whence *Πυγμαῖοι*) and *πύγών* as a measure (Pollux B 158). — As the fist is the firmly closed hand, it is natural to regard *πύκ-νό-s* (Hom. *πύκ-ι-νό-s*) as related. The *g* in the Latin would then be weakened from *k*. Fick 'Or. and Occ.' iii. 116 conjectures the like weakening for Skt. *pūg-a-s* 'band,' 'troop,' *pūñg-a-s* 'heap,' 'mass,' which are connected in meaning, while in ii². 154 he very boldly gives 'stick' Lat. *pungere* as the etymon.

385. *πῦρ* (st. *πῦρ*) fire, *πύρ-ε-τό-s* fever, *πύρ-ά* funeral pile, *πύρ-σό-s* brand, torch, *πύρρό-s* flame-coloured. — Armen. *hur*. — Umbr. *pir* fire, Lat. *prū-na* glowing coals. — OHG. *fuir*, *fūr* fire. — Bohem. *pýr* glowing embers.

Pott W. i. 1103; the connexion he supposes with *pū* 'purify' (cp. Lat. *pū-ru-s* *pu-tu-s* and Skt. *pā-vakás* adj. 'clear,' 'bright,' subst. 'fire') as Plut. 'Quaest. Rom.' 1 'τὸ πῦρ καθαίρει' shows, is not incon-

sistent with the Greek view. In the Vedic use of the root *pū*, especially as described by Grassmann, the meaning 'to make clear,' 'bright,' comes out so plainly, as to appear to confirm the relation of *pū* to *pūp*, the more so as the Goth. *fu-na* 'fire' points to the same root. — Certainly the form *πύρ* quoted from Simonides of Amorgos by Herodian (ii. 919) points in another direction. Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 272 ff. starts from *πυρσ-ός*, as he divides it, the root of which he compares with the Skt. *prush* 'besprinkle,' 'burn' (cp. No. 287 378), *plush* 'burn': according to him *πυρ* is a shorter form for *πυρς*(?), whence *πυρ-ι*, by epenthesis *πυ-ι-ρ(ι)*, and hence by contraction *πύρ*. The Lat. *prū-na* he traces back with Corssen ii². 1004 to *prus-na*. Even with this explanation much remains obscure. — On the Umbr. *pīr* see Aufr. and Kirchl. i. 36, ii. 112.

386. *πύρός*-s wheat, *πύρ-νο*-s wheaten bread, *πύρήν* kernel, stone of fruit. — AS. *fȳrs* lolium. — ChSl. *pyro* *δλυρα*, Bohem. *pýr* couch-grass, Lett. *púrji* wheat, Lith. *púrai* winter wheat.

Kuhn 'Weber's Ind. Studien' i. 356 f., Pott i¹. 109, Hehn 489. — The first assumes the idea of corn to be the fundamental one, tracing it back to the Skt. *push* 'to nourish.' This seems to me doubtful, because of *πύρήν*. — The Syracusan by-form *σπυρός* (Cramer 'Anecd.' i. p. 362, 18) would lead us in quite a different direction, if this were not quite isolated.

387. *πῶλο*-s foal, *πῶλ-ίο-ν* young foal, young. — Lat. *pullu*-s. — Goth. *fula(n)*, OHG. *fōlo* *πῶλος*.

Grimm 'Gesch.' 396, Pott i¹. 193, W. i. 247, where also (*Marci*) *por*, *pu-er*, *pu-erā*, *pu-su-s*, *pu-sa*, *pū-pu-s*, *pū-pa*, *pū-pilla*, *pu-tu-s*, 'boy,' Skt. *pó-ta-s*, *pó-ta-ka-s* 'young,' *pu-trá-s* 'son' are compared, to which Bücheler 'Rhein. Mus.' 1878 p. 15 adds the Oscan stem *pu-klo* 'child.' — Benfey ii. 73 adds also *πά-ι(δ)-s*, which he is certainly right in explaining, with O. Müller ad Fest. p. 399, as *παφ-ι(δ)-s*, on the ground of the forms *ποῦς*, *παῦς* occurring on vases (ΚΑΛΟΣ ΗΟ ΠΑΥΣ, ΚΑΛΕ ΗΕ ΠΑΥΣ 'Revue Archéol.' 1868 p. 347). Lat. *pu-er* is for an older *pov-er* (Schwabe 'De demin.' 40), and hence is equivalent to the Gk. *παφ-ι-s* in the stem-syllable. — Thus we should be brought to a root *pu* 'beget' (cp. *pūbes*), and the expanded *pu-sh* 'cause to grow up,' 'flourish' (Grassmann 'Wtb.' 836). Cp. Kuhn 'Weber's Ind. Studien' i. 357, Corssen 'Beitr.' 248. It is natural to compare with this, besides the Skt. *pu-trá-s* already mentioned, which from its active suffix must be taken as 'begetter,' 'continuer of the family,' also the Skt. *pūmans* 'man,' and the Lat. *pūm-ilu-s*,

pūmil-io 'mannikin,' 'dwarf,' though Bugge 'Stud.' iv. 351 ingeniously compares this with *πυγμαῖος* (No. 385). Like *πῶ-λο-ς* for *ποφ-λο-ς* (cp. *ζωμός* p. 626), *pō-mu-m* might be for *ποφ-mu-m* 'grown' (otherwise Corssen i². 342 [connecting it with No. 350 'the nourishing']), similarly *πο-ία*, *πόα* 'grass,' and perhaps *prae-pu-tiu-m* 'fore-growth.' Quite otherwise Fick i³. 678, 666. Cp. No. 351.

388. *σάλπ-ιγξ* (st. *σαλπ-ιγγ*) trumpet, *σαλπίζ-ω* sound the trumpet. — Lith. *szvilp-iù* whistle (vb.), *szvilp-iné* whistle (subst.) (Lett. *szvilp-a*) (?).

Pott. i¹. 226 'although in no other instance *sz* corresponds to a Gk. σ.' The suffix is individualizing, as in *φόρμυγξ*, *λαῖγξ*, *πλάστιγξ*: in the stem *σαλπ* has arisen from *σφαλπ*. Ought we to consider MHG. *swal*, *swalewe* 'cithara,' and *swal*, *swalewe* 'hirundo' as from the same root, or to refer them to Skt. *svar* 'sound' (*σῦριγξ* No. 519)? Schleicher regards the Lith. word, which only means 'to whistle with the mouth,' as onomatopoeic.

389. Root *σπαίρ-ω*, *ἀ-σπαίρ-ω* writhe, quiver. — Skt. *sphar*, *sphur* (*sphur-ā-mi*), kick away, jerk, quiver, tremble, wink, *sphur-a-s* trembling, *sphur-ana-m* a quivering, *vi-sphār-ita-m* a jerking. Zd. *spar* go, tread with the feet. — Lith. *spār-ti* strike out, hit, fell, *spar-dý-ti* strike out.

Pott W. ii. 1, 420, Benf. i. 577 f., Fick i³. 831, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iii. 324. — The fundamental meaning of the root is that of a 'quick movement.' But this develops itself mainly in two directions. In the first place it is applied to the feet. So in the verbs quoted above. We may add OHG. *spor* (n) [in the Cape Colony *spoor*] 'vestigium,' *spor-ôn* 'calcitrare,' *spur-n-an* 'calcitrare,' 'offendere,' 'impingere' (Engl. 'spurn'), *far-spīrn-an* 'to strike with the feet.' It is probable that the Lat. *spēr-no*, *a-spērnor* are connected with this development, either so that the fundamental meaning was 'strike away with the foot,' or that we may immediately connect it with the Germ. *sperr-en*, *absperren* ('bar off,' 'reject'). The latter view, that of Pott, perhaps deserves the preference because of Enn. 'Trag.' v. 244 (V.) 'ius atque aecum se a malis spernit procul.' Perhaps *spur-iu-s* (cp. *verstossen* 'repudiate') also belongs here. — In the second place the root is used of a motion of the hand. Here we may place *σπείρ-ω* (*σπερ-ῖ-ω*) 'sow,' and also OHG. *spriu* 'chaff,' and inasmuch as the usage had become fixed to denote a scattering motion, dispersing a mass into small parts, without any limitation to the hand as the original source of the motion, the OHG. *spruojan* 'sputter,' 'drizzle.' — The common nature

of these two ramifications of the meaning comes out most strikingly in Germ. *springen* 'spring,' and *sprengen* 'burst,' *besprengen* 'sprinkle' (OHG. *springan*) [cp. Eng. 'spring a mine,' etc.]. Both verbs, along with *spargo*, belong to a root expanded by *k*, *spark*, *sprak*, which met us before under No. 359 b. Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 407. Add *σπαράσσω* (st. *σπαράκ*) 'tear,' 'drag,' with an inserted *a*.—From the primary root *spar* by the softening of the *r* comes *pal*, preserved in *πα-σάλ-η* 'fine meal,' with the by-form *παι-πάλ-η*. After the loss of the initial *s* we have *pal*, preserved in *πάλ-η*, *poll-en*, *pul-vi-s* and *παλ-ύν-ω* 'strew,' 'bestrew.' This phase of the root may also occur in *pal-ea* 'chaff,' which recalls both OHG. *spriu* and Skt. *pāl-āla-s* 'straw,' *pal-āva-s* 'chaff.' Cf. Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 5. As *pal* also is expanded by a *k*, we have *pal-k*, *pal-a-k* preserved in *παλάσσω* akin in meaning to *παλ-ύν-ω*. Both verbs mean to 'besprinkle,' 'scatter,' the former also to 'strew.' We may add *παλεύειν* 'to decoy,' of birds which are lured. Corssen 'Beitr.' 308, 319 'Nachtr.' 296 mentions other Latin words, which we ought perhaps to add to the list, but with considerable deviations, discussed especially in i². 476, 526. Cp. No. 344 b.

389 b. *σπάρ-το-ν* rope, tow, *σπείρα* (for *σπερ-ια*) winding, cord, plait, *σπυρ-ί-ς* plaited basket.—Lat. *spor-ta* basket, *spor-tula*.—Lith. *sparta-s* band.

Fick i³. 832, Van. 1186.

390. *σπλήν* milt, *σπλάγχ-νο-ν* entrail.—Skt. *plīhān* (also *plīhā*, *plīhan*), Zd. *çpereza* milt.—Lat. *lien*.—ON. *lungu* (nom., stem *lungan*), OHG. *lungā*, *lungina* lung.—ChSl. *slez-ena*, Lith. *bluž-ni-s* milt.—Ir. *selg* f. milt.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott ii¹. 270, Benf. i. 602 f., Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 13, Stokes 'Ir. Gloss.' 1012, Bugge 'Stud.' iv. 340, Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' 289 i. 32.—The fundamental form is *splagh-an*: in Skt. and Lat. the *s* has fallen away and the stem-vowel is accidentally weakened in the same manner, in Slavonic and Irish the *p* has fallen out, while ChSl. *z* normally replaces the guttural, in Lith. after the loss of *s p* has been weakened into *b*, finally in the Teutonic languages of the three consonants only the third has remained.—In *σπλάγχ-νο-ν* the guttural of the root appears united with a prefixed nasal, the origin of which is the nasal suffix. The remarkable loss of *χ* in *σπλήν* for *σπλαχ-εν* finds an analogy in *ῆ* 'he said' (No. 611).—*Çpereza* (Fick i³. 253) Haug, 'Zand.-Pahlavi Glossary' p. 10, as Hübschmann was kind enough to point out.

391. *ὑπ-νο-ς* sleep.—Skt. *svāp-na-s* sleep, dream, rt.

svap sleep, caus. to send to sleep. — Zd. *qap* sleep, *qaf-na* (m.) sleep. — Lat. *som-nu-s*, *somniu-m*, *sop-or*, *sōp-i-o*. — ON. *svef-n* somnus, somnium [OEng. *swevene* dream, AS. *swefen*], OHG. *swebjan* sopire. — ChSl. *sŭ-nŭ* (for *sŭp-nŭ*) somnus, *sŭp-a-ti* dormire, Lith. *sápa-na-s* dream. — OIr. *suán*, Cymr. *hun* sleep (Z². 123); OIr. *no foad* he slept.

Bopp. 'Gl.,' Pott i¹. 259, Grimm 'Gesch.' 303, Bugge 'Ztschr.' xx. 40. — *ṡp-ro-s* for *σπ-ro-s* from the shorter form preserved in the Skt. participle *sup-tá-s* and elsewhere; while *sōp-or* is for *svōp-or*, *sōp-i-o*, like the Skt. causative *svāpa-jā-mi*, with addition of sound in the stem-syllable. — I have omitted Goth. *slēp-an*, OHG. *slāfan* etc. as not akin, because of the *l*: their analogues OHG. *slaph* 'slack,' etc. are quoted by Diefenbach ('Goth. Wtb.' ii. 268). So Lottner 'Ztschr.' xi. 164. — Zd. *qap* with normal change from *svap*. — *svap-na-s* is one of the not very numerous nouns which have been preserved completely and with unchanged meaning, without any other than the normal phonetic changes, in all the families of speech. — From *svap* nothing is preserved in the Irish verb but *fo-*, i.e. *va*: hence with reduplication the 3 pl. perf. *feotar* 'they slept: ' 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 207. Of an initial *sv* sometimes *s* is preserved in Irish, sometimes *f*, cp. Stokes 'Goid.²' p. 87.

392. *ὑπέρ*, *ὑπείρ* over, *ὑπερ-θεν* above, *ὑπερο-s* pestle, *ὑπέρα* upper rope. — Skt. *upá-ri* as adv. above, thereon, as prep. with loc., acc., gen. over. Zd. *upairi* as adv. above, as prep. with acc. and instrum. over. — Lat. *s-uper*. — Goth. *ufar* *ὑπέρ*, *ufaró* thereon.

Bopp 'Vergl. Gr.' iii. 493, Pott i². 677. — Evident as is the kinship of these words, there are many hitherto unsolved difficulties in the way. For instance, as to the form, the *s* of *super* is unexplained; for while the Greek rough breathing appears before every *υ* and therefore may be an unorganic addition, the Latin *s* cannot possibly be 'a purely phonetic prefix.' Hence Pott conjectures in this *s* a trace of a prefixed preposition, and in fact now the Goth. *us*, as the Graeco-Italic representative of which we are to learn to recognize *ex*. Are we to suppose that *super* and *sub*, from *es-uper*, *es-ub* stand for *ens-uper*, *ens-ub* (*ēvs*, *ēis*), so that in *in-super* we should have from a
290 later period in language the same prepositions compounded, which had formed an alliance long before? — From the side of the meaning, the interchange between 'above' and 'below' is surprising, for

ῥπ-ατο-ς (cp. *ὑψοῦ*, *ὑψηλός*, *ὑψιστος*) corresponds to the Lat. *sum-mu-s* for *sup-mu-s* (cp. *suprād*, *suprē-mu-s*) and to the OHG. *oba* over, whilst in form it belongs rather to *ὑπό* than to *ὑπέρ*, and conversely, while the Skt. *upa-mā-s* 'the highest' may be compared with Lat. *sum-mu-s*, the Skt. *upa-ra-s* 'the lower' cannot be connected in meaning with Zd. *upa-ra* 'the upper,' with *superu-s* and *ὑπέρα*. Attempts to solve this difficulty are made by Pott i². 645. In any case, *ὑπέρ* has originated from *ὑπερι* by metathesis of the *ι*. *ὑπερηφανέων* (Λ 694), *ὑπερήφανο-ς* (Pind. *ὑπεράφανο-ς*), *ὑπερηφάνεια* are to be explained by supposing that *ὑπερη* contains the adjective stem *ὑπερο* with epic lengthening (cp. *νεη-γενής*, *ελαφη-βόλο-ς* and 'Elucidations' p. 165, E. T.): *ὑπερήφανο-ς* means therefore 'appearing,' 'showing oneself excessive:' cp. *τηλε-φανής*, *λευκο-φανής*. For *ῥβρι-ς* p. 540. Probably OIr. *for*, Corn. *war*, *oar*, Cymr. *guor* 'super' for an original **u(p)ar* belong here (Ebel 'Beitr.' i. 309).

393. *ὑπό*, *ὑπαί* under. — Skt. *upa* as adv. thither, as prep. with acc. towards, with loc. to, on, with instr. with (in the sense of accompanying). Zd. *upa* with acc. to, with loc. over. — Lat. *sub*, *sub-ter*. — Goth. *uf* sub, OHG. *oba* super. — ChSl. *pa*, *po* secundum, post, *po-dŭ* sub, Lith. *pa*, *po* under, after, with.

Cp. No. 392. Weber 'Ind. Studien' ii. 406. — *upa* denotes in Skt. according to the 'Pet. Dict.' 'the opposite of *āpa* far, away,' and thence attains the meaning (among others) of 'under' in the sense of subjection, and 'over' in the sense of mounting. *sus* for *sub-s* in *sus-tuli*, *su(s)-r(i)g-o*, *sus-cip-io*, *sus-que de-que*, *su(s)-(vo)-rsu-marrives*, perhaps by reason of its *s* which seems to have an ablative force, at its meaning of 'from below,' i.e. 'towards a place above.' Pott i². 161: cp. Corssen ii². 580. — Also *ῥπ-τιο-ς*, equivalent to *sup-inu-s* 'upturned,' 'open,' 'bent back,' is akin. The suffix is the same as in the Skt. *upa-tja-s* 'lying underneath' (cp. *περι-σός* No. 359, *πρό-σσω* No. 380). — If Ir. *for* is for **u(p)ar*, *upa* occurs also in OIr. *fo*, Cymr. *guo* sub (Ebel. 'Beitr.' i. 309).

B

A Greek *β* corresponds only in a very few cases to an Indo-Germanic *b*, which in those cases is represented in Sanskrit, Latin, and Slavo-Lithuanian by *b*. No example is found of the Teutonic *p* which was to have been expected. (Cp. Grassmann 'Ztschr.' xii. 122.)

394. *βάρβαρος* strange, foreign, *βαρβαρίζω* speak or behave like a foreigner.—Skt. *barbará-s* stuttering, curly, foreign.—Lat. *balbu-s*, *balbu-ti-o*.

291 The fact that the Skt. *barbara-s* ought, as it appeared, to be written with a *v* was formerly an objection to the comparison of the word instituted by Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 381 ff. But acc. to the 'Pet. Dict.' v. 1644 the *b* is the better reading. In the plural the Sanskrit word serves to denote 'non-Aryan nations.'—*βάρβαροι* occurs first in *βαρβαρόφωνοι* B 867. Pictet 'Ztschr.' v. 330, 'Orig.' i. 57 compares *βορβορίζω* 'rumble' (of noises in the bowels), the Persian *barbar* 'chattering,' 'foolish,' and Irish analoga. Without doubt then the Greeks named the Barbarians from their strange-sounding language.

395. *βληχή* bleating, *βληχά-s* a bleating sheep, *βληχάομαι* bleat.—Lat. *bāla-re*, *bālā-tu-s*.—OHG. *blā-z-u* bleat.—ChSl. *blě-ja-ti*, *ble-k-a-ti*, *ble-k-ot-a-ti* balare.

Pott W. i. 265, Benf. ii. 70, Schleicher 'Ksl.' 122.—The root is in the syllable *blā*, softened into *bālā*, lengthened by different consonants. The *χ* seems to have arisen from the inchoative *σκ*, cp. p. 710.

395 b. *βολβός* onion, bulb.—Lat. *bulbu-s*, *bulb-ōsu-s*, *bulb-atio*, *bulb-ulus*.—Lett. *bumbul-s* knob.

Benf. ii. 304 with much that has no connexion.—That the Lat. *bulbu-s* is not borrowed seems to me probable on account of its derivatives.

395 c. *βομβυλί-s* πομφόλυξ (Hes.) i. e. bubble.—Lat. *bullā*, *bullire*, *bullare*, *bullatu-s*.—Lith. *bumbul-s* bubble.

Pott i¹. 213.

396. *βραχύ-s* short (compar. *βράσσων*), *βράχε-a* shallows, *βραχύ-τη(τ)-s* shortness, *βραχύ-ν-ω* shorten.
Lat. *brev-i-s*, *brevi-a* shallows, *brevi-tā(t)-s*.

Pott W. iii. 942, Benf. ii. 71.—On the comparative *βράσσων* (κ 226), to which the corresponding superlative *βράχιστο-s* occurs in Pindar, and its older form *βραχίων* perhaps preserved in *βραχίων* 'upper arm' (Pollux B 138 *ὅτι ἐστὶ τοῦ πήχεως βραχύτερος*), cp. 'Ind. lect. Kil. aest.' a. 1857 p. iv. and p. 672.—*brevi-s*: *βραχυν=levi-s*: *ελαχυν* (No. 168). The comparison of the ChSl. *brǫz-ǫ* *ταχύs* is open to objection, because the meaning does not agree. All the same *brǫz-*

ēja (f.) 'shallows' is remarkably like *βράχ-εα brevia* in sound. — Fick i³. 684, Ascoli 'Ztschr.' xvii. 269 refer the Gk. and Lat. word to a root *bargh* which occurs in Skt. as *barh* (also *varh*) with the meaning 'tear out,' 'tear off.' In this case then *βραχύ-s* like *curtu-s* would properly mean 'torn off.'

397. *βύ-α-s*, *βύ-ζα* screech-owl. — Lat. *bū-bō(n)*. — OHG. *ūwo bubo*. — Lith. *gva* screech-owl.

Benf. ii. 62, Förstem. 'Ztschr.' iii. 50. — *βύζα* is most likely for *βυ-ια*, hence *Βύζα-s* (st. *Βυζα-ντ=βυζα-φεντ*) and *Βυζάντ-ιο-ν=Uhlenhorst* (near Hamburg) (?). Cp. Fick ii³. 177.

Φ

Greek *φ* corresponds to Indo-Germanic and Sanskrit *bh*, ²⁹² Zend *b*, Latin *f* and (in the middle of a word) *b*, Teutonic, Slavo-Lithuanian and Old-Irish *b*.

398. Root *άλφ* aor. *ἦλφ-ο-ν* I won, *άλφ-άν-ω* win, *άλφεσί-βοιαι* winning oxen, *άλφη-μα* wages.

Skt. rt. *rabh* seize, take (later form *labh*), *ā-rabh* take hold of, undertake, fashion, *ṛbhú-s* clever, apt, artist, fashioner, *ṛbhu-mát* apt.

Lat. *lab-ōs* (*lab-or*), *labōrio-su-s*, *labōro*.

Goth. *arb-aith-s* κόπος, OHG. *arabeit* (Germ. *Arbeit*),

Goth. *arbaid-jan* κοπιᾶν.

Bohem. *rob-i-ti* laborare, ChSl. *rab-ŭ* (*rob-ŭ*) servus, *rab-ota* work.

The original form of the root is *arbh*. The meaning 'lay hold of,' 'operate,' 'work' appears clearly throughout. I was led to connect the above words by the use given in the 'Pet. Dict.' i. 1058 of the Skt. *ṛbhú*, which is there referred to the root *rabh* (cp. too Miklosich 'Radices' s. v. *rabū*; otherwise Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 109). On the connexion of the Teutonic, Latin, and Slavonic words see Grimm 'Wörterb.' s. v. 'Arbeit,' and Schleicher 'Ksl.' 131. Cp. Pott W. v. 355, Pictet ii. 397. A connexion of the Indian *Ṛbhus* with the Teutonic *Elfs* — OHG. *alp*. gen. *alb-es*, AS. *ālf* — elaborately maintained by Kuhn (vide supra) is possible even if we accept this etymology. — Homer's ἀνέρες ἀλφησται, in spite of K. Fr. Hermann's

ingenious derivation from ἀλφι and the root ἐθ, which is also supported by Döderlein ('Gloss.' p. 28), are no 'eaters of meals,' as I. Bekker 'Hom. Bl.' i. 113 properly translates the word supposing that to be its derivation, but are to be taken in the sense in which the old grammarians took the words — that of 'earners,' 'workers' (cp. ὀρχη-σ-τή-ς), 'qui victum quaerunt, qui quaestum faciunt,' the laborious side of the earning process being considered, and contrasted with the easy life of the Gods' (Bekker p. 112). With this agrees Aesch. 'Sept.' 770, where the ἀνδρῶν ἀλφηστῶν ἄλβος ἄγαν παχυθεῖς becomes nothing less than comic if we understand it of 'bread or meal eating men.' — Fick i³. 192 differs in many respects. For the forms beginning with *l* (λάφ-υρο-ν, λαμβ-άνω) cp. p. 531.

399. ἀλφός-ς a white rash. — Lat. *albu-s*, Umbr. *alfu*, Sabine *alpu-s*. — OHG. *elb-iz* swan, *Elba* (the river Elbe).

Pott i¹. 112, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 109, who is doubtless right in comparing also ἀλφι, ἀλφι-το-ν 'barley meal,' for ἀλφι: ἀλφός-ς = Goth. *hwait-i* 'wheat,' *hveit-s* 'white.' — Corssen 'Ztschr.' iii. 263 connects the Oscan town-name *Alafā-terna*, another name of Nuceria. Nearer still are *Alba Longa* and *Albunea*. Paul. 'Epit.' 4 'Albula Tiberis fluvius dictus ab albo colore,' so that *Alba*, Ἀλφείως (cp. 293 Πηνειός No. 362) and *Elbe* are perhaps one and the same. By the same author the *Alpes* too were explained to be so called 'a candore nivium.' Others it is true prefer the derivation from a Keltic word, for 'Gallorum lingua alti montes Alpes vocantur' Serv. ad 'Georg.' iii. 474. Even *Albis* and *Alba* are derived by Mahn ('Etymol. Unters.' Berl. 1859 p. 19) from the same source; to the former the meaning 'mountain-stream' is given, to the latter that of 'mountain,' with but small probability in both cases. — As an adj. we find ἀλφός in Hesych. — ἀλφούς· λευκοίς, — as a substantive it denotes the same skin disease which is elsewhere called λευκή or λεύκη, Lat. *vittiligo*. The Lat. *albūgo* is similar. — The by-form ἀλωφός-ς (ἀλωφούς· λευκοίς Hesych.) is discussed at p. 729. — In Old Irish *Alba*, *Alpa* (gen. *Alban*) denotes Scotland.

400. ἀμφί about, ἀμφίς on both sides, διαμφίδιο-ς (Aesch.) different. — Skt. *abhí* as adv. hither, near, as prep. with acc. to, against, round, over, *abhí-tas* on both sides, about, round about. OPers. *abish* at hand. Zend *aibi*, *aivi* as adv. over, moreover, as prep. with dat. or loc. over. — Lat. *amb-*, *am-*, *an-*, Umbr. *am-*, *an-*, *amp-r*, Osc. *amf-r*. — OS.

umbi, OHG. *umpi*.—ChSl. *obŭ* trans, per, *o* circa.
—OGallic *ambi*, Cymr. *am*, OIr. *imb-*, *imm* circum
(Z². 64).

Bopp 'Vgl. Gr.' iii. 490, Schleicher 'Ksl.' 124, Pott i². 579, Fick i³. 491.—The meaning of the Skt. *abhi* is considerably at variance with the rest, but the 'Pet. Dict.' i. 328 rightly gives it, on the ground of the word *abhūas*, the very same primary meaning assumed by Buttmann in the 'Lexilogus' (ii. 217 ff.) for *ἀμφί* and *ἀμφίς*. We may therefore regard the connexion with *ἀμφω* as proved. Cp. Lottner 'Ztschr.' vii. 21, Hübschmann 'Zur Casuslehre' 308. The *s* in *ἀμφίς* may be compared with that in *ἐξ ex*, *ἄψ abs*, Lat. *sus-* for *subs-*, etc. (see above p. 37). The Umbr. *amp-r*, *amb-r*, Osc. *amf-r*, Bréal 'Tables Engubines' p. 183 explains, perhaps rightly, as a kind of comparative formation, like *in-ter*. For Mommsen's derivation, drawn ('Unterit. D.' p. 249) from a different source, is artificial. Zeys 'Ztschr.' xvi. 381 tries to identify this Old Italian *amfr-* with the first part of the Latin *anfr-actu-s*, according to which it belongs not to *frangere* but to *agere*. The close proximity of its use to the meaning of *amb-āge-s* seems to me to prove this. [But cp. Corssen i³. 397].—Corssen 'Beitr.' 316 regards *annu-s* as a weakening of *am-nu-s*, whence *soll-emni-s* 'quod omnibus annis praestari debet' Fest. 298, accordingly originally 'circle,' whence again *annu-lu-s*. Even *omni-s* may have something to do with the root.

401. *ἀμφω*, *ἀμφό-τεροι* both.—Skt. *ubhāu* (st. *ubha*) both, *ubhā-ja-s* on both sides. Zd. *uba* both.—Lat. *ambō*.—Goth. *bai* (neut. *ba*), *bajóths* both, OHG. *beidē*.—ChSl. *oba* ambo, Lith. *abù* both, *abe-jó-ju* I doubt.

Bopp 'Gl.', Pott W. v. 281, Schleicher 'Ksl.' 124. Cp. No. 400.—The 'Pet. Dict.' i. 993 derives the Skt. *ubhāu* from the rt. *ubh* (*ubh-ā-mi*, *umbh-ā-mi*), for which they quote the meaning 'hold together' and—when compounded with prepositions—'bind.' Since however *ubhāu* cannot be separated from the words compared here, and since *a* never arises from *u*, the only way of defending the comparison is to suppose the *u* of the above root to be a dulled *am*. In this way we should arrive at *ambh* as the common root for all ²⁹⁴ these words. But cp. Grassmann 'Wtb.' 260.—On the Skt. *u* from *am* see Kuhn 'Beiträge' i. 355 ff., Fick i³. 491.

402. *νέφ-ος*, *νέφ-έλη* cloud, *ξυν-νέ-νοφ-ε* it is cloudy, *νέφ-ό-ω* make cloudy.—Skt. *nābh-as* mist, vapour, cloud, atmosphere, *nabhas-jā-s* misty.—Lat. *nūb-*

ē-s, *nūb-ilu-s*, *neb-ula*.—ON. *nifl-heim-r*, OHG. *nēb-al*.—ChSl. *neb-o* (st. *neb-es*) *caelum*, Lith. *debes-i-s* *cloud*.—OIr. *nél*, Cymr. *niwl* *cloud*, *mist*.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott i¹. 107, 199, Grimm 'Gesch.' 408, Benf. ii. 54, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 124. — The verb-stem *νεφ* is given by Hesych. also in the simple perf. *νέοφε· νεφέωται* (Lobeck 'Rhem.' 39). In *nūbes* we get *ū* instead of *e*: it is explained by Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' i. 179 to be the effect of the nasal that appears in *nimbu-s* (for *nembu-s*). — Lith. *d* for *n* as in *devyni* 'nine.' — Bugge 'Stud.' iv. 337 sees in the Skt. *nīh-ārā-s* 'mist,' which he derives from **nabh-āra-s* a complete analogy to *νεφ-ελη*, *neb-ula*, OHG. *nēb-al*. — The Ir. *nél* (Z². 20) is for **nebl-*, like *dér* 'tear' for **decr-* (No. 10), *fēn* 'carriage' for **fegn-* (No. 169). — All combinations as to the root are unsafe. Grassmann's rt. *nabh* 'burst' (trans.) does not at all suit *νέοφε*. Fick i³. 648 assumes 'to hide' as the primary meaning, and thence arrives also at *nūbere*, properly 'to veil one's self.'

403. *ὀμφ-αλό-s* *navel*, *boss of a shield*. — Skt. *nābh-i-s* *navel*, *nave* (of a wheel), *relationship*, *nābhī-la-m* *pudenda*, *pit of the navel*. — Lat. *umbil-icu-s*. — OHG. *nab-a* *nave*, *nabuló* *navel*. — OPr. *nabis* *nave*, *navel*, Lith. *bám̃ba* *navel*. — OIr. *imblíu* *navel*.

Bopp. 'Gl.' Pott W. iii. 108, Benf. i. 118, Stokes, 'Corm. Gl. Transl.' p. 93. — We must assume a Graeco-Italic *ombhalo-s*, from which arose in time *ὀμφαλό-s*, the Lat. **umbilu-s*, and with a new suffix *umbil-icu-s* (cp. *lect-ica*). By it stands *umbō(n)* 'boss of a shield,' which in meaning agrees still more closely with *ὀμφαλό-s* and *umbilicus* than with the Gk. *ἄμβων* 'the border of a shield,' 'foot of a goblet,' (*ἄμβη* whence *ἄμβιξ* 'goblet'). — It is possible that *ὀμφαξ* too is a sort of diminutive from the shorter *ὀμφο*. For it denotes also the 'nipple,' then any hard part, and so hard 'unripe grapes.' — While then we are brought for Gk. and Lat. to a rt. *ambh*, the corresponding words in the other languages come from a rt. *nabh*. In Skt. we find the rt. *nabh* (*nabhē*) with the meaning 'burst,' 'tear.' Cp. Skt. *nābh* 'mouth' (of a river) 'Pet. Dict.,' *nabh-jā-m* 'nave,' and Joh. Schmidt 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 270. The word 'navel' seems therefore originally to have had the meaning a 'tear,' 'break,' which seems to have given rise to the other meanings. — The Ir. *imblíu* has in the acc. *immlind* ('Gild. Lor. Gl.' 205).

404. *ὀρφ-ανό-s* *orphaned*, *ὀρφαν-ία* *orbitas*, *ὀρφανίζ-ω* *make an orphan*, *ὀρφανιστή-s* *one who takes*

care of orphans, ὀρφανεύ-ω take care of orphans.
 — Armen. *orb* orphan. — Lat. *orb-u-s*, *orbare*, *orbificare*, *orbi-tā(t)-s*, *or-bi-tūdo*, *Orb-ōna*. — OHG. *arb-ja* the heir (Germ. *der Erbe*), *arbi* inheritance (Germ. *das Erbe*) (?).

Pott i¹. 112, 259, Hübschmann 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 19, Fick i². 498, 295 — Bopp 'Gl.' compares the Skt. *ārbha-s*, *arbh-akā-s* 'proles,' 'natus' (the former as an adj. acc. to the 'Pet. Dict.' 'small,' 'insignificant,' as a subst. 'boy'—similarly *arbhakā-s*). In that case *orbare*, 'bereave of children,' and then 'bereave' generally, must have really meant 'to child' with a privative meaning like 'behead' for 'to deprive of the head' (Germ. *köpfen*). In all these words though the prominent idea is 'bereft of parents.' We should have to assume that the consciousness of the origin was lost very early. — The shorter form ὀρφός-*s* is preserved in ὀρφο-βό-της (*ὀρφανῶν ἐπίτροπος* Hesych.), ὀρφώνδης-*s*. — J. Grimm places the Teutonic words ('Wörterb.' s. v. 'Arbeit') with those discussed at No. 398, so too Mikl. 'Lex.' p. 767. — The only point that we can be sure of is the correspondence of the Greek and Latin words. — On the latter (with the proper name *Orf-iu-s*) see Corssen i². 147. — Related to the Teutonic words are: the OIr. *arba*, *orpe* n. 'hereditas,' *com-arpi* 'coheredes' *no-m-ērpimm* 'committo me' (Z². 229, 60). Cp. Stokes 'Ir. Gl.' p. 163, Ebel 'Beitr.' ii. 173.

405. ὀφρύ-*s* eyebrow. — Skt. *bhrū*, *-bhrūva* brow. — OHG. *brāwa*, NHG. *Braue* brow. — ChSl. *brǫvŭ* (*o-brǫvŭ*) ὀφρύς-*s*. — Ir. *brai* the brows.

Bopp. 'Gl.', Pott i¹. 111, Benf. i. 100, Grimm 'Gesch.' 399, Miklos. 'Lex.' — As in the ChSl. *obrǫvŭ* and in the Macedonian ἀβροῦρες (Hesych. ὀφρῦς) the stem of which ἀβροῦ resembles the Zd. *brvat* (fem.), the vowel is prothetic. So too Lobeck ('Elem.' i. 84), who in this case deigns to consider barbarian tongues, and even agrees with Benfey in the comparison of the Lat. *fron(t)-s*, making it equivalent to ὀφρῦς-*s*. **Oθρυ-s* with the aspirate transformed = ὀφρύ-*s*, which like ὀφρῖνη (cp. ὀφρῦς) often denotes the 'edge of a mountain' (cp. OIr. *brá* 'edge'). — Kuhn 'Beitr.' i. 357 gives a conjecture on the origin of these forms. Cp. Sonne 'Ztschr.' xii. 296. — Besides *brai*, probably a nom. plur. of the stern *bhrū*, we have in Irish the gen. dual: *cechtar a dá brúad* 'each of his two eye-brows,' evidently belonging to Zd. *brvat*.

406. ῥοφ-έ-ω (Ion. ῥυφ-έ-ω), ῥοφ-άν-ω sup up, ῥόμ-μα, ῥόφ-η-μα broth, ῥοπ-τό-*s* supped up.

Lat. *sorb-e-o*, *sorp-tu-s*, *sorb-i-tio(n)*, *sorb-ili-s*, *sorb-illare*.

Lith. *sreb-i-ù*, *surb-i-ù* sup up, *sriub-à* broth, *surb-èli-s* leech.

Ir. *sруб muicci* a swine's snout.

ii'. 196, Benf. ii. 12, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 18, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii.

336. Here belongs in any case the remarkable *ῥουβ-ορό-ς* *ῥόφημα* Hesych., which Fick 'Ztschr.' xxii. 214 with Mor. Schmidt takes to be Macedonian. — Mikl. 'Lex.' 876 gives representatives of this root in later Slavonic languages.

406 b. Root *ῥφ ῥφ-ή*, *ῥφ-ος* web, *ῥφά-ω*, *ῥφαίν-ω* weave.

Skt. *vabh* in *ūrṇa-vābhi-s* spider (wool-weaver).

OHG. *wēb-an* weave, *waba* web, bee's cell.

Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' iv. 274, where with Döderlein 'Gloss.' 169 *ῥ-μνο-ς* (for *ῥφ-μνο-ς*) is assigned to this root; on this supposition we get a striking explanation of the word, i.e. that it means a 'web' (*ἀοιδῆς ῥμνος* Od.). But cp. Brugman 'Stud.' ix. 256. — *ῥφ* : *vabh* = *ῥπ* : *swap* (No. 391). A remnant of the form *vabh*, the Greek *φαφ*, is retained in *ῥφ-ήφ-α-σ-μαι*. Aufrecht establishes thoroughly the application of the idea of weaving to creations of the mind. — At p. 60 we discussed the origin of the rt. *vabh* from *va*. Cp. Pott W. i. 611, Fick i³. 769.

407. Root *φα φη-μί*, *φά-σκ-ω* say, *φά-τι-ς*, *φή-μη* report, *φω-νή* voice. — Root *φαν φαίν-ω* shine, show, *φαν-ε-ρό-ς* clear, *φαν-ή* torch, *φά-σι-ς*, *φά-σ-μα* appearance. — Root *φαφ φά-ε* (Hom.) appeared, *ῥπό-φαν-σι-ς* glimmer, clearing, *φά-ος*, *φαῦ-ος*, *φῶς* (*φω-τ*), *φέγγ-ος* light, *φα-έ-θ-ω* shine, *φαε-ίν-ω*, *φαει-νό-ς* (Aeol. *φάεν-νο-ς*) shining, *φᾶ-νό-ς* clear, *πι-φαύ-σκ-ω* show.

Skt. rt. *bhā* (*bhā-mi*) shine, appear, *bhā-ma-s*, *bhā-nú-s* brightness, light, *bhās* shine, glare, *bhāsh* speak, *bhaṇ* speak, *bhan* (*bhān-ā-mi*) Ved. resound. — Zd. *bā-nu* beam, *bā-ma* splendour.

Lat. *fā-ri*, *fā-ma*, *fā-tu-m*, *fā-s*, *fā-bu-la*, *fa-t-eo-r*, *prae-fi-ca* (?). — *fa-c-ie-s*, *fac-ē-tu-s*. — *fa-v-illa*.

ChSl. *ba-ja-ti* fabulari, *o-ba-v-a-ti* incantare, *o-bav-iti* δεικνύναι, ἐκφαίνειν, *ba-s-n-ŭ* fabula, *bē-lŭ* white.

OIr. *bá-n* albus (Z². 776).

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. i. 253, 258, Benf. ii. 101 ff., Schleich. 'Ksl.' 123, Corssen i². 140. — The far branching root has by means of different root-determinatives developed five secondary roots: *bha-n*, *bha-s* (*bhās*, *bhāsh*), *bha-v*, *bha-k* and *bha-t*. — Without doubt *φω-νή* too belongs to the primary form *bha*; it is related to the rt. *φα* as *σμός-νη* is to *σμα*, *γρώ-νη* to *γρα* (Lob. 'Rhem.' 269). In Hesychius's gloss *ἄ-φε-ο-ς* *ἄφωνος*, which M. Schmidt wants to change without any reason, the same root seems to occur in a similar use in a shorter noun-form. We may add Armen. *ban* 'word:' cp. Hübschmann 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 19. — To the secondary rt. *bha-n* belongs *φαίν-ω*, which, as *ἐ-φάν-η-ν*, *παμ-φαν-όων*, *παμ-φαίνω* show, is not contracted from *φαείνω* (Dietrich 'Ztschr.' x. 441). Cp. above p. 64. — Whether the rt. *bha-s*, which is plentifully represented in Skt., can be assumed for Gk. at all is doubtful. In any case *φά-ος* has nothing to do with the Skt. *bhās-as* 'brightness,' since the Aeolic *φαῖος*, Pamphylian *φάβος* (Ahr. 'Aeol.' 36, 'Dor.' 44), does not allow of this. With more probability Autenrieth on Nägelsb. 'Notes to the Iliad' p. 316 refers to a rt. *φας* the intensive *παι-φάσσω*, in the *σσ* of which however there may perhaps be a *κ* concealed (Fritzsche 'Stud.' vi. 308). — The rt. *bha-v* is to be seen most clearly in the above-mentioned *φαῖ-ος*, in *πι-φαῖ-σ-κω* and in *φαν-σί-μ-β-ρο-το-ς* (Pindar, cp. Clemm 'Compos.' 40). That the diminutive *fav-illa* belongs to it is rendered probable, in spite of Corssen's doubts (i². 141), by the fact that the word, as distinguished from *cinis*, means the 'still glowing ashes,' and also that *φαιός* 'gray' arrived at its ordinary meaning from that of 'glittering.' The derivation from the rt. *bhag* adopted by Corssen fails because there 297 is absolutely no trace of the meaning 'to warm' in this root (cp. on No. 164). It is possible that *faveo* also and *fau-s-t-us* (for *fav-os-tu-s*) arose from an early popular application of the word to the region of mind; this finds an analogy in the poetical use of *φῶς lumen* in the meaning of *salus* 'deliverance.' To *φας* belongs too the *-φων*, *-φωων*, and *-φῶν* so frequent in proper names, for Priscian (i. p. 17 H.) read *Δημοφάφων* 'in tripod vetustissimo,' and probably *φά-ε*, *φα-έ-θω*, *φα-ε-σί-μ-β-ρο-το-ς*, the *ε* of which can hardly have been together from the first. — The Lat. words *fac-ie-s*, *fac-ē-tu-s* point to a root expanded by *k*. Whether *fax* does is doubtful (Fick i². 685). Cp. above p. 61. — A number of words with a *λ*: *φαλ-ηρό-ς* 'shining,' *φαλ-ηρι-όωντ-α* (*κύματα* N 799, waves 'with white heads'), *φάλ-αρα* 'ornament of a helmet,' *φάλ-ιός* 'white,' *φάλ-ακρό-ς* 'bald-headed,' look as if they were formed from a root expanded by *λ*, to which Lith. *bāl-ta-s* 'white,' also belongs (cp. *στα-λ* from *στα*). Still the *λ* might also belong to the suffix, as in the Skt. *bhāla-m* 'brow,' 'brightness,' in which case a stem-noun *φάλός*, adduced by grammarians, would be their basis. — As to the

meanings the Skt. words prove that here *give light* and *speak* were originally denoted by one and the same word, and that the differentiation of the two developed only gradually and without being connected with definite secondary sounds. Poets at all times use *φαίνω*, and similar verbs, of speech e.g. Soph. 'Antig.' 621 κλεινὸν ἔπος πέφανται. — OIr. *do-ad-bat* 'demonstrat,' *do-ad-badar* 'demonstratur,' *taid-bsiu* 'demonstratio' (Z². 881), from which Zimmer 'Ztschr.' xxiv. 209 deduces an Ir. rt. *bat* = Lat. *fat*, comparing *taid-bsiu* with Lat. *confessio*, are omitted from the text, because perhaps the original initial letter was a *v*. For in Z². 881 to the same root is assigned the future *co n-dár-bais* (compounded with *do-ar*), 'ut demonstres' (cp. the fut. *don-aibset*, for *-aid-bset*, gl. to 'ostentare' Ml. 20^a), but this cannot be separated from the pret. pass. *domm-ár-fas* 'it appeared to me.' We must take into account also the cognate Ir. rt. *fen*, *ben* in *as-fenimm* 'testificor' (Z². 429), *tais-fenim*, *-benim* 'demonstro.'

408. Root *φαρ φαγ-εῖν* eat, *φαγ-ᾶ-s* glutton, *φαγ-όν-ες* teeth (Hesych.). — Skt. *bhāg* (*bhājā-mi*) divide, assign, get one's share, enjoy, *bhaksh* enjoy, devour. — Zd. *baz* dispense, *bagh-a-s* piece, *bakhsh* obtain.

Bopp. 'Gl.' Pott W. ii. 2, 443, iii. 503, Benf. i. 222, Fick i³. 686. — The Gk. *φαγ* agrees more closely in its meaning with the expanded rt. *bhaksh*. But even the rt. *bhāg* approximates in meaning to *φαγεῖν* (cp. p. 114); the Ved. *pitu-bhāj* means 'enjoying food' (cp. Pott ii². 597) and *bhak-tā-m* 'food.' Conversely in *δωροφάγοι* (*Βασιλῆς* Hes. 'Opp.' 39, etc.) and in the Locrian *παματοφαγεῖσται* ('Stud.' ii. 449) 'become confiscated,' a trace of the wider meaning perhaps survives. For *φηγός* cp. No. 160. I do not see how to reconcile *φακό-s* 'lentil' with our root; *fā-ba* (for *fag-va*) = Ch.Sl. *bo-bŭ* (Schleicher 'Ksl.' 123) comes nearer to it. — For *fame-s* see under No. 192. — With *φαγ-όν-ες* cp. No. 289. — Here belongs probably *Βαγαῖος* *Ζεὺς Φρύγιος* Hesych., which has long been compared with the OPers. *bagā*, Ch.Sl. *bogŭ* 'God' = Skt. *bhāgas* 'bread lord,' 'lord.'

- 298 408 b. Root *φαρ φάρ-o-s* plough, *φάρ-ω* I plough, *ᾶ-φάρ-o-s* unploughed, *βού-φάρ-o-s* ploughed by oxen, *φάρ-σ-o-s* a piece, *φάρ-αγξ* ravine, *φάρ-υγξ* gullet.
Zd. *bar* cut, pierce.
Lat. *for-ā-re*, *for-ā-men*.
AS. *bor-ian*, OHG. *por-an*, *por-ōn* bore.
Ir. *berna* cleft.

Pictet ii. 96. — Lobeck 'Rhem.' 303. The verb *φάρειν* is found only in the grammarians. It is worth noticing 'E. M.' 175, 37 *φάρος ἢ ἄροισι παρὰ τὸ φάρσαι ὃ ἐστὶ σχίσαι, καὶ γὰρ διαφάρους φασὶ χιτῶνας, τοὺς εἰς δύο μέρη κεχωρισμένους. καὶ φάρσος τὸ ἀπόσχιμα τῆς ἐσθῆτος*, ib. 787, 41 *φάραγξ ἢ διεσχισμένη γῆ. φάρ-σ-ος* is formed like *ἄψ-ος* 'limb' (Hom.), *ἄρ-σ-εα λειμώνες* (Hesych.) from the rt. *ἀρδ* (No. 253). — Only those words are collected here which can be immediately classed under the notion 'bore,' 'tear.' Fick i³. 694 includes also many other words, among them *ferire* (cp. No. 316), *foru-m* 'division (?)', Skt. *bhur-ig* 'scissors,' and the Lat. *for-f-ex*: the latter would have to be explained by the supposition of a broken reduplication (cp. *πόρ-π-η* No. 356). The Lat. *fur-ca* is minutely discussed by Bugge 'Stud.' iv. 344 against Corssen (i². 149). There are besides the following Gk. words with a *κ* suffix from our root: *φαρ-κ-ις* *ῥυτίς*, *φόρ-κ-ες* *χάρακες* Hesych. — Cp. Spiegel 'Ztschr.' v. 231. — OIr. *berraim* 'tondeo,' the *rr* of which cannot have come, as Zimmer 'Ztschr.' xxiv. 212 maintains, from *rj*, is connected rather with Ir. *berr*, Cymr. *byrr* 'short' (Z². 88).

409. *φέ-β-ο-μαι* flee, am scared, *φόβ-ο-ς* flight, fear, *φο-βέ-ω* scare, *φοβέ-ο-μαι* fear, *φοβ-ερό-ς* frightful.

Skt. rt. *bhī* (*bhāja-tē*, *bī-bhē-ti*) to be afraid, *bhājā-jā-mi* terreo, *bhā-s*, *bhāj-ā-m* fright, danger, *bhīmā-s* frightful. — Zd. *bī* to be frightened.

OHG. *bi-bé-n*, *bi-bi-nó-n* tremere [Mod. G. *beben*].

ChSl. *boj-a-ti se*, Lith. *bij-áú*, *bij-óti* to be afraid, *baj-u-s* fear.

Bopp 'Gl.', Pott W. i. 588, Benf. ii. 105, Grassmann 'Ztschr.' xii. 121. — The reduplication which is so plain in Skt. and German renders it probable that *φέ-β-ο-μαι* with irregular dissimilation of the aspirate, was formed at a time when as yet the hardening of *bh* to *φ* had not taken place, cp. *φέρ-β-ω* (No. 411), Fritzsche 'Stud.' vi. 337, Fick i³. 690. Otherwise Benf. 'Ztschr.' vii. 50 where he — wrongly I think — assigns a specifically Skt. causative form as the basis of the word. Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' ix. 231 questions the comparison of the Teutonic words with *bhī*, and prefers to place them under the Skt. *gīv-ri-s* 'shaking' and the Lat. *vib-rā-re*. But I do not see how the initial *b* is to be explained on this hypothesis. — Müllenhoff conjectures that the Lat. *fe-b-ri-s*, compared by Pott ii¹. 556 and Corssen 'Beitr.' 204 with *ferveo*, and explained differently again by Pictet 'Ztschr.' v. 347 and Benf. vii. 56, belongs here, and accordingly meant properly 'trembling.' Cp. *aeg-er* under No. 140, Fick i³. 690, Brugman 'Stud.' vii. 208. In that case the agreement in the relation of the aspirates would be remarkable. In any

case the Teutonic has in this root the distinction of being the only language to preserve the physical meaning.

- 299 410. Root φεν, φα ἔ-πε-φν-ο-ν killed, φα-τό-ς killed, φόν-ο-ς, φον-ή murder, φον-εύ-ς murderer, ἀνδρ-ει-φόν-τη-ς manslayer, φοίν-ιο-ς bloody.

Goth. *ban-ja* wound, OHG. *ban-o* murderer.

OIr. *beba* mortuus est, *ba-th* death, *bathach* moribundus, *benim* strike, *etir-di-bnim* kill, *co itir-di-bither* ut interimatur, *etar-di-be* interitus.

Grimm 'Gesch.' 398, Ebel 'Beitr.' ii. 167. — Attempts made at comparisons in other directions by Pott i¹. 255 and Benf. ii. 277 are foiled by the Gk. *τείνω* = *fendo* and the Skt. *ghan* = *han*. — In *φοίνιο-ς* the epenthesis of the *i* is noticeable, as the same vowel is retained in the following syllable. The transition of the meaning to that of a colour is too simple to be an objection to this derivation. — Instances of the numerous Irish derivatives from this root in Z². 429, 448, 810, 882, 'Corm. Transl.' p. 18 — Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 336 adds *inter alia* O.Cymr. *du-ben-eticion*, gloss on 'exsectis.' Whether also Ir. *bás* 'death' belongs here is doubtful: the Ir. root *bal* (*at-bail* 'perit') compared by Ebel, certainly belongs to the OSax. *quelan* ('Beitr.' viii. 445).

411. Root φερ φέρ-ω (φορέ-ω) bear, φέρ-μα burden, produce, fruit, φέρ-ε-τρο-ν litter, bier, φαρ-έ-τρα quiver, φώρ one who carries off, a thief, φόρ-ο-ς tax, φορ-ό-ς bearing, φορ-ά a carrying, produce, movement, φορ-μό-ς basket, mat, φόρ-το-ς burden, φερ-νή dowry.

Skt. rt. *bhar* (*bhār-ā-mi*, *bhār-mi*, *bī-bhar-mi*) bear, carry off, support, hold, bring, *bhār-α-s*, *bhār-ά-s* burden, *bhar-αἰα-m*, *bhār-ma(n)* maintenance, *bhṛ-tí-s* maintenance, pay. — Zd. *bar* bear, bring.

Lat. *fer fer-o*, *-fer* (st. *-fero*), *fer-cu-lu-m*, *fūr*, *fer-āx*, *for-du-s*, *far*, *far-īna*, *fer-ti-li-s*, *for-(t)-s*, *for-tū-na*, *for-tu-itu-s*.

Goth. rt. *bar baír-a* φέρω, τίκτω, *ga-baúr* φόρος, *baúr-ei*, *baúr-thei* (OHG. *bur-di*) φορτίον, burden, *ga-baúr-th-s* birth, *bar-n* bairn, child, *bér-usjós* parents, *barm-s* lap, *bariz-ein-s* barley (adj.), AS. *bere* barley, OHG. *bára* bier.

ChSl. rt. *ber sŭ-ber-a* (inf. *bra-ti*) colligo, *bré-mę*
φópros, *bra-kŭ* connubium, Bohem. *ber-u* inf.
brá-ti take, Lith. *bér-na-s* child, servant.

OIr. *berim fero*, *birt mac* she bare a son, *do-biur do*,
as-biur effero, dico (*Z². 428*), *ta-bairt datio* (*Z².*
250), *com-bairt partus*.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. ii. 1, 466, Benf. ii. 107, Schleicher 'Ksl.' 123, Wahl 'De Graecae radice *φep* usu' L. 1874, Heinr. Schmidt 'Synonym.' i. 430. — The primary meaning of 'bearing,' which includes the two main conceptions of 'supporting' or 'holding' on the one hand, and that of 'moving away' on the other, has in Greek developed itself mainly in three directions: (1) to bear a 300 *burden*, (2) to bear with reference to the effect, the produce, then *bring*, *bring forth* (cp. No. 376), (3) to bear considered as a movement, whence *φépe* like *áye* in the sense of 'well!', 'come!', *φopá* 'movement,' Lat. *ferri*. — The most characteristic development of the first meaning is *áyeiv* *kai* *φépeiv* = *agere et ferre*, and also *φáp*, *áποφáp* 'thief' ('Stud.' iii. 199). — We may certainly place under the second head the Lat. *far*, st. *farr*, for *far-s*, where the *s* may be quite well regarded, like the *s* in *jŭ-s*, *fŭ-s* as the same suffix which has preserved its vowel in the Goth. **bar-is* (stem-form of the adj. *bariz-ein-s*), but lost it in a similar way in the Old Norse *barr*; the earlier and more general meaning is to be seen even in *farína*, and this makes the difference in the kind of corn denoted by *far* and the Goth. **baris* less surprising. Otherwise Corssen 'Beitr.' 205, i². 159, with whom Ascoli 'Ztschr.' xvii. 343 agrees. *φáp-μα-κο-ν* too is most naturally regarded as *φap-μα*, expanded by the suffix *-κο*, and used in the originally general meaning of 'herb' (somewhat differently Pictet 'Ztschr.' v. 49). With the Teutonic and Slavonic words for 'child' (what is born) we may compare *φáp-κ-es* *νεοσσοί* Hesych. If we consider that the word *bring* also belongs to the same root we shall see a way to *fors*, Osc. adv. *fort-is* (= Lat. *forte*), *fortŭna*. On the other hand *φápos* suggests the German *Tracht* (something carried), in the sense of clothes. Döderlein 'Synon. und Et.' vi. 285 (cp. Vossius 'Et. Lat.' s. v.) is no doubt right in comparing *pro-bru-m* along with *op-pro-br-iu-m* with *ποφάpeiv*. The use of the word in a bad sense is as early as Homer (Γ 74). Here, as in *can-dela-bru-m*, we find the *b* which is to be expected in the middle of old words, instead of *f*. Otherwise Corssen 'Beitr.' 352, Joh. Schmidt 'Ztschr.' xxii. 325. — Under the third meaning falls the intransitive use of *διαφάpeiv* = *differre*, properly 'in diversas partes ferri' (cp. p. 106). Perhaps we may add even *φép-τερο-s*, *φép-ιστο-s*, *φép-τατο-s*

(cp. *προφερός*), so that it would have originally denoted the higher degree of mobility or impetus. Since the Skt. root especially in the reduplicated form *bī-bhar-mi* also means *nutrire, sustentare*, *φείρ-β-ω* *φορ-β-ή* of like meaning arose, through the meaning 'support,' probably by broken reduplication (Brugman 'Stud.' vii. 328) from *φερ*, and *φορ-β-ή* may be compared directly with *her-b-a*, the old form of which, *fi-b-ra* mentioned by Servius ad 'Georg.' i. 120 points to *ferba*, while *for-bea* (Paul, 84) has the look of a foreign word. Otherwise Fick i², 697. — The OIr. *com-bairt* ('Goid²' p. 55) seems to be distinct from *coimpert* 'conceptus' ('sperma' 'Ir. Gl.' 847), which perhaps contains *com-ait*h-. Besides *tabairt* (Z². 250) there is also *tabart* (Z². 484), *ed-bart* 'oblatio' (Z². 800). From *berim* there is the inf. *breith, fer brithes lésboir* 'vir ferendi luminis' (Z². 250).

412 a. Root *φλα* *ἐκ-φλαίν-ω* spout forth. — Root *φλαδ* *ἐ-φλαδ-ο-ν* tore with a noise, *φλα-σ-μός-s* bragging, *πα-φλάζ-ω* foam, bluster.

Lat. *flā-re, flā-tu-s, flā-men, flā-bru-m*. — *flō-s, flōr-eo, Flōr-a*, Osc. *Fluusai* (dat. sing.).

OHG. *blā-an* blow, MHG. *blās* flatus, Goth. *uf-blēs-an* *φυσιοῦν*, OHG. *blāsa* vesica, *blā-tara* bubble, bladder, in MHG. blister as well. — OHG. *bluo-jan* florere [Eng. *blow*], Goth. *blō-ma*, OHG. *bluot* (fem.) bloom (Germ. *Blüthe*). Goth. *blóth*, OHG. *bluot* (neut.) blood (Germ. *Blut*). — OHG. *blōz* superbus. — OIr. *bláth* bloom, Cymr. *blodeu*, Corn. *blodon* flos (Z². 37, 1076).

b. Root *φλε* *φλέ-ω* swell, overflow, *Φλέων* (cp. *Φλεύ-ς*) epithet of Bacchus, *φλέ-δων* (st. *φλε-δον*) chatterer, *φλήν-αφο-s* idle talk.

ChSl. *ble-d-a* *φλυαρῶ*, *ble-d-ι* *ἀπάτη*, *λήρος* (?).

c. Root *φλι* *Φλί-ās* (st. *Φλιαντ*) son of Dionysus, *Φλιού-s*. — *φλιδ* *φλιδή* overflow, *ἐ-φλιδ-εν* *διέρ-ρ-εεν* (Hesych.), *φλιδ-άν-ει* *διαρρεῖ* (Hesych.), *φλι-μέλια* a varicose vein.

d. Root *φλυ* *φλύ-σαι* chatter (Aesch. 'Prom.' 504), *ἀπο-φλύ-ειν* spit out, *ἀνα-φλύ-ειν* spout up, *φλύ-ειν* swell, overflow, *φλύ-ο-s*, *φλύ-αρο-s* idle talk, *φλύ-αξ* chatterer. — *φλυδ* *ἐκ-φλυνδ-άν-ειν* break (of ulcers, etc.), *φλυδ-ᾶν* (*φλύζ-ειν*, aor. *φλύξαι*)

overflow. — φλυγ οἶνός-φλυξ drunk with wine,
φλυκ-τί-s, φλύκ-ταινα blister.

Lat. *flu-o*, *flu-men*, *flu-v-iu-s*, *fluc-tu-s*, *fluxu-s*. —
fle-o, *flē-tu-s*, *flē-mīna* varicose vein.

AS. *bull* bladder, ON. *bullā* ebullire, Goth. *uf-baul-jan* puff up, inflate.

- e. Stem φλοι φλοί-ω swell, φλοι-ός-s, φλό-ος-s bark, rind.
— φλοιδ δια-πέ-φλοιδ-εν διακέχεται (Hesych.),
πε-φλοιδ-έναι to bubble. — φλοισ-βο-s noise,
foam (Hesych.), MHG. *blód-er-n* roar, *blubbern*.

The relationship of all these multiform stems and words, exclusively European, with the common primary notion of *bubbling over*, is as clear as it is difficult to account for their separation. The ChSl. *blqd-i-ti* 'errare,' discussed by Schleicher 'Ksl.' 122, probably belongs also to the stems expanded by δ. — Most of the words here given are to be found in Pott i¹. 239 (cp. W. i. 1205, 'Ztschr.' vi. 322 ff. and 'E. F.' ii². 965), where also the relationship of the Skt. *phal* (*phāl-ā-mī*) 'burst,' 'bear fruit' and *phull* (*phāllāmī*) 'to blossom,' *phulla-s* 'blooming,' *phāl-a-m* 'fruit' is conjectured. Then again *phal-a-m*, *phāla-s* 'ploughshare' may be related (cp. d). I now regard *fle-o* with Corssen 'Beitr.' 191 as belonging to (d), that is to say, as sprung from *flev-o*, so that *flē-tu-s* stands on the same footing as *fē-cundū-s* from the rt. *fu*. As regards *flu-o*, we see from the old Lat. *con-flū-gēs* as from *fluxi*, etc. that the root is *flug*, which Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 4 finds also in Skt. *bhuraḡ*, 'to spout,' 'bubble' 'Pet. Diet.' Cp. ii. 225. The meanings of *flu-o* and φλύ-ω (*ἀνα-φλύ-ειν* 'spout up'), which were connected by Döderlein 'Synon. u. Etym.' vi. 131, approach each other very nearly, especially if we remember *fluctuare*, *fluitare*, properly, 'to heave up and down.' The ideas 'spout' and 'sprout' are interchanged throughout. I now put *flō-s* under (a), especially on account of the vowels of the Teutonic words which point to ā. That φλυκτί-s 'blister' really belongs here, in spite of Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 414, is shown by the OHG. *blāsa* mentioned in class (a): Grassmann xii. 90 compares also the AS. *bull* 'bladder.' 302 But we must separate the Latin *bullā* on account of the b. But perhaps Pott ii. 778 is right in holding φύγ-εθλο-ν 'ulcer' to have lost a λ and to belong to φλυγ. — Benfey is doubtless right in connecting (i. 602) φλέψ (st. φλε-β), following Niz 'kl. Wörterb.' p. 272 and Lobeck 'Paralip.' 123, where attention is directed to φλεβάζειν βρύειν (Photius). The by-form ἡ φλέβ-α is remarkable. No doubt β stands for f and the word is directly connected with (d) (st. φλεν from φλυ). — The

meaning 'chatter' is remarkable, developed as it is in the most different forms of this root, and among widely different nations.

413. Root φρακ φράσσ-ω (ἐ-φράγ-η-ν) shut in, make fast, φράγ-μα, φραγ-μός-s fence, a shutting up, δρύ-φακ-το-s partition.

Lat. *farc-io*, *farcī-men*, *far-tili-s*, *far-tor*. — *frequ-en(t)s*.

Goth. *baírg-a* τηρῶ, φυλάσσω, *baírga-hei* mountainous district, OHG. *bērc* mountain (Germ. *Berg*),

Goth. *baúrg-s* town, borough (Germ. *Burg*).

Lith. *bruk-ù* press hard, constrain.

The rt. φρακ and its later softening to φραγ I have attempted to establish 'Ind. lect. Kil. aest.' 1857 p. v. Cp. 'Ztschr.' xiii. 399, where especially the meaning of φράσσω is discussed as compared with that of *farcio*, and above p. 115. κραδίη δόλοισι πεφραγμένη (Oppian 'Cyneget.' 4, 7) is cor dolis *refertum*. As *farcire* means 'to stuff full,' so φράσσειν means sometimes 'to stop up.' *frequ-en(t)s* senatus is a 'crammed' meeting (φραγείς). Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' viii. 215 compares with it the Skt. *bhṛṣa-s* 'in large numbers' (acc. to the 'Pet. Dict.' 'vehement,' 'strong'). Lobeck 'Rhem.' 103 and Döderlein 'Synon. u. Etym.' vi. 122 had already connected φράσσω (=φρακ-ζω) φράγ-νυ-μι ('Gk. Verb.' p. 112) with *farc-i-o*. Cp. Benf. i. 111. — The primary meaning is retained in Lithuanian (cp. φράξαντες δόρυ δουρί N 130), and from this has been developed in Gk. that of 'shutting up fast,' in Lat. that of 'stuffing up fast.' The meaning 'hide,' 'protect' (Germ. *bergen*), which we find already in the Goth. *baúrg-an*, is not at all foreign to the Gk. φράσσειν, φρακτός can often be exactly translated by 'protected,' and a borough (Germ. *Burg*) is a φρακτὸν πόλισμα (Aesch. 'Sept.' 63); the Germ. *Berg* 'mountain' is related to *Burg* as *mon-(t)-s* is to *mūn-io*. Cp. Zimmer 'Nominalsuffix *a*' p. 36. — δρύ-φακτο-s = δρύ-φρακτο-s Lob. 'Paralip.' 15 not., Pott ii'. 91. — The form φάρξαι vouched for as Attic by grammarians may now be seen in an inscription published in the 'Monumenti dell' Inst. archeol.' 1865 fasc. iv. p. 325. — Objections are made by Pott W. iii. 204, 520, further combinations by Fick 'Bezenb. Beitr.' i. 61. — Ir. *brug*, gen. *brogo*, Cymr. *bro* 'terra,' 'regio' Z². 90, OGall. *Allo-brogas*, *-brogas* ('... quoniam *brogae* Galli agrum dicunt, *alla* autem aliud,' Schol. on Juvenal vii. 214, Z². 207; cp. Glück 'Kelt. Nam.' p. 26), has in Irish the older form *mrug* beside it, and is placed by Stokes along with Goth. *marka*. OIr. *borce* 'urbs,' *borggde* 'burgensis' (Z². 61) is borrowed from the Teutonic (Ebel 'Beitr.' ii. 167).

414. *φρά-τηρ* (st. *φράτερ*), *φρά-τωρ* (st. *φρατορ*) member of a *φράτρ-ία*, *φράτρ-α* (Hom. *φρή-τρῆ*), *φρατρ-ίς-ω*, *φρατρ-ιάς-ω* belong to a phratría, *φράτρ-ιοι θεοί* patron deities of the phratría. — Skt. nom. *bhrátā* (st. *bhrā-tar*), Zd. *brātar* frater. — Lat. 303 Umbr. *frāter*, Lat. *frā-ternu-s*, *frātr-ia* brother's wife. — Goth. *bróthar*, pl. *bróthra-ha-ns* brethren, OHG. *bruodar* brother. — ChSl. *bra-trǔ*, *bra-tŭ*, OPr. *brati-s*, Lith. *broter-ėli-s* (dim.), *bró-li-s* brother, *brotū-szi-s* cousin. — OIr. *bráthir* frater.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. ii. 1, 478, Schleicher 'Ksl.' 123. — The derivation usually given is that from the rt. *φερ* in the sense of *sustentare*, *nutrire*, whence the Skt. *bhár-tr* 'maritus.' — In *φρήτηρ* *ἀδελφός* Hesych. the original use has been preserved among the Greeks as well, as Legerlotz 'Ztschr.' vii. 436 has pointed out. To this we may add the strange word *βρά* *ἀδελφοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἡλείων* Hesych. (cod. *ἱλείων*), a form which cannot have been correctly transmitted to us. With these exceptions the word has in Gk. a purely political meaning. — In the Goth. *bróthra-ha-ns* we see a suffix like that in the Umbr. *fratre-k-s* = *fratricu-s*, *fraternus*. — In modern Irish names of relations follow in the plural the stems like OIr. *cathir* 'town,' gen. *cathrach* (Z². 259), hence here *bráthair* 'brother,' nom. pl. *bráúthre* and *bráithreacha* (O'Donovan 'Gramm.' p. 99).

415. *φρέ-αρ* (st. *φρεαρτ*), Hom. pl. *φρεί-ᾱτα*, Att. *φρέ-ᾱτα*. — Goth. *brunna(n)* well, OHG. *brunno*. — OIr. *topur fons*.

Benf. ii. 109, Grimm 'Gesch.' 398, who derives the Goth. *brunna* from *brinnan* 'urere,' 'fervere.' — Perhaps this derivation will lead us to the root, which can be nothing but *φρυ*. This explains *φρέ-αρ*, with an increase of the vowel, for *φρέφ-αρ* (cp. Pott W. i. 1204, but according to Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 270 for *φερφ-αρ*). If we take 'boil,' 'burn' to be the primary meaning we get an excellent explanation both for *πορ-φύρ-ω* 'heave' of the sea (*φυρ*: *φρυ* = *πυρ*: Skt. *pru-sh* No. 385), and for *πόρ-φυρ-ο-ς* 'purple.' More extensive combinations taking in the Skt. *bhur* 'start,' 'be unquiet,' are made by Joh. Schmidt *ut supra*, cp. 'Pet. Dict.' s. v. *bhur*. It appears that language regarded the heaving of water, the flickering of fire, and the glistening of red colour as the same thing. Cp. Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 417, Sonne xiii. 431, Bollensen 'Or. u. Occ.' ii. 475. Is it not possible that *ferv-eo* too, which may be for *frev-eo*, is related? The meaning agrees, though it is true that other combinations suggest themselves as well

(Gk. *θep*, Skt. *ghar* No. 651, Corssen 'Nachtr.' 220 ff.).—Leo Meyer is no doubt wrong in his conjecture ('Ztschr.' v. 381) that the rt. *plu* (No. 369) and even the Lat. *fon(t)-s* are related. Pictet v. 347 is more likely to be right in connecting the Lat. *fe-bru-u-s* along with *febru-are*, *Juno Febru-li-s* as reduplicated forms.—OIr. *topur* for *do-od-bur* (Z². 885). Of cognate origin are also OIr. *tipra*, gen. *tiprat* 'spring,' *do-eprannat* 'affluent' (Ml. 39 d), both words compounded at the beginning with *do-aith-*. The *-brat* of *tiprat* might go back to **bhurant*: the *-brannat* of the verbal form reminds us of the Goth. *brunna* (cp. Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 337). Ir. *berbaim* 'I cook,' 'boil' belongs to Lat. *ferveo*. From the root-form *bhrū* comes OIr. *bruth* 'fervor,' 'furor.'

416. *φρῦ-νη*, *φρῦ-νο-s* toad, *Φρύνη*, *Φρῦνο-s*, *Φρύνιχο-s*, *Φρυνίων*, *Φρυνώνδα-s*. — Lat. *fur-vu-s*. — Skt. *ba-bhrū-s* reddish brown. — OHG. *brū-n* fulvus, fuscus.

Grimm 'Wörterb.' ii. 324, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 200. — The root is 304 the *φρῦ* assumed for No. 415; if besides *fur-vu-s* the Lat. *fu-scu-s* is also to be placed here, it must have lost an *r* before the *s*, like *su-su-m* = *sur-sum*. *φρῦνο-s* then meant the 'brown one,' hence the many proper names. *rubeta*, the name of a kind of frog, from *ruber*, is similar. Pictet i. 412 adds another animal's name, the Skt. *ba-bhrū-s* 'rat,' 'ichneumon,' which accordingly was originally 'the brown one,' and is perhaps right in thinking that this name was applied to the beaver, Lat. *fi-ber* = Lith. *bėbru-s*, Bohem. *bobr*, OHG. *pīpar*, an excellent hypothesis phonetically at any rate (otherwise J. Grimm 'Wtb.').—We are expressly told that the celebrated *Φρύνη* got her name δι' ὀχρότητα. Pott 'Doppelung' 88 agrees and translates the name by *Fulvia*. — Corn. *befer* 'beaver' Z². 37.

417. Root *φῦ-ω* (ξ-*φῦ-ν*) beget, *φύ-ο-μαι* grow, become, *φῦ-ή* growth, *φύ-σι-s* nature, *φῦ-μα* a growth, *φῦ-τό-s* grown, *φῦ-τεύ-ω* plant, beget, *φῦ-λο-ν*, *φῦ-λή* race, stem, *φῖ-τυ*, *φί-τυ-μα* sprout, shoot, *φι-τύ-ω* beget.

Skt. rt. *bhū* (*bhāv-ā-mi*, 3 sing. aor. *á-bhū-t*) become, be, flourish, *bhav-á-s* origin, *bhāv-á-s* rise, condition, *bhū-tí-s* existence, welfare, *bhū-mí-s* earth. — Zd. *bū* to be, to become.

Lat. *fu*, *fu-a-m*, *fu-i*, *fu-tūru-s*, *fō-re*, *fu-tu-o*. — *fē-tu-s*, *fē-cundu-s*, *fē-n-us*, *fē-nu-m*. — Osc. *fufans* erant.

OS. *biu-m*, AS. *beo-m*, OHG. *bi-m* I am, Goth. *bau-an* dwell, *bau-ain-s* dwelling.

ChSl. *by-ti*, Lith. *bú-ti* to be, *bù-ta-s* house, floor.

OIr. *bíu* fio, sum, *bói* fuit, inf. *buith* esse (Z². 491).

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. i. 1143, Benf. ii. 105, Grimm 'Gesch.' 398, Schleicher 'Ksl.' 123. — The *ι* in *φῑ-τν* arose by dissimilation from *ν*, because Greek rarely tolerates *ν* in two consecutive syllables. The Aeolic present *φν-ί-ω* (Ahr. 'Aeol.' 98) is remarkable; Schleicher (Beitr. iii. 248) is no doubt right in identifying with it the Umbr. *fuio*, subj. *fui-a*. The vowel of *fētu-s* is explained by Corssen 'Beitr.' 191 to come from a present form *fev-o* (cp. *fle-o* No. 412 d). In meaning *fē-n-us* (cp. *pē-n-us*, *fac-i-n-us*) corresponds to *τόκος* (cp. on Nos. 307 and 309). Perhaps we have in *ὑπέρ-φεν* (Aesch.) the Gk. stem corresponding to the Lat. *fev-o*; it is certainly rightly explained by *ὑπερφνῶς*. — *φοιτάω* might go back to *φοf-ι-τα-ω*, which might occur in Latin as **fuito* regarded as a frequentative and applied to presence at a place. *futavit* (fuit) is actually to be found among the glosses of Placidus, (p. 44 Deuerlein), *futare* in Paul 'Ep.' p. 89. Tobler 'Ztschr.' ix. 248 compares the Span. *fu* 'he went.' But it is difficult to explain the *ι* in the face of *ναιετάω*, *μελετάω*, etc. — It seems safe to connect *φῶ-ς* 'man' (st. *φωρ*) as 'the begetter,' and to refer it to *φοfar* = Skt. *bhāvat*, which besides its participial use in the sense of 'being' is used as a polite form of address. Cp. Fick i³. 700. Phonetically similar is *φῶα* (for *φοf-a*) *ἐξανθήματα* Hes. — On the use of *fuam*, *fore* by the side of *sim*, *esse* cp. 'Studien' v. 437 'De aoristi latini reliquiis.' The meaning 'be' evidently attaches to this root everywhere only as an 305 outgrowth of the earlier inchoative meaning 'grow,' 'become.' This is however no warrant for introducing into the Homeric formularies *ἐν δ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρί*, ὁδᾶξ *ἐν χεῖλεσι φύντες* (cp. Hdt. vi. 91 *χείρες ἐμπεφυκνῖαι*) the idea 'grow firm.' Here *φῦναι* differs from *γενέσθαι* only in degree of intensity (cp. *ἐγένετο ἐν χειρί*, *ἐν ἑαυτῷ*), and means accordingly to get 'fast in' something, to be firmly bound to it. I. Bekker, it is true ('Hom. Bl.' i. 183), takes *χειρί* as an instrumental dative, so that the meaning would then be 'he bound himself to him by the hand.' It seems to me more natural with Schnorr 'Verborum collocatio Homerica' (Berlin 1864) p. 5, to connect the dative with *ἐν*, if only on account of the parallel uses of *γίγνεσθαι*. — Osc. *Futrei* dat. probably *Genetrici*. — OIr. *biu* through **bi-iu* from **bhu-iā*: *bói* presumes a prehistoric (*be*)*bore*: cp. 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 242; *buith* st. *bhu-ti*.

418. *φύλλο-ν* leaf. — Lat. *foliu-m*.

Pott i³. 239, 'Ztschr.' vi. 323, Benf. i. 575. — We are at once re-

minded of No. 412 d or of No. 417. Both supply a possible origin for the words, and hence we cannot decide, though we can see that these two words are identical, and that φύλλο-ν=φυλίο-ν. If they belong to 412 we must divide the word φυλ-ιο-ν *fol-iu-m*, if to 417, φυ-λίο-ν *fo-liu-m*. Cp. Fick i³. 700.

N

A Greek *ν* corresponds to an Indo-Germanic *n*, retained also in all the other languages.

419. Root *án* *án-ε-μο-s* wind, *án-ται* *άνεμοι* Hesych. — Skt. rt. *an* (*án-i-mi*) breathe, *an-a-s* breath, *an-ildá-s* wind, *án-ika-s* face. Zd. *ain-ika* face. — Lat. *an-i-mu-s*, *an-i-ma*. — Goth. *uz-an-a* exspiro, *an-st-s* favour, OHG. *un-st* procella, *an-do* wrath, ON. *önd* anima, vita. — ChSl. *a-ch-a-ti* odorari, *v-on-ja* odor. — Cymr. *anadyl*, OIr. *anál* breath, OIr. *anim* (dat. *anmin*), Corn. *enef* soul (Z². 820, 1073).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 1, Benf. i. 118, Grimm 'Wtb.' i. 192, Mikl. 'Lex.,' Stokes 'Ir. Gloss.' p. 149. — The immaterial use of the word reminds us of *θυμός* (No. 320), *πνεῦμα* (No. 370), and the late Latin use of *spiritus*; the Goth. *anst-s* of the Lat. *adspirare* [and *aura* Hor. 'Od.' iii. 2, 20, etc.]. — Ant. Goebel has especially worked out this root ('Homericæ, oder Unters. üb. d. W. 'AN' Münst. 1861), but here much is over boldly referred to this root (cp. p. 108 above). It seems to me however a happy thought, which Benfey has since carried out further ('Or. u. Occ.' i. 193), that *προσ-ηής*, *ἀπ-ηής*, and *ὑπ-ήνη* are to be placed here. Only we must not therefore ascribe to the rt. *án* the meaning 'see,' but must start with Benfey from a noun-
 306 stem *ἡνο*=Skt. *ānā-s* 'mouth' or 'nose' (cp. *ānana-m* 'mouth,' 'face'), thus *προσ-ηής* means 'with face turned towards,' *ἀπ-ηής* 'with face turned away.' For *πηρήης*=Lat. *prōnus* see on No. 380. To *ὑπ-ήνη*, which Fick 'Bezenb. Beitr.' i. 64 places with *vap* 'shear,' Apollon. 'Lex.,' Hesych. and 'E. M.' assign the meaning *ὁ ὑπὸ τὴν ῥίνα τόπος*. It may also very well denote the down under the breath (*πρῶτον ὑπηνήτη*). — OIr. *osnad*, Cymr. *ucheneit* 'sigh' (Zimmer 'Ztschr.' xxiv. 216) do not belong here: cp. Cymr. *uch* 'sigh,' *ochi* 'to sigh.'

420. *áva-*, *áv-*, *á-* negative prefix, *áv-ευ* (Dor. *áv-ις*) without. — Skt. *an-*, *a-*. Zd. *ana-*, *an-*, *a-*. — Lat. *in-*, *i-*, Osc. Umbr. *an-*, *a-*. — Germ. *un-*, Goth. *in-uh*, OHG. *ānu*, *āne* (Germ. *ohne*) without. — OIr. *an-*, *an-fiss* inscitia, *an-cretem* infidelitas (Z². 860).

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott ii¹. 65. For *avis* Ahr. 'Dor.' 384, Grimm 'Gr.' iii. 261. — This negative particle is probably identical with the pronominal stem *an* (No. 421). *ἀμ-φασίη* P 695, δ 704, a certain instance of the unusual preservation of the nasal before a consonant. The epic by-form *áva-* preserved in *áva-ειδος* (Hom.), *áva-ελπτος* (Hesiod), *áva-γνωστος* (Callim.) which Buttmann 'A. Gr.' ii². 466 took aright, and recognized in its relation to *νη-* in 'Lexil.' i². 274, while Lobeck 'El.' i. 194 endeavoured with G. Hermann to set it aside, now receives a strong support in the Zend form *ana-* (e. g. *ana-zātha* 'unborn,' = **áva-γετο-s*) Justi p. 18. Joh. Schmidt 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 272, differing from Clemm 'Stud.' viii. 14, considers the second *a* as a later development from the nasal. The forms *ávεν*, *avis* are not yet cleared up: an attempt is made by Benfey 'Ztschr.' ii. 226. — Since aphaeresis is a common phenomenon in Skt., perhaps the Skt. prefix *nīs-*, coinciding in meaning with the Germ. *aus*, *un-*, is to be identified with *avis*. Cp. Zimmer 'Ztschr.' xxiv. 523ff.

421. *áva* up, to, *áv-ω* above. — Zd. *ana* (w. acc.) up. — Lat. *an-hēlo* draw up breath, Osc. Umbr. *an-*. — Goth. *ana* up, to, against. — ChSl. *na* super, OPruss. *na*, *no* up.

Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *anu*, which in its meaning *post, secundum* is certainly related ('Vgl. Gram.' ii. 187, Pott i². 306). — *áva* is evidently a case-form of the demonstrative stem, which is preserved as *ana* in Skt., as *ana-s* 'that' in Lithuanian, as *onũ* with the same meaning in ChSl., and which is related to No. 420. Cp. Ebel 'Ztschr.' iv. 219 and No. 425. — As *an* occurs in Umbrian (Aufr. and Kirchh. i. 158) as a prefix, we may explain also the Lat. *an-hēlare* by *an*, for the *amb-* of *an-quirere* 'round about,' or, as Pott W. i. 83 takes it, to draw breath '*ambobus lateribus*' is too far-fetched. Other traces of this Lat. *an* are conjectured by Bergk 'Philol.' xxi. 592, Lübbert 'Conf. Perf.' (Breslau 1867) p. 76 in *a-stataries* from a formula of incantation, *a-stasint* 'statuerunt' (?) (Paul. 'Ep.' p. 26). Corssen ii². 564.

422. *άνήρ* (st. *άνερ*) man, *άνδρ-είο-s* manly, *άνδρ-εία*
B b

Hom. ἡνρορ-έη manliness, ἀγ-ήνωρ manly, courageous, ἄνθρωπος human being.

Skt. *nar*, *nāra-s* man, human being, *nār-ja-s* manly, *nṛ-mnā-m* virtus, *nṛ-tama-s* (superl.) ἀνδρείοτατος. — Zd. *nar*, *nara* man, *nairya* manly.

Sabin. *ner-o(n)* fortis, *ner-io* (st. *neri-en*) fortitudo.

OIr. *nert* n. vis, valor, *so-nirt* firmus, fortis (Z². 863), *nertit* confirmant (Z². 436).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott i². 106, Grimm 'Gesch.' 285. — The stem *nar* in four families of speech denotes 'man' with a tinge of honour which comes out in many ways, as in Lat. *vir* beside *vir-tū-s* and Skt. *vīrā-s* 'hero.' On this is based the interpretation of the Umbr. *nerf* (acc. plur.) by *principes*, proposed by Aufrecht and Kirchhoff, and accepted by Corssen i². 471 and Bücheler ('Populi Iguvini lustratio' p. 6), closely connected with the Sabine words given in the text, for which Suetonius 'Tiber.' i. and Gellius xii. 22 are our authorities. We may probably add the Oscan gen. plur. *nerum*. Bréal 'Mém.' iii. 269 has not disproved this explanation. — Starting from the stem as it is found in Sanskrit, Zend, Italian, and Keltic, we shall regard the *ā* as prothetic, as in *ἀ-μεῖβω*, *ἀ-μύνω*. The notion that *ἄνθρω* had a *f* is to be altogether rejected. The Homeric dialect disproves this notion by hundreds of lines, and does not confirm it by a single one. Nor is there the slightest trace of *f* in any other dialect. It is uncritical, in face of this, to appeal to Dionys. Halic. 'Antiqu.' i. 20 as evidence, for he lived under the delusion that *f* was prefixed at pleasure (*ὥς τὰ πολλὰ*) by the Aeolians. His *φανήρ* therefore carries no weight, and all etymologies, which presume *f*, are baseless: e. g. that of Legerlotz 'Ztschr.' x. 374, strangely enough repeated by Bréal, according to which the *γ* of the rt. *γεν* was changed into this apocryphal *f*. But all other attempts at etymology, e. g. the derivation from rt. *an* (No. 419), are extremely doubtful. We may notice the Pamphylian gloss *ἀδρί*· *ἀνδρί* (Hes.). — *ἄνθρωπος* seems to me to be taken most naturally as 'man's face' (Pott ii². 924 after Hartung 'Part.' i. 52) with *θ* for the more usual subsidiary consonant *δ* (cp. *πάγος*· *πάχνη*, *γόνυ*· *πρόχυν*, *πρό φρούδος*). This is supported also by *δράψ*· *ἄνθρωπος* (Hesych.) which I regard as the syncopated form of *νερ-αψ*, where *δ* before *ρ* would be the natural substitute for *ν*, as *β* before *ρ* that of *μ* (*βρο-τός* No. 468). Otherwise Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' iii. 240, v. 365. — *δροτήτα* = *ἀνδροτήτα* Clemm 'Rh. Mus.' xxxii. 463 establishes for Π 857 and two other passages in Homer.

423. *γένυ-s* chin, jaw, edge, *γέν-ειο-ν* chin, beard, *γνά-*

θο-s, *γναθ-μός* jaw, bit, tooth. — Skt. *hānu-s* (m.) jaw. — Lat. *gen-a*. — Goth. *kinnu-s* (f.) chin. — OIr. *giun*, *gīn*, OCymr. *genou*, Corn. *genau* os (Z². 994, 1066).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott i¹. 142, Benf. ii. 118. — The agreement of five families of speech in the nasal, of four in the initial guttural with a kindred meaning, justifies this comparison, in spite of the Skt. *h* which points to *gh*, as in *aham*=*ἐγών*, 'ego,' Goth. *ik*. — *γνδ-θο-s* shows an expansion to be compared with *λί-θο-s*, *κέλευ-θο-s*, *ψάμα-θο-s* (by the side of *ψάμο-s*), which reminds us of the *d* of the probably related Lith. *žán-da-s* 'jaw,' 'jawbone.' If we may assume a rt. *γαν*, *γεν*, the 308 words collected under No. 125, which are of kindred meaning might be developed from it by the help of a derivative *φ=bh*. — In the Lat. *dentēs genu-ini* 'cheek teeth,' a stem *genu* appears, alike also in its suffix (Fick i². 561). — Here belongs also *Genava* 'Geneva,' as it were 'Ostia:' Glück 'Kelt. Nam.' p. 104.

423 b. *εἰνάτερες*. — Lat. *janitr-ī-c-ēs* women married to brothers. — ChSl. *jetry* (f.) *σύννυμφος*, uxor fratris mariti, Lith. *intė* brother's wife.

Bopp 'Gl.,' s. v. *jātr*, Pott ii¹. 208, i¹. 114, Benf. ii. 202, Corssen 'Beitr.' 265, Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' i. 34. — A very old term of relationship, which has preserved its form with no essential change, and its meaning completely in three families of speech; for *σύννυμφοι* is in the grammarians the explanation both of the Greek and of the Latin word (cp. also Nauck, 'Aristoph. Byz.' p. 136). The primitive form must be taken to be *jantar*. The Greek *ει* may probably be explained from *εε* for *je*; the *a* is related to the Lat. *i* just as the *a* of *θυγατερ* to the Skt. *duh-i-tar* (No. 318). In Lat. and ChSl. expanding suffixes have been added. — The Skt. *jātar*, according to 'Pet. Dict.,' 'the wife of a husband's brother,' somewhat further removed in form, has perhaps grown out of *jantar*. But the Skt. *jāmātar*, a by-form of *jāmātar* 'step-son' (cp. p. 546), we put out of the question.

424. Root *ἐνεκ* *ἡνέχ-θη-ν*, *ἐν-ήνοχ-α*, *ἡνεγκ-ο-ν*, *ἡνεγκ-α* carry, *δουρ-ηνεκ-ές* as far as the spear carries, *δι-ηνεκ-ής* (Att. *δι-ᾱνεκής*) going throughout, holding together, *ποδ-ηνεκ-ής* reaching to the feet, *ἡνεκ-ής* (late) extended, *κεντ-ηνεκ-ής* driven with the goad.

Skt. *naç* (*nác-ā-mi*) reach, attain, *aç* (*aç-nó-mi*) reach, aor. *āna!* (for **ān-ank-t*), *vj-ānaç-í-s* penetrating.

Lat. *nanc-i-sc-o-r*, *nac-tu-s* (*nanc-tu-s*), Osc. *nesimu-m* proximum.

Goth. *ga-nah* it suffices, satisfies, *nēhv* near.

ChSl. *nes-a* inf. *nes-ti* carry, Lith. *nesz-ù* carry, *nasz-tà* burden.

OIr. rt. *anc oc* by, *ocus* vicinus, *com-ocus* affinis; *do-ic*, *tic* he came, *air-ecar* invenitur, *con-icim* I can; perf. *ro anac*, *ránac* I attained, *do anac*, *tánac* I came. Rt. *nanc* perf. *coim-* *nactar* potuerunt.

Pott W. ii. 2, 428, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 125, A. Kuhn 'Beitr.' iii. 123, Grassmann 'Wtb.' 134. — The present form *συνεπικραται* (Hes. 'Scut.' 440) compared with the Homer. *ἐνεϊκίμεν*, *ἀνενήνευκται* (Att. inscr.) is disputed, I think, without reason. The diphthong originating in a syllable with a nasal is discussed by Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' i. 122 f. The glosses of Hesych., quoted by Lobeck 'El.' i. 57, *ἐν-ἐ-εἰκα* *ἤνευκαν*, *ἐν-ε-εἰκ-ω* *ἐνέγκω* are curious. The *ἀπαξ εἰρημένον* too *ἐπ-ηγκ-εν-ιδ-ες* 'boards on the hull of a ship' (ε 253), some grammarians traced back to *ἐπ-ηγκ-ιδ-ες*, which would suit the meaning. Lob. 'El.' i. 508. — The relation of the words given above to each other has been discussed with very different results by Ernst Kuhn 'Ztschr.' xix. 309, by Win-
 309 disch xxi. 409 ff. and by Joh. Schmidt xxiii. 269 ff. The closely approximating meanings 'suffice,' 'attain,' 'reach,' 'obtain,' are expressed by not less than seven different stems, evidently akin to each other, viz. (1) *ak* (Skt. *ag*), (2) *añk* (Skt. *āṇa-s* 'share'), (3) *anañk* (κατ-ήνοκ-α Hesych., -ην-εκ-ής), (4) *anāḱ* (*ἐνεγκείν*, *ἀνάγκ-η* (?)), (5) *nañk* (Skt. *naç*, Lat. *necesse* (?), Goth. *ga-nah*, ChSl. *nes*), (6) *nañk* (Lat. *nanc-tu-s*), (7) *nāñk* (Goth. *nēhv*, Osc. *nēsimo*). How this multiplicity arose out of one primitive form need not be discussed here. For *ἐνεγκείν* I assume reduplication ('Greek Verb' p. 291). — On the Irish words cp. 'Ztschr.' xxi. 412 ff., xxiii. 212, 224: *anac*=Skt. *ānāṇa*. To Gk. *ἀνάγκη*, Lat. *necesse*, belongs OIr. *écen* 'necessitas.'

425. *évi* (adv. *évi*), *év* (Arcad. and Cypr. *lv*), *eis* (*ēs*) in, *év-τό-s*, *év-δο-ν* within, *έσ-ω* within, *év-εροι* inferi, *ένερ-θε*, *ὕπ-ένερ-θε* apud inferos, *ένέρ-τερο-s* deeper (*νέρθε*, *νέρτεροι*), *έν-τερο-ν* inward parts.

Skt. *an-tár* inside, within, *an-tará* in the middle, *án-tama-s* the nearest, intimately friendly, *án-tara-s* within, inward, *an-trá-m* intestine.

Lat. *en-do*, *in-du*, *in*, *in-ter*, *in-trā*, *in-trō*, *in-ter-ior*, *in-tumu-s*, *in-tus*, *intes-tīnu-s*; Umbr. *en-*, *an-der*, Osc. *an-ter* inter.

Goth. *in*, *inna* within, *innuma* inmost, *inna-thrō* *ἔσωθεν*. — *un-dar* under, OHG. *innâdiri* intestine.
 Lith. *į* in (w. acc.), ChSl. *v-a*, *v-ŭ* in, *ję-tro* jecur.
 OIr. *i(n)* in, *inathar* viscera; *eter*, *etir* inter; OCymr. *i(n)*, in, *permed-interedou* ilia; Corn. *enederen* extum (Z². 1066).

Cp. *ἀνά* No. 421, Aufrecht and Kirchh. i. 148, Mikl. 'Lex.' — *ἐνί*: *ἀνά* = *περί*: *παρά* (No. 346); *ἐνί* seems to be a locative form; *εἰς*, for which the grammarians give us an Argive-Cretic *ἐν-s* (Ahr. 'Dor.' 104), is formed like *ἐξ* from *ἐκ* (cp. Lat. *ci-s*, *ul-s*). In several dialects *ἐν* like the Lat. *in* took the place of *εἰς*: *ἐν* is discussed by Mor. Schmidt 'Ztschr.' ix. 369, and in my 'Contributions to Greek Dialectology' Gött. Anz. 1862, 'Nachtr.' p. 10. *ἔσω* Hom. *ἔσω* for *ἐν-sω* is formed from *ἐν* in the same way as *πρό-sω* from *πρό*. *ἐν-εροι* are properly 'the inner ones:' hence the name is an evidence of an underworld conceived as existing inside the earth. Leo Meyer 'Bemerkungen z. ältest. Gesch. d. Gr. Myth.' p. 55, compares Skt. *nāra-ka-s* 'underworld,' German *Nord* and *Nerthus* as the Earth-mother. The same idea occurs in *inter-eo*, which remarkably agrees both with the German use of *untergehen* ('to go under,' i.e. 'to perish') and with the Skt. *antar-i-ta-s* 'perished,' 'ruined.' Perhaps the Umbr. *nertru mani*, i.e. 'sinistra manu' (Aufr. u. K. ii. 219) belongs here. — Thus we get the right view of the relation of the Skt. prefix *nī-* 'down' to the Gk. *ἐνί*: *nī-* is probably for *ani-* (cp. No. 420), but its meaning has been transferred to that which has become fixed in *ἐν-εροι* and in OHG. *nī-dar* 'nether'; this latter word is compared also by Bopp 'Gl.' and 'Vergl. Gr.' iii. 495. In the word *nī-njā-s* 'inward,' 'secret,' derived from *nī-* the primitive meaning appears. — The pronominal stem *ana* which apparently occurs in these prepositions and adverbs, is also preserved in *ἐν-θα*, *ἐν-θεν*, *ἐν-ταῦθα*, *ἐν-τεῦθεν* with the vowel *ε*, and also in the following No. — Pott, who treats of this preposition i². 314, is inclined to regard *ι* as the stem. But in Greek *ι* never passes into *ε* 310 before consonants. Besides the full *a*-sound is shown not merely in the Umbr. Osc. *anter* 'inter,' which no one will separate from *in*, but perhaps also in individual words of the Sabellian dialect acutely explained by Corssen 'Ztschr.' ix. 141 (*asigna*=*insignia*). — In ChSl., as often, the spirants *v* and *j* have taken the place of the spiritus lenis. — The nasal of the Ir. *in* is retained before a vowel and a medial: before a pronoun a form is used corresponding to the Lat. *indu*, *indium* 'in me' (Z². 625). On the OCymr. *permed-interedou* (*permed*=Lat. *permedius*) cp. Stokes 'Beitr.' iv. 400. Here belongs also the OGall. gloss *Inter-ambes* 'inter rivos:' ibid. vi. 227.

426. *ἐν-ιο-ι* some, *ἐνιαχοῦ*, *ἐνιαχῇ* in some places, *ἐνί-τε* sometimes. — Skt. *an-já-s* (Zd. *an̥ja*) alius, *an-já-trā* elsewhere, *an̥jā-tha* otherwise. — Goth. *an-thar* ἄλλος.

Bopp 'Gl.' 'Vgl. Gr.' i. 382, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 125. — Ebel 'Ztschr.' v. 70 has endeavoured to explain *ἐν* in accordance with an old view by *ἐν* αἶ: in this case the derived adverbs would be purely after-formations, and this is supported by the fact that *ἐν* with its derivatives first occurs commonly in Herodotus, and is unknown to the Homeric poems. Still there are not wanting indications that the stem *ἐν* even in Greek had quite the meaning of the Asiatic *an̥ja*. To these belongs Hesiod's *ἐς τ' αἶμα ἐς τ' ἐνὸν* ('Erg. 410), where we can clearly recognize the stem of the feminine *ἐν* = Skt. *an̥jā* assimilated after the Aeolic fashion. The meaning of 'the day after to-morrow' is easily arrived at from that of 'the other.' Akin are also *ἐπ* ἡ τρίτην, *ἐπείναρ ἐς τετάρτην Λάκωνες* (Hes.), genitive forms with a *Lacoonis* ρ for ε and ν for ν (cp. *ξένος* beside Aeol. *ξένος*), for which we find also *νῆς*, *νᾶς* (Ahr. 'Dor.' 385), and in the same way the accusative *ἐπ* in Aristoph. 'Ach.' 171 *πορεύει εἰς ἐπ*, i.e. *εἰς τρίτην* (Schol.). Pott's question (W. i. 841) 'does this word then ever express difference?' would thus be answered in the affirmative. — *ἄλλος* is treated separately under No. 524.

427. *ἐννέα* nine, *ἐννα-το-ς* (Ion. *εἵνατο-ς*), *ἐνα-το-ς* the ninth, *ἐννά-κῖς*, *ἐνά-κῖς* (Ion. *εἰνάκῖς*) nine times, *ἐννα-κόσιοι*, *ἐνα-κόσιοι* nine hundred, *ἐνενή-καστα* (Hom. *ἐννήκοντα*) ninety. — Skt. Zd. *nāvan* nine, Skt. *nava-mā-s* the ninth, *navatī* ninety. — Lat. *novem*, *nōnu-s*, *nov-iens*, *nōnā-ginta*, *non-genti*. — Goth. *niun* nine, *niun-da* the ninth. — OPruss. *nevīn-ts* nonus, ChSl. *devę-tŭ* novem, *devętyj* nonus, Lith. *devyn-l* novem, *devīn-ta-s* nonus. — Cymr. *nau* novem, OIr. *nói(n)* novem, *nómad* nonus.

Bopp 'Vergl. Gr.' ii. 76, Pott i¹. 107, ii¹. 132, Benf. ii. 51, 215 where there are all manner of conjectures as to the origin of the word, which reminds us of *νίος* (No. 433), and perhaps points to an old method of reckoning by fours. — The *ε* is prothetic, afterwards came the doubling of the ν, which does not hold its ground in all the derived forms. For both these procedures Bopp quotes the analogy of the Armenian. According to Christ indeed ('Lautl.' 34) and Schwabe

'Ind. schol. Dorpat' 1866 p. 16 *ἐννέα* is for *ἐνφεα*, and Schwabe believes that in the new Aeolic poem of Theocritus v. 27 he may write accord- 311 ing to the traces of the MS. *ἐννέα*, which he explains as like *γοῦνα* for *γοῦφα*. But how improbable is a metathesis, which would only produce a harder combination of sounds! — *ἐννή-κοῦτα* = *nōnāginta* is explained by Benfey from the ordinal, after the analogy of *ἑβδομή-κοῦτα*, so that the stem *ἐνεο* is like the Lat. *nōno*, probably with *n* for *m* (cp. Skt. *nava-mā-s*). — For the Slavo-Lithuanian forms Schleich. 'Ksl.' 116. — OIr. *nōi(n)* for a prehistoric *noven*.

428. *ἔνο-s*, *ἐνη* old. — Skt. *sāna-s* old. Zd. *han-a* (m. f.) old man or woman. Skt. *sana-kā-s* of old, old, *san-as* of old. — Lat. *sen-ec-s*, *sen-īu-m*, *sen-esc-o*, *sen-ātū-s*, *sen-īli-s*, *sen-ec-tū(t)-s*, *Sen-eca*, *sen-ec-io(n)*. — Goth. *sin-eig-s* *πρεσβύτης*, *sin-ista* oldest, OFrank. *sini-skalku-s* the oldest house-servant. — Lith. *sén-a-s* old, *sén-i-s* old man, *sen-ýstė* age, *sen-ei* of old, long ago. — OIr. *sen* old, compar. *siniu*, *senchas* vetus lex, historia (Z². 787), OCymr. *hen* senex, *hencassou* monumenta.

Pott ii¹. 148, i³. 796, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 129, 463, iv. 45, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 337. — *ἔνο-s* as adjective in the formulas *ἐνη καὶ νέα*, *ἔναι ἀρχαί*, *ἔνος καρπός* in the sense of the French *ancien* (Suidas *ἐνὴν τὴν παλαιάν*) Aristoph. 'Ach.' 610 *ἐνη* or *ἐνη* according to the Scholia *ἐκ πολλοῦ*, hence like *πάλαι*. — For the derivative *ec* in Lat. *senex*, to be compared with the *κ* of *γυνα-ικ* (No. 128) 'Ztschr.' iv. 215. — Kuhn connects with this also the words denoting 'always,' which are similar in sound, Skt. *sānā* 'always,' Lat. *sem-per*, Goth. *sin-teinō* 'always,' *sin-tein-s* 'daily:' but the meaning is tolerably far removed, and rather reminds us of *ἄμα* (Nos. 449, 599). Certainly the forms referring to the future, quoted under No. 426, *ἐννη* etc. are unconnected. — The gloss of Hesychius *γεννόν' ἀρχαῖον*, which does not follow the alphabetic sequence, and is justly regarded by M. Schmidt as suspicious, cannot at all make us doubt this combination, especially as it occurs in the midst of other strange and evidently corrupt glosses.

429. Root *μεν, μαν μέν-ω* remain, *μέ-μον-a* (pl. *μέ-μα-μεν*) strive, *μέν-os* spirit, courage, *Μέν-τωρ*, *Μέν-τη-s*, 'Αγα-μέμνων, *μαίν-ο-μαι* rave, *μαν-ία* madness, *μάν-τι-s* inspired one, seer, *μῆν-ι-s* wrath. — St. *μνῆ μέ-μνη-μαι* remember, *μνά-ο-μαι* keep in mind, woo, *μι-μνή-σκ-ω* remind, *μνή-μων* mindful,

μνή-νη, μνημο-σύνη memory. — St. μα-θ-ε-μαθ-ο-ν learnt, μαθ-ά-ν-ω learn. — St. μινυ μηνύ-ω inform.

Skt. rt *man* (*man-v-ē*, *man-j-ē*, part. *ma-ta-s*) think, believe, hold good, keep in mind, long for, *mān-as* thought, spirit, will, *ma-ti-s* devotion, thought, view, *man-jū-s* humour, ill-humour. — St. *mnā* (*mānā-mi*) in composition, mention. — Zd. *man* think, *upa-man* ὑπο-μένειν, *fra-man* wait for, *manañh* thought, spirit. — St. *ma-d*, *ma-dh* to treat (of a physician), *madh-a* wisdom, knowledge of medicine, *vohu-mad* πολυμαθής.

312

Lat. *man-e-o*, *me-min-i*, *Miner-va*, *men-tio*, *men-(ti)-s*, *menti-o-r*, *mend-āx*, *mon-e-o*, *Monē-ta*, *mon-s-tru-m*, *re-min-i-sc-o-r*, *com-min-i-sc-o-r*, *commen-tu-m*, *commen-ta-riu-s*. — *med-eo-r*, *re-med-iu-m*, *med-icu-s*, *med-i-tari*.

Goth. *ga-mun-an* think, keep in mind, *mun-s* νόημα, *ga-min-thi* μνεία, OHG. *minnia*, *minna* amor: OHG. *man-ē-n*, *man-ō-n* monere, *meina* opinion, ON. *muni* animus. — Goth. *mund-ō-n* consider, *mundrei* aim, OHG. *munt-ar* expeditus, vigil.

Lith. *min-iù* keep in mind, *āt-men-u*, *at-min-ti-s* thought, *man-d-rù-s* vigilant. — ChSl. *mĕn-ě-ti* νομίζειν, *po-mę-nq-ti* μνημονεύειν, *pa-mę-tĭ* μνήμη, *mq-d-rŭ* φρόνιμος.

OIr. *menme* (gen. *menman*) mens, *do-moiniur* puto (perf. *do-ménar*), *do-aith-minedar* commonet, *taid-met* memoria, *der-met* oblivio, *air-mitiu* (gen. *air-miten*) honor.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 94, 118, Benf. ii. 34 ff., Ebel 'Beitr.' ii. 163. — The meanings of this widely ramifying root, carefully discussed by Babad 'De Graeca radice man' (Leipzig Doctor. diss. 1874), have taken three main directions: (1) thought accompanied by endeavour, striving; hence *μῶ-μαι*, *μα-ί-ο-μαι* (perhaps for *μασ-jo-μαι*) are also related; (2) 'excited thought' opposed to natural behaviour, 'the remaining sunk in thought,' hence (a) (Pictet 'Ztschr.' v. 325) 'to be inspired,' 'raving,' 'wrathful;' and (b) regarded purely negatively — 'to remain.' For the latter Graeco-Latin developement Pott quotes analogies from Persian and Armenian:

cp. above, p. 103, Fick i². 713; (3) 'keep in mind,' 'remember'—causatively taken, 'to remind,' *Μέν-τωρ*=*monitor*, and (fainter) 'inform' *μηνύειν*. The more physical fundamental meaning of the root is perhaps that of 'touching,' 'feeling,' which may to a certain degree be recognized in its transition to a more metaphysical application in the Homeric use of *ἐπιμαίεσθαι*, *ἐπεμάσσατο*, *μαστήρ*. May not even *μάστιξ* (expansion from *μασ-τι*) belong here? (E 748 *μάστιγι* *θοῶς ἐπεμαίετ' ἄρ' ἵππους*). If we give *ma* as the primitive form, we obtain the link between 'touching' and *ma* 'measure' (*μέ-τρον*). *Μούσα* arising, as is proved by Dor. *Μῶσα*, Aeol. *Μοῖσα*, from *Μονσα*, i.e. *Μοντια*, may be fitly attached to this root, whether it be brought into a closer connexion with *μάντι-s* (= *μαντι-a*) with Lottner 'Ztschr.' v. 398, or—as I prefer—be taken directly as the 'thinking, devising one' (Pott 'Ztschr.' vi. 109 ff., Welcker 'Götterlehre' i. 701, Leo Meyer 'Bemerk.' 42, Preller 'Mythol.' i². 380). Otherwise Bergk 'Philol.' xi. 382, Sonne 'Ztschr.' x. 128.—It may be doubted with regard to *μη-τι-s* 'insight,' 'judgment,' whether it belongs here or to the related rt. *μα* (No. 461): the former view is supported by the Skt. form *abhī-māti-s* 'way-laying,' 'plot,' quoted by Schweizer 'Ztschr.' iv. 301 (cp. *πολύμητι-s*).—For the stem-form *μα-θ* (*μαν-θ*) expanded by a *θ*, recognized also by Pott ii². 472, 'Ztschr.' v. 2, vi. 108, cp. above p. 63. This is demonstrated by *μενθ-ήρη φροντίς*, *μενθ-ήρας μερίμνας*, quoted by Hesych. This expanded stem only received a full explanation by means of the Zend words quoted above, and touched upon before under No. 286: for these unite the two meanings which are separated in *med-i-tāri* (cp. *μαθεῖν*) and *med-ē-ri*. The change of meaning in Lith. *man-d-rū-s* = 313 OHG. *mun-tar* is remarkable. But the ChSl. *mq-d-rŭ* forms the link between this and the fundamental meaning (similarly rt. *budh* No. 328). For *mentīri* and *mendax* cp. Pott ii². 537, Corssen 'Beitr.' 117, for *Minerva* (*Menervai* C. I. L. 191, 1462) Preller 'Röm. Myth.' 258. It is a derivative from *menos*=Gk. *μένος*. Hence *promenervat* 'monet' (Fest. p. 205).—The further ramification of the root in *μενε-αῖνω* (from *μενες-*), *μενοινά-ω* may with other points be passed over here, and also the words denoting 'man' (Skt. *mān-u-s* 'human being,' Lat. *mas*, etc.), which certainly come from this root, but have no representatives in Greek, unless indeed it is *Mírow-s* (Benfey 'Hermes, Minos, Tartaros').—OIr. *menme* m. (Z². 254) is a stem like Skt. *manman* n.; -*moiniur* pres. dep. like Skt. *manjē*, -*ménar* perf. dep. like Skt. *mēnē*, -*met* for * *manta*: -*mitiu* (Z². 800) like Lat. *mentio*. Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 337 adds OIr. *in-main* 'carus.'

430. *ναῦ-s* ship, *ναύ-τη-s* shipman, *ναυτίλο-s* sailor, *ναυτίλλο-μαι* sail, *ναῦ-λο-ν*, *ναῦ-σθλο-ν* passage-

money, *ναυ-τία*, *ναυ-σία* sea-sickness, *ναυτιά-ω*, *ναυσιά-ω* become sea-sick.

Skt. *nāu-s* ship, boat, *nāu-kā* skiff, OPers. *nāvi* ship.

Lat. *nāvi-s*, *nau-ta*, *nāvita*, *nāv-igare*, *nāv-ig-iu-m*.

OHG. *nacho*, AS. *naca*, Bavar. *naue* ship, ON. *nav-st* statio navalis, *Nóa-tún* Shipton, dwelling-place of Njördhr.

OIr. *nau* (gen. *nóe*) navis (Z³. 33).

Bopp 'Vgl. Gr.' i. 258, Pott W. i. 138, Pictet ii. 180. — Lat. *nausea* is certainly a borrowed word, and perhaps also *nauta*. [Nettleship 'Essays' p. 29.] The root is either *snu* (No. 443) or *sna*, which however is only quoted in the meaning of 'lavare' (cp. rt. *plu* No. 369). In the latter case *vaū-s* would be formed like *γρᾱῦ-s* (No. 130). — For the guttural of the Teutonic words see p. 596.

431. Root *νεμ* *νέμ-ω* portion out, pasture, rule, *νέμ-ο-μαι* get apportioned, feed, possess, *νομά-ω* distribute to, use, *νομ-ή*, *νέμ-η-σι-s* distribution, *νεμ-έ-τωρ*, *νομ-εύ-s* distributor, *νέμ-ε-σι-s* displeasure, wrath at an excess, *νεμεσσά-ω* (*νεμεσάω*), *νεμεσί-ξ-ο-μαι* blame, am angry with, *νόμ-ο-s* custom, law, *νομίξ-ω* am accustomed to, *νόμισ-μα* coin. — *νέμ-ος* pasture, *Νεμέα*, *νομ-ός-s* pasture, dwelling.

Lat. *Num-a*, *Num-i-tor*, *num-e-ru-s*, *Numer-iu-s*, *nem-us*.

Goth. *nīm-a* capio, *λαμβάνω*, OHG. *nām-a* rapina, praeda, [Eng. *numb* and Shakspeare's Corporal *Nym*.]

Lith. *nām-a-s* house(?), *nūm-a-s* gain, Lett. *nom-r* tax.

OIr. *námae* (nom. plur. *námait*) hostis.

The attempts to connect these European words, which are certainly akin, with the Skt. *nam* (*nām-ām-i*) 'to bend,' 'to incline,' or even with Skt. *jam* 'hold,' 'lift' (Pet. Dict.) as in Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *jam*, Benf. ii. 134, meet with great difficulties, the former from the meaning, the latter from the form of the words. Sonne 'Ztschr.' xii. 347 ff. makes a new attempt to unite *νέμω* and *nām-āmi* on the ground of
314 the fuller account that has recently been given of the use of the Skt. word. He endeavours to find the intermediate notion in *καθήκειν* 'to come down to anything,' and attaches weight to *upa-nam* with acc. 'to fall to one's lot:' while Pictet ii. 17 following up a remark of Kuhn's ('Ind. Stud.' i. 338) seeks to reconcile them by the idea

'baisser la tête pour paître.' The Zd. *nim-ata* 'grass' might be considered to support the latter explanation, while in all other cases in Zd. as in Skt. the verb and the substantive *nemaih*=*nāmas* denote 'bowing,' 'honouring,' (also it is true 'aes alienum'). The Greek use cannot be satisfactorily explained in either the one or the other way. Cp. also Pictet ii. 691 and Pott W. ii. 2, 193. — J. Grimm 'Gesch.' 29 quotes some remarkable analogies for the connexion of the ideas 'take' and 'pasture.' — If we start from 'allot' as the primary meaning (cp. Heinr. Schmidt 'Synon.' i. 333 f.), the special applications are thus developed: (1) 'count up,' Herod. ἀνανέμεσθαι, *numerus* (for *num-e-su-s*, hence Osc. *Niumsiesis*); (2) 'to get allotted to one's self,' hence 'take' *νέμεσθαι*, which also (as well as *νέμειν*) means 'to dwell,' and therefore induces us to mention here also the Lith. *nāma-s*, quoted under No. 265 with a note of interrogation; hence too in another way the words relating to pasturing, and again in a different way ἀπονέμεσθαι 'to get gain by anything,' Lith. *nūma-s*; (3) 'to portion out,' 'suum cuique tribuere,' whence *νόμο-s* 'order,' 'custom,' 'ordinance,' *Nūmītor*=*Νεμέτωρ*. Corssen's attempt (i². 439) to refer *νόμο-s* to rt. *γω* (No. 135) is quite unsuccessful: *νόμο-s* never means 'judgement' in a judicial sense, but 'custom,' 'style,' hence especially 'style of music.' ἀγορα-νόμοι, γυναικο-νόμοι etc., are 'the orderers of the market,' etc. Aristotle had a true sense of the derivation of *νόμος* when he said 'Pol.' ii. p. 1326^a, 29: ὁ νόμος τάξις τίς ἐστι καὶ τὴν εὐνομίαν ἀναγκαῖον εὐταξίαν εἶναι. *νέμεσις* seems to have meant properly 'reckoning to any one,' *imputatio*, as Fulda 'Untersuch.' i. 161 makes probable. Hence *νemesίζομαι* 'I make a reckoning' (in a bad sense), and the desiderative *νemesσάω*, i. e. *νeme-τι-αω* (cp. *τομάω*, *ναυρίω*). — *νέμος* is strictly a Graeco-Italic word in form and meaning. How prominent the notion of grassy ground shaded with trees still is in *nemus*, is shown by passages like Horace 'Carm.' iii. 17, 9 'cras foliis nemus multis tempestas sternet;,' here Hoffmann-Peerlkamp takes objection on this very point, that the wood cannot be strewn. But the pasture can. — *nummu-s*, though the double *m* is the best established (Fleck-eisen '50 Artikel' 21), is probably borrowed from the *νόμο-s* preserved to us in the 'Heracl. Tables' (i. 122): there are also other proofs of its use in the sense 'money' or 'coin' (Meister 'Stud.' iv. 440). Somewhat otherwise Corssen i². 438. — OIr. *nāmae* (Z². 255), originally pres. part. has been compared by Stokes 'Corm. Transl.' p. 125 with Goth. *niman*. He also compares ('Beitr.' viii. 337) with the Gk. *νερ*, the Gallic gloss *nanto* 'valle' (cp. ibid. vi. 229), Cymr. *nant* 'valley.' On the other hand OIr. *nem* 'heaven,' *nemed* 'sanctuary,' OGall. *nemeton* belongs to Skt. *nam*: cp. Windisch 'Auslautges.' p. 223.

432. Root *vec* *νέ-ο-μαι* go, come, *νίσ-σο-μαι* go, *νόσ-το-ς* reaching, return. — Skt. *rt. nas* (*nás-ē*) unite oneself to any one, *sam-nas-ē* come to any one. — OHG. *nēs-t*, Goth. *ga-nis-an* σώζεσθαι, *nas-jand-s* σωτήρ, OHG. *nara* nourishment.

Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 137, who explains the use of *nas*. — As this form explains *νίσ-σο-μαι* in particular = *νέσ-σο-μαι* (*νέσσομαι* is a reading 315 now universally rejected) with *ι* for *ε* before the double consonant (cp. *ἴσθι*) and *νόσ-το-ς*, this comparison deserves to be preferred to attempts (Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *nā*, Pott W. i. 576) of another kind, and also because of its simplicity to Benfey's analysis (i. 301). — The proper name *Νέσ-τωρ*, as far as form goes, might be well placed here, as something like 'Leader,' 'Leader home;' cp. however under No. 287 b. — It is natural to derive from this root also *ναίω* 'dwell' (*ναί-ετη-ς*, *ναϊετά-ω*), especially as forms like *ἐ-νασ-σα*, *ἐ-νάσ-θη-ν* seem to contain a *σ* belonging to the stem (Grassmann 'Ztschr.' xi. 33). As *νόστος* means 'return home,' so *νασ-ῖ-ω* might have meant something like 'I turn in,' 'come home.' Even *ναός-ς*, Aeol. *ναῦ-ο-ς* 'temple,' i. e. 'house of the Gods,' might stand for *νασ-φο-ς* and (with Sonne 'Ztschr.' 350, xiii. 408) be connected here (cp. *εἵαθε* for *ἔσφαθε*). — Cp. Fick i³. 129, 'Leipz. Stud.' i. 141 f.). In the 'Rivista di Filologia' July 1873, I have further discussed the remarkable development of the meanings of this root. The fundamental conception is 'come,' 'arrive,' taken causatively 'to make to arrive,' 'come through,' 'recover.' *νόσ-το-ς* has preserved the more general meaning in *ε* 344, Soph. 'Phil.' 43, Eurip. 'I. A.' 966. There is much significance too in the meaning *ἀνάδοσις τῆς γέυσεως* (Hesych.), i. e. the 'coming' of the sap into the plants, *νόστιμα* 'salutary herbs,' where we approach the German *Ge-nes-ung* 'recovery,' *νόσ-το-ς* 'produce' (*proventus*) in grinding, *Εὐνοστός* 'patron of millers.' — *nī-du-s* I omit, because of the equivalent Skt. *nīdā-s*, *nīlā-s*, which is unexplained.

433. *νέο-ς* (*νεφο-ς*) new, young, *νέό-ς* (*νείδ-ς*) fallow field, *νε-αρό-ς* young, fresh, new, *νε-άν*, *νεᾶν-ία-ς*, *νέ-ᾱξ* (contemptuous) youth, *νε-οσσό-ς* young (animal), *νε-οττ-ιά* nest, *νε-οχ-μός-ς* new, *νε-βρό-ς* fawn, *νέ-ατο-ς* novissimus (fem. *νή-τη* the lowest string), *νε-ωστί* lately [Germ. *jüngst*], *νεί-αιπα* (fem.) infima, *νει-ρό-ν'* ἔσχατον (Hes.).

Skt. *náva-s*, *náv-ja-s* new, fresh, young. — Zd. *nava* new.

Lat. *novu-s*, *Nov-iu-s*, *nov-iciu-s*, *nov-āli-s*, *nov-ellu-s*
nov-āre, *nov-er-ca*, *nū-nt-iu-s*, *de-nu-o*, *nū-per*. —

Osc. *Núv-la*, *Nu-ceria*.

Goth. *niū-ji-s véos*, *niūji-tha kainóτης*.

Lith. *naú-je-s* new, dim. *naujó-ka-s* novice, ChSl.
nov-ŭ new.

OIr. *núe*, Cymr. *newydd* novus (Z². 56, 837).

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott i¹. 160, Benf. ii. 51, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 266, J. Grimm 'Ztschr.' i. 433, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 125, Ebel 'Beitr.' i. 160. — Perhaps from *nu* (No. 441).—The derivatives are developed from the stem by various formative suffixes in *ν*, *ρ*, *κ*. *νεβ-ρός* is for *νεβ(ο)-ρός*, a by-form of *νεφάρος* (p. 587): from *νε-ακ*, *νε-οκ* comes *νεοσσός* = *νεοκ-ω-ς*; Lat. *nov-er-ca* is, as it were, *νεαρκή* 'Ztschr.' iv. 216 'the new (wife)' in a bad sense. Ascoli 'Ztschr.' xii. 320 quotes an analogy from Modern Persian, where *ēnder*, literally 'the other,' denotes the stepfather and father-in-law. *nū-ntiu-s* (Old Lat. *nountius*) Bergk. explains ('Ztsch. f. d. Alterthsw.' 1855 p. 300) as *novi-vent-iu-s*, Corssen i². 51 as *novent-iu-s* from a postulated **novēre*.—*νέα-τος*, *νείαυα* Ebel 'Ztschr.' vi. 206, and Fick 'Bezz. Beitr.' i. 336 wish to separate from these words and to connect with the Skt. *ni* 'downwards' (Germ. 316 *nieder*). But *novissimus*, which no one can separate from *novus*, means 'the last' in just this sense, e. g. *novissima cauda* (Ovid), as conversely *νέαιος* means also the 'latest' in time. A rare superlative *νήστο-ς* = Skt. *nāvishṭhas* is quoted by Hesych., to which belong *νήσταις πύλαις*, *ταῖς πρώταις καὶ τελευταῖαις* and the Theban gate *Νήπαι* (Lobeck 'Proleg.' 398, G. Hermann ad Eurip. Phoen. 1155) probably for *Νήπται* with a Boeotian assimilation of *στ* to *ττ*.—On Cymr. *newydd* = Skt. *nāvja-s* cp. what is adduced by Rhys 'Rev. Celt.' ii. 115.

434. *νεῦρο-ν* sinew, cord, *νευρ-ά* bow-string, harp-string.

—Lat. *ner-vu-s*, *nerv-iae* gutstrings, *nerv-osu-s*. —

OHG. *snar-a*, *snar-ahha*, *snuor* laqueus, *nar-wa* scar [Germ. *Narbe*] and fibulatura, OSax. *nar-u* angustus, ON. *njörv-a* artare. — Lith. *nár-a-s* joint in the body, *ner-ù* inf. *ner-ti* to thread a needle, *nar-inù* make a noose.

Benf. i. 292, Pott. i. 230, W. i. 380 where we find figuring once more that unhappy *nesvod*, from Gell. xx. 1, which is found in no MS. (Schöll 'XII tabb.' p. 122). Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 515. — From the Lithuanian especially we may assume *snar* as the root, hence with a suffix *va* the Indo-Germ. *snar-v-as*, Lat. *ner-vu-s*, with metathesis

veūpo-v.—The Skt. *snā-jū-s* 'tendon,' 'bow-string,' *snāvan* 'sinew,' Zd. *ṣṇa*, *ṣṇāvare-* 'sinew,' 'gut,' are, as it appears, more remotely connected. — Cp. No. 436.

435. *νεφρό-s* kidney, *νεφρί-διο-s*, *νεφρί-τη-s* of the kidneys.
— OHG. *niro* kidney. — OIr. *áru*, Cymr. *aren* kidney.

Benf. ii. 56. — The origin is altogether obscure: a *b* corresponding to the *φ* must have fallen out after the *i* in German. — Fick i². 648, who adds also *nebrundines*, Lat. *nefrundines* 'testiculi,' or 'renes' quoted by Festus p. 162. — OIr. *áru* comes from a stem **abhran*, Windisch 'Auslautsges.' p. 268, cp. Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 338.

436. Root *ve* *νέ-ω*, *νή-θ-ω* spin, *νή-μα* yard, thread, *νή-σι-s* spinning, *νή-τρο-ν* spinning wheel.

Lat. *ne-o*, *nē-men*, *nē-tu-s*.

OHG. *nā-an*, *nā-dala*, Goth. *nēthla* *þaþís*, *na-ti* net.

OIr. *sná-the* filum, *snáthat* needle, OCymr. *notuid* acus, Corn. *snod* vitta, *noden* filum.

Pott W. iii. 920, Benf. ii. 181, Bopp 'GL,' Stokes 'Ir. GL' 817, 'Corm. Trans.' p. 115. — All four add Skt. *nah* = *nectere*, which makes some of its forms from *nadh*. This *nadh* may indeed be closely connected with *νήθ-ω*. But in *ve* we have a shorter stem-form, which deviates from the Skt. This is the opinion of Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' viii. 260, Pictet ii. 158. The Ir. *snáthe* would induce us to consider *san*, *sna* as the root, and to assume a connexion with No. 434; cp. Joh. Schmidt 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 276, the form *ṣṇṇ* = *nebat* (Bergk 'Lyr.'³ p. 1333), given in the 'E. M.' also points to the loss of a consonant before *v*. — Pictet ii. 512 is probably right in referring to this rt. *νέ-ω* 'heap up,' intens. *νή-νέ-ω*, with the derived *νή-έ-ω*, for these verbs are used especially of the building up of the funeral pile (*πυρὰν νήσαι*), and the skilful arrangement of the logs across each other is not farther removed from the primary notion of binding than *δέμ-ω* is from *δέ-ω* (No. 264). On the very ancient custom of constructing such funeral piles (Caesar 'B. Gall.' vi. 16 'immani magnitudine, contexta viminibus') Pictet, following Jac. Grimm. 'Ueber das Verbrennen der Leichen,' quotes abundant authorities. [*snód* = 'vitta' is given as AS. in Wright's 'Vocabularies' i. 74 col. 2.]

437. *νή-* negative prefix (*νή-κερδής*, *νή-(ἀ)νεμ-ίη*). — Skt. *na* (Ved. *nā*) not, *nō* (*na-u*) and not, *nēd* (*na-īd*) lest. Zd. *na* not. — Lat. *ne-* (*ne-fās*), *-ne?*, *ni-* (*ni-mīrum*, *ni-si*), *nē*, *n-oenu-m*, *noenu*, *nōn*. — Goth.

nī ov, μή, nī-h ovδέ, nība ei μή, OHG. *ne, nein*. — ChSl. *ne ov, μή, ne-že ħ* after comparatives, Lith. *nė not, neĩ also not*, as it were. — OIr. *ní non, nē, ma-ni si non, ca-ni nonne, ná, nách non* in dependent and relative sentences, *naicc no* (Z². 739 ff.).

Bopp. 'Vgl. Gr.' ii. 178, Pott. i². 106, Benf. ii. 45. — According to Bopp the pronominal stem *na* underlies these words, though it occurs elsewhere with a force by no means negative (cp. *naí* = Lat. *nae* [*ne*, Ritschl 'Proll. ad Trin.' p. 97] 'yes,' *νή* 'indeed.'). The same nasal appears as a negative in *av-* (No. 420). It seems to me unsafe to separate the Lat. *nē* (*nei, nī*) from the interrogative *ne* and to connect it with *μή*. For *n-oenu-m*, i. e. *ne-oenu-m* (cp. No. 445), and its identity with *nein* cp. Grimm 'Gr.' iii. 745, Lachm. ad Lucret. 149. — It is worth while noticing the comparative usage of this syllable in the Vedas, where *na* very often means 'as' (cp. Lith. *nei*), a confirmation of the proverb 'omnis comparatio claudicat' from the history of language. — Cp. 'Ztschr.' vi. 309, Corssen i². 786.

438. *νήσσα* duck. — Lat. *ana(t)-s*. — OHG. *anut* [Germ. *Ente*, AS. *ened*, whence *drake*, cp. Germ. *Enterich*]. — Lith. *anti-s*.

Pott i. 199, Benf. ii. 54, Fick i². 488. — It is natural to suppose a connexion with *νήχ-ω* 'swim' (No. 443), but this would separate the Greek word from those in the kindred languages. Because of the *t* in three families of speech I prefer to derive *νήσσα* from *νητ-ια*, so that *νητ* corresponds to the Lat. stem *anat*, and *ια* is considered as an added feminine suffix. The primary form would thus be *anat-ja*. The loss of initial vowels, elsewhere unusual in Greek, is perhaps to be explained from a resemblance to *νήχω* found by 'popular etymology.' The Skt. *āti-s*, the name for another waterfowl (Pictet i. 393) if identical, must have changed *an* into *ā*, cp. *jā-tar* (No. 423 b).

439. Root *νιρ*, *νιβ νίξ-ω* (fut. *νίψω*), *νίπ-τ-ω* moisten, wash, *χέρ-νιβ-α* (acc.) water for washing the hands, *νίπ-τρο-ν* water for washing.

Skt. *niḡ* (*nē-nēḡ-mi*, by-form *nīṅḡ*) purify, wash away, *ava-nēḡ-ana-m* water for washing.

OIr. *nig-im* I wash.

Bopp. 'Gl.,' Pott W. iii. 494, Savelsberg 'Quaestiones Lexicales' p. 57. Schleicher 'Zur vergl. Sprachengeschichte' p. 56. Cp. p.

671. Benf. ii. 53, Max Müller 'Ztschr.' iv. 365. The pretended Aeolic by-form *νίσσω* (again quoted by the latter) which could not be derived from rt. *νν*, has little support, according to Ahrens 'Aeol.' 41. — Cp. No. 440. — There is a trace of a *σ* once present in *ἀπῆνιζοντο* K 572, according to Rumpf 'Jahn's Jahrb.' 1866 p. 75 (1). — 318 Other Irish forms unmistakeably show the root-form *nag*: *ro caom-nagair* 'he washed,' *fo-nenaig* 'he purified' (inf. *fu-nech*), *do-fo-nuch*, *-nug* 'ablue,' 'lavo,' cp. 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 211.

440. *νίφ-α* (acc.) snow, *νίφ-ά(δ)-ς* snow-flake, *νίφ-ετός-ς* snowstorm, *νείφ-ει* (*νίφ-ει*) it snows.

Zd. *çnizh* to snow.

Lat. *ning-i-t*, *ningu-i-t*: subst. *ningu-i-s*, *nix* (st. *niv* for *nigv*).

Goth. *snaiv-s*, OHG. *snéo* snow, *snîwit* ningit.

Lith. *snig-ti*, *snîng-ti* to snow, *snég-a-s*, ChSl. *snég-ŭ* snow, Lith. *snaig-alà* snow-flake.

OIr. *snigis* dep. *snigestar* stillavit, *snechta* snow.

Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *snu*, Benf. ii. 54, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 137, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 263. — Bopp (cp. Pictet i. 93) considers *snu* (*νν*, *νέω* No. 443) as the root, but there are still many objections to this. A connexion with No. 439 is suggested by Hes. *νίβα' χύονα καὶ κρήνην*, to which Photius and Suidas add *ἐν Ὀράκῃ*. We might start with *snigh*, whence Skt. *snih* 'to be damp,' *snēh-a-s* 'oil,' quoted already by Benfey. Cp. p. 482. Homer's *ἀγάννιφο-ς* also points to *sn*. But No. 439 presumes *snig* as the primary form. *νείφει* is the more approved spelling, confirmed by Herodian (ii. 554). Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' i. 134. — The *n* strengthens the stem in Latin as in Lithuanian. *ningues* Lucr. vi. 736, Corssen 'Beitr.' 55. — The perf. *ro senaich* for *sesnaig* points to an Irish root-form *snag*. Cp. 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 215, Stokes 'Beitr.' vii. 11, 39.

441. *νῦ*, *νῦ-ν-ι*, *νῦν* now. — Skt. *nu*, *nū* now, *nū-nám* at present, certainly. Zd. *nū* just, exactly. — Lat. *nu-dius*, *num*, *num-c*. — Goth. OHG. *nu*. — ChSl. *nyñě* *νῦν*. — OIr. *nu*, *no*.

Bopp 'Gl.' Max Schmidt 'De pronom. Gr. et Lat.' p. 97, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 125. — Pott i². 106 compares with *νῦν* only the *num* used in *etiam-num*, but breaks up the interrogative into *ne-um* and derives it from the negative and the indefinite occurring in *um-quam* and identical with *cum*. As the interrogative *-ne* in Latin is post-positive, while the transition from an asseveration referring to the

present to an interrogation is easy, it looks to me more probable that the interrogative *num* is identical with the other, and differs from *nunc* only as *tum* from *tun-c*. So Ebel 'Ztschr.' vi. 207, Corssen 'Beitr.' 291. In *nu-diu-s* (cp. No. 269) we have the shortest form of the stem. — The connexion of this pronominal stem with No. 433 is made probable especially by the Skt. *nū-tana-s* or *nū-tna-s* 'new,' 'of the day,' 'young' — cp. *diu-tinu-s*. — Ir. *nu*, *no* is an untranslatable verbal particle, which is prefixed especially to the present (Z². 411).

442. Root *vu* *νεύ-ω* nod, beckon, incline, *νεῦ-μα* nod, *νεῦ-σι-s* nodding, inclination, *νευ-σ-τάζ-ω*, *νυ-σ-τάζ-ω* nod, sleep, *νύσταλο-s* sleepy.

Lat. *nu-o*, *nū-men*, *nū-tu-s*.

Pott W. i. 669, Benf. ii. 182. Fick i³. 652, who quotes the rare Skt. *nu* (*nāvē*) 'go,' caus. 'move,' 'set aside,' in composition 'turn.' Cp. Corssen i². 83. *Co-niv-ē-re* will have to be discussed at p. 597.

443. Root *vu*, *cvu*. (1) *νέ-ω* (aor. *ἔ-νευσ-α*) swim, *νεῦ-σι-s* 319 swimming, *νευ-σ-τήρ* diver (Hesych.). — (2) *νά-ω* (Homer. *ναίω*) flow, *ἀέ-να-ο-s* (*ὑδάτα ἀενάοντα*) ever flowing.

Skt. rt. *snu* (*snāu-mi*) cause to flow out, *snav-a-s* (subst.) a flowing, *snu-ta-s* (adj.) flowing, rt. *snā* (*snā-mi*) bathe, wash, float (trans.).

Bopp 'Gl.', Pott ii². 285, W. i. 372, Benf. ii. 53, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 263, Fick i³. 828 f. — *νεύω* is quoted as the Aeol. present (Ährens 36). — From the rt. *snu* are derived a great number of forms with the fundamental notion of 'flowing,' 'swimming;' so probably No. 430, perhaps No. 440, according to Corssen 'Nachtr.' 293 Lat. *nū-trix* 'she who makes to flow' (!), with expansive dental suffix OHG. *snū-z-an* 'emungere,' whence Germ. *Schnauze* 'snout,' with a guttural suffix the equivalent Lith. *snū-k-i-s*, with *p* Lith. *sznų-p-sz-ti*, Germ. *schnau-b-en* etc. — For the double initial consonant *ἔνεο-ν* Φ 11, the reading of Aristarchus, is of importance (*ἐναι τῶν κατὰ πόλεις νήχον*). — On the other hand *Νό-το-s*, the 'moist south-west wind,' may be explained better from the rt. *sna* as *πό-το-s* from rt. *pa* (No. 371): further derivatives are *νό-τ-το-s* 'moist,' *νο-τ-ία* 'moisture,' 'rain,' *νο-τ-ερό-s* 'wet,' *νο-τ-ίζειν* 'to wet,' *νο-τ-εῖν* 'drop.' To these belong Lat. *nā-re*, *na-tā-re*. With Goth. *nat-jan* 'wet,' and all that belongs to this form, we cannot at most assume more than an affinity with the unexpanded root, for Goth. *t* points to an Indo-Germ. *d*. Zd. *ḥnād* 'wash' does not suit either, for

its *d* seems to have arisen from *dh*. — I leave uncertain also *νᾱ-μα* 'fluid,' 'spring,' *νᾱ-ρό-ς* 'flowing,' whence *Νηρ-εύ-ς*, and *Νη-ιδ(δ)-ς, νᾱσμους, ῥεύσεις* Hesych. *νή-χ-ω* for *σνη-χ-ω* is related to *νά-ω*, as *σμή-χ-ω* to *σμά-ω*, *ψή-χ-ω* to *ψά-ω, ψαύ-ω*. Perhaps *νή-σο-ς* (*Νάξο-ς*? cp. *πάσσαλο-ς* and *πηκτό-ς*, Ion. *λάξις* and Att. *ληξις*) is for *νη-κιο-ς* (for *σ=σσ* Buttman 'A. G.' i. 85), but not, as Bopp conjectures, from Skt. *nāsā* 'nose'; for although 'promontories' are called 'noses' (*Lange-nes*, etc., *Μυκάλη*), and although Cic. 'de Legg.' iii. § 6 says of an island 'hoc quasi *rostr*o finditur Fibrenus,' yet we had rather consider islands as 'the swimmers' than as 'the noses' of the sea. Otherwise Windisch 'Ztschr.' xxii. 274. — On the other hand it cannot be decided whether *νάω* (impf. *ναίον* 'they ran over' i. 222) belongs to rt. *sna* or *snu*, especially as Hesych. gives the by-form *ναίει, ῥέει, βλύει*. This is the reason why I put both roots together here. — The rt. *sna* is preserved unaltered in the Umbr. *-sna-ta* (neut. pl.) *a-sna-ta* (A. and K. 'Umbr.' ii. 374). Corssen i². 434 adds the Umbrian river *Nar*. — To the rt. *sna* we may also trace the Irish forms *ro snó* 'I swam,' with the inflexion of the *s*-praet. *ro snaus-(s)a* (L. U. 40 a; 114 b.) Inf. *snám* 'to swim,' *snamach* 'cork-oak,' 'Ir. Gloss.' 391 (cp. Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 338): with Lat. *natrix* we may compare Ir. *nathir*, gen. *nathrach* 'serpent,' Z². 259.

444. *νυό-ς* (for *σνυσό-ς*) daughter-in-law. — Skt. *snushā* (for *snusā*). — Lat. *nuru-s* (for *snusu-s*). — OHG. *snur*, AS. *snor*. — ChSl. *snŭcha* (*snocha, synocha*).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 478, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 138. — The by-form 320 *έννός* quoted in many lexicons rests exclusively on the reading *έννός* in two MSS. of Pollux iii. 32, where Bekker reads *νός* with the concurrence of Lobeck ('Elem.' i. 144). — ChSl. *ch* regularly = *s*. — The Indo-Germanic primitive form is therefore *snusā*, which has been regarded by some scholars, as by Pictet ii. 372, as contracted from *sunu-sa*, and derived from the Skt. *sūnu-s* 'son,' with the sense of the 'Söhnerin' common in the Black Forest. — On the further use for 'bride,' 'girl' cp. Haupt 'Opusc.' ii. 402.

444 b. Pronominal st. *νω, νῶϊ νω-ῖν*. — Skt. *nāu* (Zd. *nó*) acc. dat. gen. dual, *na-s* acc. pl. of the pronoun of the first person. — Lat. *nō-s, nō-bi-s*. — ChSl. *na* stem of the dual and plural of the pronoun of the first person. — OIr. *ní nos, cechtár nathar* (gen. du.) *uterque nostrum*; Cymr. *ní, ny nos*.

Bopp 'Vergl. Gr.' i. 114, etc. — Perhaps *na* has originated from *ma* (No. 460). — Beside OIr. *ní* a form *sni*, like Cymr. *chwi* (*chw* = primitive *sv*), OIr. *si-ssi* 'your,' beside Lat. *vōs* (Z². 325, 370).

- 444 c. $\nu\omega\text{-}\tau\sigma\text{-}\nu$, $\nu\omega\text{-}\tau\sigma\text{-}\varsigma$ back, $\nu\acute{\omega}\text{-}\tau\text{-}\iota\sigma\text{-}\varsigma$, $\nu\omega\text{-}\tau\iota\alpha\text{-}\iota\sigma\text{-}\varsigma$ in the back, $\nu\omega\text{-}\tau\text{-}\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ to turn backwards, $\nu\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\sigma\text{-}\phi\iota(\nu)$ away, separated, $\nu\sigma\text{-}\sigma\text{-}\phi\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ to turn one's self away. — Lat. *na-tes*.

Pauli 'Körpertheile' 14. — 'Studien' i. 1, 257, i. 2, 298. — Döderlein 'Gl.' 2480. — The root-syllable is $\nu\omega$, $\nu\sigma$, Lat. *na*, the suffix in Gk. $\tau\sigma$, in Lat. *ti*. In $\nu\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\sigma\text{-}\phi\iota$ probably ϵ has fallen out and σ arisen from τ , the latter as in $\sigma\phi\omega$, dual of the stem *tva*, so that $\nu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\phi\iota$ = *natibus*. — A connexion with Skt. *nam* 'bend,' part. *na-tá-s* 'bent' (cp. No. 431) is probable. Fick i³. 649.

445. $\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\varsigma$ $\omicron\nu\acute{\eta}$ one. — OLat. *oino-s*, Lat. *ūnu-s*, *ūni-o(n)*, *ūni-cu-s*. — Goth. *ain-s* $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, *μόνος*, *aina-ha* *μονο-γενής*. — OPruss. *ain-s* one. — OIr. *oín* unus, *ointu* (gen. *ointad*) unitas, Cymr., Corn., Arem. *un* one.

Pott i. 123, W. i. 618, Bopp 'Vgl. Gr.' ii. 56, who quotes $\acute{\omicron}\nu\sigma$ as a word for the 'ace' on dice. But this rests only on a false reading in Pollux ix. 95. — $\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ καὶ $\omicron\nu\acute{\eta}\nu$ was the phrase in Greek for a throw at dice, which was also called $\chi\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$. Pollux vii. 204 explains the name in these words $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \omicron\nu\acute{\eta}\ \pi\alpha\rho\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \text{ἰωσι}\ \mu\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$. With this Hesych. agrees: $\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ τὸ $\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ κατὰ γλῶσσαν, $\omicron\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha$ — from the desiderative $\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$, cp. $\phi\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$, $\tau\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\omega$ — $\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\eta}\rho\eta$, like $\omicron\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\tau\alpha$ (ib.) from $\omicron\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$. Cp. Lobeck 'El.' i. 43. — The stem *aina* for 'unity' is proved thus to be a common European form. The Skt. $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}ka\text{-}s$, the Zd. *aē-va* are other extensions of the same stem *ai*. *aē-va* is probably equal to the Gk. $\omicron\acute{\iota}\sigma\text{-}\varsigma$ (cp. Cypr. $\omicron\acute{\iota}\phi\sigma\text{-}\varsigma$: Deecke-Siegismund 'Stud.' vii. 253), for in the accusative form $\acute{\omicron}\gamma\mu$ or $\acute{\omicron}\imath\mu$ it comes very close to it in form, and also in meaning in its signification of 'alone' which it bears, as well as that of 'one.' Cp. No. 599, Corssen i³. 387. — *unc-ia* (old *oncia*) Corssen ii. 187 connects not with this group, but with $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\sigma\text{-}\varsigma$ 'mass.' The old σ is no objection to the derivation from *oinu-s* as we see from *cōraverunt* by the side of *coirare*, *curare*.

446. $\acute{\omicron}\nu\sigma\text{-}\mu\alpha(\tau)$ name (Aeol. $\acute{\omicron}\nu\mu\alpha$, Ion. $\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha$), $\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{-}\acute{\omega}\nu\text{-}\mu\sigma\text{-}\varsigma$, $\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\mu\upsilon\text{-}\sigma\text{-}\varsigma$ nameless, $\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota\omega$, $\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ name.

Skt. $n\acute{a}\text{-}ma(n)$ name, *nāma* adv. by name, namely, 321 perchance. — Zd. *nāman*, Armen. *anwan* name.

Lat. *nō-men*, *nōmin-ā-re*, *nun-cupare*. — Umbr. *nume*, *nome* (dat. *nomn-e*).

Goth. *na-mó* gen. *na-min-s* $\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha$, *namn-jan*, *ga-namn-jan* $\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$.

ChSl. *i-me* ὄνομα, *imen-ova-ti* ὀνομάζειν.

OIr. *ainn* (nom. pl. *anmann*) nomen, *ainmn-ig-ther* nominatur, Cymr. *enw* nomen (Z². 115).

Bopp 'Gl.' Benf. ii. 144, Fick i². 68. — Certain as it is that the words quoted belong to each other, it is difficult to explain how they originated. Previously I agreed with my predecessors in deriving them from the root *gna* (γνω) 'recognize' (so 'Pet. Dict.' Grassmann). But against this view serious objections have been made, first by Pott (W. i. 53), and then with greater decisiveness by Windisch 'Ztschr.' xxi. 422, and Joh. Schmidt xxiii. 268. The latter assumes a primitive form *an-man* with the secondary forms *an-a-man*, *na-man*, *nā-man*. With the older explanation the loss of the *g* causes difficulties, for this finds its analogies only in Latin and Greek: with the more recent explanation we can account for the Indo-Iranic, Armenian, Teutonic, Slavonic, and Keltic, but the Lat. *co-gnō-men*, *a-gnō-men*, *i-gnō-minia* remain quite unintelligible, for, in spite of the close kinship in meaning with *nōmen*, we should have to take them as late imitative forms from *gnō-sco*; and it would be difficult to explain the Ionic ὄνομα (**ōnoμα* rests upon a bad reading in Theocr. v. 13), while it is more easily explained from ὀ-γνω-μα with a prothetic *o* (**o-gno-ma*). Besides with the new view there is a complete lack of an etymon, while the old seemed to explain 'name' very simply as 'means of knowing' (*Kennzeichen*). — In defence of the old explanation it may be suggested perhaps, that even in the period of united life, *na-man* was formed by the side of *gna-man*, that only the Graeco-Italians took with them *gna-man* into their home, and transformed it in their own fashion, so that the loss of the *g* came in much later with them, that in all the other nations *na-man* either remained unchanged, or was metathesised into *an-man* at a time when all consciousness of an initial *g* had long been lost. The quantity of the stem-syllable was governed by the very diverse analogies of the neuter words in *man* (Gk. μα-τ) in the individual languages. — ὄνομα agrees with ὄμα, πόμα, θέμα. — For the development of meaning we may notice the similar usage of the Skt. *nāman* (e. g. *ārjam nāman*) and the Lat. and Umbr. *nōmen* (e. g. *nōmen latinum*) for all that is called Aryan, or Latin ('Pet. Dict.', Grassmann, Darmesteter 'Mém.' ii. 395). — The syncope usual in Skt. for certain forms (e. g. gen. *nāmn-as*) reappears both in the Umbr. dat. *nomn-e* and in the Gk. νόνημνο-ς, i. e. νη-οννημαν-ο-ς, which, like ὀνομαίνω, points to the stem without the appended τ. — The Irish primary form *anaman* is identical with the Gk. ὀνομαν in ὀνομαίνω. Nom. plur. *anmann* with *nn* at the end of the stem, as always in the plural of neuters in *-man* (Z². 268).

447. *ὄνυξ* (st. *ὀ-νυχ*) nail, claw. — Skt. *nakhá-s*, *nakhá-m* nail, claw. — Lat. *ungui-s*. — Goth. *ga-nagl-jan* *προσηλοῦν*, OHG. *nag-al*. — Lith. *nág-a-s*, ChSl. 322 *nogŭ-tŭ* nail, claw. — OIr. *inga* (dat. pl. *ingn-ib*), OCymr. *eguin* unguis (Z². 267, 826).

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. iii. 107, Benf. i. 124, ii. 23, Stokes 'Ir. Gl.' p. 150, 'Ztschr.' ii. 336, Miklos. 'Lex.' 454. — Lobeck 'Elem.' i. 84 conjectures from a purely Greek standpoint a connexion with *νύσσω* 'scratch,' 'pierce,' 'strike:' for which Fick i³. 124 brings forward analogies from various languages, including OHG. *nagan*, though this differs in the vowel. Cp. *νύσσα* 'meta.' The word for nail is very ancient, but it appears with different suffixes; Skt. *kh* here stands for an earlier *gh*. The relation of *ungui-s* to Skt. *nakhá-s* is like that of *umbilicu-s* to Skt. *nábhi-s* (No. 403). The root is *nagh*, by metathesis *angh*; hence Windisch 'Ztschr.' xxii. 274 rightly places here Skt. *ángh-ri-s*, *ághri-s* and ChSl. *noga* 'foot.' Also Walter 'Ztschr.' xi. 435 is right in saying that the Greek *v* is inserted (cp. p. 730). My earlier view that the *o* of *ὄνυξ* was prothetic, breaks down upon Lat. *u*, for Latin has no tendency to prothesis.

448. *ὄνο-s* price of purchase, *ὀνή* purchase, *ὀνέ-ο-μαι* buy. — Skt. *vasná-s* price of purchase, *vasná-m* reward, *vasna-jā-mi* I bargain. — Lat. *vēnu-m*, *vēn-eo*, *vēn-do*. — ChSl. *věn-i-ti* vendere, *věn-o* dos.

Pott W. ii. 2, 140, Benf. i. 313, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 135, Ebel 'Ztschr.' iv. 166. — There are traces of the initial consonant in the augment (*ἐ-ωνού-μην*). — There is some doubt about the Slav. words expressed by Mikl. 'Lex.' — Bréal 'Mém.' ii. 319 adds *vin-dex* and explains it 'qui déclare donner caution' (cp. *jū-dex*).

M

Greek *μ* corresponds to an Indo-Germanic *m*, preserved also in all the other languages.

449. *ἄμα* (Dor. *ἄμα*) at the same time, *ὁμό-s* united, together, *ὁμοῦ* together (*ὁμό-θεν*, *ὁμό-σε*), *ὁμο-ῖο-s* like, *ὁμοί-ο-s* levelling, *ὁμα-λό-s* level, like.
Skt. *samá-s* even, like, *samá-m* (adv.) together, *samā*

in like manner, through the midst. — Zd. *hama* the same, the like.

Lat. *sim-ili-s*, *sim-ul*, *simul-tā(t)-s*, *simul-ā-re*, OLat. *simītu*.

Goth. OHG. *sama* idem, Goth. *sam-ana*, OHG. *saman*, *zi-samane* together, Goth. *samath*, OHG. *samet* together, *simul*.

ChSl. *samŭ* ipse, solus.

OIr. *som* in the 3 pers. ipse (Z². 326), *samail* similitudo, *samlaim* comparo, *int-(s)amail* imitatio, *co-smail* similis; Cymr. *hafal* similis.

Bopp 'Gl.' — The Doric *ᾄμα*, disputed by Kissling 'Ztschr.' xvii. 200, but admitted p. 217, is quite established e.g. Pind. 'Pyth.' iii. 36, Theocr. ix. 4 (Ahrens 'Dor.' 34, 372): the only question is whether it ought to be written with *ι* subscript, as Lentz maintains on Herodian i. 489. It would seem to me hardly explicable that a form *ᾄμα*, really in use, should be shortened into *ᾄμα* (cp. *κρυφα* and *κρύφα*). The Aeol. spir. lenis and *υ* are seen in *ᾄμυ-δus*. — For *ὁμοίος*, which is distinct from *ὁμοίος*, Döderl. 'Gl.' 1061. — *simul*: *simili-s* = *facul* (*facul-tā-s*): *facili-s*; both correspond in the suffix to the Gk. *ὁμαλός*. One explanation of *simītu* (for *simītus*) is attempted by Ebel 'Ztschr.' v. 240, another by Corssen 'Beitr.' 23. — The OIr. and OCymr. particle *amal* 'sicut' (Z². 733) is without the initial *s*. — There is probably a connexion with the prefixes *á*, *ǎ*, *ǝ* to be discussed under No. 598, and with No. 453.

449 b. *ᾄμά-ω* mow, gather, *ᾄμη-το-s* harvest, *ᾄμη-τό-s* time of harvest, *ᾄμαλλα* (*ᾄμάλη*) sheaf.

Lat. *me-t-o*, *mes-si-s*, *mes-sor*.

OHG. *mā-j-an*, AS. *māv-en* mow, OHG. *mā-dari* mower, MHG. *mât* (n.) mowing, [-*math*].

OIr. *meithel* a party of reapers, *meithleoir* messor, OCymr. *anter-metetic* semiputata, Corn. *midil* messor.

Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' viii. 261, Pictet ii. 101, Stokes 'Corm. Transl.' p. 107, 'Beitr.' iv. 408. — The fundamental idea cannot have been that of 'cutting off,' for *ᾄμᾱν*, *ᾄμᾱσθαι* mean rather 'gathering in' (*ᾄμησάμενος γάλα ἐν τάλάρουσιν* i. 247). — The *a* of *ᾄμάω* varies in quantity from Homer and Hesiod onwards (cp. Herder 'De *ǎ* vocali apud Homerum producta' Berlin 1876 p. 69). This prevents me from taking this vowel as prothetic, as I did previously. I prefer to start

with Fick i³. 493, Osthoff 'Forsch.' i. 29, Joh. Schmidt 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 277 from a rt. *am* 'take,' 'grasp,' from which come *ām*(*ā*) 'sickle,' 'shovel,' 'rake,' *āmī-s* 'chamber-pot,' *ām-vio-v* 'sacrificial bowl,' *ām-āra* 'conduit,' 'canal,' perhaps *ām-τλο-v* 'bilge water,' *ām-άλη*, *āmαλλα* 'sheaf,' Skt. *ām-a-tra-m* 'vessel,' 'pitcher,' MHG. *āme*, *ōme*, 'awme,' 'cask' [*Ohm*]. By metathesis *ma* is formed from this, whence the words for mowing in Latin, Teutonic, and Keltic, *me-t-o*, expanded by a *t* (cp. ChSl. *metā* 'verro'), and also *ma-tula*, *ma-tella* = *āmīs*. *āmān* is doubtless a denominative from *ām*. — It is not improbable that Lat. *em-ere*, originally, and in compounds 'take,' Umbr. *emantur* = 'sumantur,' OIr. *ar-fo-imim* 'suscipio' (Z². 883), Lith. *im-ū*, ChSl. *im-a* 'take' are only phases of the same root.

450 and 451. *ā-μείβ-ω* (Pind. *ā-μεί-ω*) change, *ā-μείβ-ο-μαι* reply, *ā-μεί-σα-σθαι* *ā-μείβεσθαι*, *διελθεῖν*, 324 *περαιώσασθαι* (Hesych.), *παρ-α-μείβ-ειν* pass by, *ā-μοιβή* change, exchange.

Skt. *mīv* (*mīv-ā-mi*) shove, move, *kāma-mū-ta-s* moved with love.

Lat. *mov-eo*, *mō-tu-s*, *mō-men-tu-m*, *mū-tā-re*, *mū-tuu-s*.

Lith. *mau-ju*, inf. *mauti* shove.

'Pet. Dict.' under *mīv*, Fick i³. 726. These words are discussed with very different results by Benfey ii. 33, 'Ztschr.' vii. 50, Pott W. i. 283, Döderl. 'Synon. u. Etym.' vi., Walter 'Ztschr.' xi. 429. — We may start most safely from a rt. *mav*, whence come *mov-eo*, and with a prothetic *ā* *ā-μείω*, which do not differ from each other more than *clu-eo* and *κλύ-ω*. In *mīv* and *ā-μείβω* the *i* appears; cp. *αείδω* and *vad* (No. 298). For *β* as the representative of *f* p. 586. The Sicelic *μοί-το-s* (Hesych. Varro 'L. Lat.' v. 179), if we have the genuine form recorded, probably stands for *μοι-f-το-s*; the *ū* in *mū-tuu-s* (cp. *mor-tuu-s*) and *mū-tā-re* points to *ovi* (cp. *prū-dens*, *bū-bus*). — All the uses of these words may be drawn from the fundamental idea of 'pushing,' 'pushing out of place.' For even the Greek words have by no means the general meaning of 'exchange,' but, especially in their intransitive usage, that of 'change of place'; this appears most conspicuously in the middle *ā-μείβεσθαι* (*ἀπομείβεσθαι*, *ἀντομείβεσθαι*), 'to thrust oneself in,' just as in the frequentative *mūt-are* the more pregnant meaning appears. — The Skt. rt. *mā* (*mē*) of *apa-majē* 'change,' *nī-ma-ja-s* 'exchange' (subst.), though perhaps to be compared with *me-ā-re*, and more certainly with ChSl. *mē-na μεταβολή*, Lith. *mai-na-s* 'exchange' (subst.) *mainý-ti* 'exchange' (verb), can at most

stand in a more distant relation. — Besides this, it now seems to me probable that the words previously placed apart under No. 451, ἀ-μῦ-ν-ω 'keep off,' ἀ-μύ-νο-μαι 'defend myself,' ἀ-μύ-ν-τωρ 'defender' ('Ἀμύντας,' Ἀμύντας), ἀ-μύνα 'defence,' the Homeric μύνη 'pretext' (μύνησι), μύνασθαι 'προφασίζεσθαι' [Alcaeus p. 86 Bergk], all came from the rt. *mu*, originating in *nav māv*, with the modified meaning 'to push away,' 'to thrust off.' Cp. Aristophanes of Byzantium (p. 213 Nauck): ἀμύνασθαι τίθεται καὶ ἀντὶ ψιλοῦ τοῦ ἀμείψασθαι (Simon. Ceus ed. Schneide-
win fr. 115). — On the other hand the Latin words *moe-nia*, *mū-ru-s* (OLat. *moiro-s*), *munire*, *com-mūni-s* = Osc. *mūni-kā*, all come from rt. *mi*, preserved in Skt. *mi* (*mi-nō-ti*) 'strengthen,' 'found,' 'build,' *mi-t* 'post,' (cp. Lat. *mē-ta*) and in Lat. *ad-mi-ni-culu-m*, so Fick i³. 724, Osthoff 'Forsch.' i. 83 ff. — Much is taken differently by Fick i³. 722 f.

452. Root ἐμ (Fεμ) ἐμ-έ-ω (pf. ἐμ-ήμ-εκα) vomit, ἔμ-ε-το-ς, ἔμ-ε-σι-ς vomiting.

Skt. rt. *vam* (*vām-ā-mi*) vomo, *vam-ana-m*, *vam-a-thu-s*, *vam-i-s* vomitus. — Zd. *vam* vomere.

Lat. *vom-o*, *vom-i-tu-s*, *vom-i-tio*.

ON. *vom-a* nausea, aegritudo, *væma* nauseare.

Lith. *vem-j-ù* (inf. *vém-ti*) vomo, *vem-alai* (pl.) vomit.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 222, Benf. i. 331, Pictet 'Ztschr.' v. 348.

— It seems to me that Lat. *vōm-er* 'ploughshare' cannot be so safely compared as *vōm-ica* 'sore.' — For the vowel of the middle syllable in 325 *ἔμ-ε-το-ς*, Skt. *vam-a-thu-s*, and Lat. *vom-i-tu-s* cp. 'Greek Verb' p. 496. The difference of the radical vowel in Greek and Latin depends upon the influence of the *v*, which in Latin likes to be followed by *o*. — No traces of the *f* can be shown to exist in Greek itself.

453. ἡμι-, ἡμι-σν-ς, Lesb. gen. plur. αἱμισέων. — Skt. *sāmi-*, *á-sā-mi-s* not half, complete. — Lat. *sēmi-*, *sēmī-s*. — OHG. *sāmi-* half.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott ii³. 337, Benf. i. 389, Grimm 'Gr.' ii. 553. — It is certainly right to take the stem *sama* (Zd. *hāma* 'like' by the side of *hama*) No. 449 as our starting point. From the idea 'like' that of the 'like parts' or 'halves' is developed very simply. — The derived form ἡμι-σν-ς Bopp 'Vgl. Gr.' ii. 62 compares with Zend *thri-shva* 'third part,' acc. *thri-shū-m*: perhaps -σν is for -σφο or σφι. — Stokes 'Beitr.' iv. 408 places here OCymr. *hanther* 'dimidium' (Z³. 123), *anter-metetic* 'semiputata': in 'Beitr.' viii. 339 also the privative *am-* (OIr. *am-reid* 'iniquus' Z³. 860, Cymr. *af-rif* 'innumerus' 893), though this has no initial *h*.

454. ἡρέμα (adv.) quietly, ἡρεμα-ῖο-s quiet, ἡρεμ-ία quiet, ἡρεμ-έ-ω rest, am quiet, ἡρεμίς-ω make quiet, ἀράμεναι ἡσυχάζειν (Hesych.), ἔρημ-ο-s lonely, ἔρημ-ία loneliness, ἔρημ-ό-ω make lonely, desert.

Skt. rt. *ram* (*rām-ē*) trans. make firm, intrans. stand still, rest, be contented, *upa-ram* come to rest, *ram-ā-s*, *rām-ana-s* loved one, *-rām-a* pleasure.—Zd. *ram* rest, rejoice, *rām-a* (f.) rest, *airi-ma* (n.) loneliness.

Goth. *rim-is* ἡσυχία.

Lith. *rām-a-s* rest, *ram-ū-s* of gentle nature, *rim-ti* to be quiet, *rām-dy-ti* to quiet.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 217, Benf. ii. 10, Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' i. 358. — The fundamental notion of comfortable rest evidently underlies all these forms. I cannot suppose that we have in the Gk. ἡ the Skt. preposition *ā*, because of ἔρημ-ο-s, the *ē* of which is certainly no other than the *ē* of ἐρυθ-ρό-s (No. 306), i.e. prothetic.—Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' vi. 19 defends the derivation (previously advanced by Benfey) of the Homeric *ωλεμέες*, *ωλεμέως* immediately from this root, but the *ω* in that case looks strange. — As we find in Skt. besides *ram* the root *rañ* (*rāṇa-ti*) with precisely similar meanings, Fick i³. 186 assumes a root *ra*, from which he derives Gk. ἔρο-s, ἔρα-μαι etc. Cp. part. *ra-ta-s* = ἐ-ρα-τό-s, *ρά-τι-s* 'rest,' 'pleasure,' 'intercourse' with ἔρω-s. — These words are thoroughly discussed by Brugman 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 587. I am not sure of anything more than the connexion of the words given in the text.

455. Root *μαγ* (for *μακ*) μάσσ-ω knead, wipe, μάγ-μα, μαγ-ί(δ)-s, μάζ-α dough, bread, μαγ-εύ-s baker, μάγ-ειρο-s cook, μάκ-τρα kneading-trough.

Skt. *mak* (*mākē*) bruise, by-form *mañk* (Pet. Dict.).

Lith. *mīnk-au*, *mank-szt-aú* knead, *mīnk-sz-ta-s* soft, loose, ChSl. *māk-a* farina, *mekŭ-kŭ* soft, *mek-nq-ti* mollescere.

Pott W. iii. 561, Fick i³. 707, Bugge 'Stud.' iv. 336. — I have 326 tried to show in the 'Proem. ind. lect. Kil.' 1857 p. vii. that *κ* is here the original final consonant of the root, and that hence came μάσσω from μακ-ῖω, but that *γ* is softened from *κ*. Hesych. μακ-αρία· βρώμα ἐκ ζωμοῦ καὶ ἀλφίτων. Perhaps *māc-er-ia* as 'a kneaded clay-wall,' *mācer-are* 'to make soft' are also related. The former reminds us again of Hesych. μακ-έλα (cp. μάκελος)· φράγματα, δρύφακτοι. μάγ-ειρο-s is from an older *μαγ-αρο-s, like ἑταῖρος from ἑταρο-s, ὄνειρο-s from ὄναρ. — There is some probability in Schwabe's conjecture

(‘Demin.’ p. 98), that *mā-la*, whose diminutive *maxilla* shows that *x* has been lost before *l* (Corssen i². 642), belongs to *μάσσω*, and thus denotes the organ ‘quod cibos depsit ac subigit.’

456. Root *μαδ* *μαδ-αρό-s* streaming, dissolved, *μαδ-ά-ω* dissolve, *μασ-τό-s* breast, *μαξό-s* nipple (?). — Lat. *mad-e-o*, *mad-i-du-s*, *mad-e-sc-o*, *made-facio*, *mā-nare* (?).

Pott i¹. 199, Benf. i. 514, Fick i³. 711. — The use of the rt. *μαδ* for the falling off of the hair is explained from the similar use of the Lat. *defluere*, for just as falling hair is called *defluentes* or *deflui capilli*, so *μαδᾶν* means ‘to be bald,’ *μαδίζειν* ‘to make bald,’ *μαδόν* *λεῖον* (Hesych.). — In Skt. the root *mad* (*mād-ā-mi mād-jā-mi*) means ‘to be drunk,’ *mād-a-s* ‘drunkenness,’ also ‘pride,’ ‘joy,’ and ‘suum qui elephantis tempore quo coitum appetunt e temporibus effluit,’ *mat-ta-s* ‘drunken,’ which Benf. compares with the similar meaning of *mad-i-du-s* (also *mar-ē-du-s* Loewe ‘Prodr.’ 353). In Petronius *matu-s* has the same meaning. — It seems very probable that *mā-na-re* originated in *mad-na-re* as the denominative of a lost **mā-nu-s mad-nu-s*. But also the Gk. *μανός* ‘*rarus*’ (*μαναί τριχες* the result of *μαδᾶν*) comes very near. — Cp. root *μυδ* No. 479, and *μέζεια*, *μήδεα* p. 662.

457. *μαλ-ακό-s*, *μαλ-θ-ακό-s* soft, *ἀ-μαλό-s* tender, *βλη-χρό-s* *ἀ-βλη-χρό-s* soft, weak, *βλάξ* weak, cowardly, *μάλ-θ-η* Hesych. *με-μαλαγ-μένος κηρός*, *μῶλν-s*, *μῶλν-ρό-s* feeble, lazy.

Lat. *molli-s*, *molli-tie-s*, *mollire*.

OHG. *mar-awi*, *mar-o* mellow, tender, *murwi* mellow [*mürbe*], weak.

Benf. i. 503, where Skt. *mlā* (*mlā-jā-mi*) ‘fade’ is also compared. Pott W. i. 595, ii. 1, 543, Froehde ‘Ztschr.’ xxii. 260. — We must start from a rt. *mal* (by-form *mar*), from which with a prothetic *ā* came *ἀ-μαλ-ό-s*, *ἀ-βλη-χρό-s*, to the latter of which words *βλάξ* forms an intermediate step. We may add Lat. *mal-tās* ‘molles’ (Lucil. ap. Non. 259), and also *μαλ-κό-ν* *μαλακόν*, *μαλ-κίω* *κακῶς ἔχω* Hesych., *μαλκ-ενί-s* *παρθένος* *Κρήτες* Hesych. — *μῶλν-s* is completely identical in sound and meaning with *molli-s* (for *mol-vi-s*) and OHG. *mur-wi*, **mol-vi* : *μῶλν* = *tenui* : *tan-v*. *μῶλν-s* is explained by *βραδύς*, *νωθρός*, *μωλύτερος* by *ἀμβλύτερος*, *μωλίειν* by *πραΐνειν*, i.e. *mollire*, and is also used of the mollifying of ‘wounds’ and the ‘softening of the flesh.’ *καταμωλύνεσθαι* is commonly applied to the gradual disappearance of a sore. — Perhaps *μυλ-ιερ* (cp. *μαλκενίς*) is really = *mollior*, like *θγλύτεροι γυναῖκες*. So already Isidorus. — There is no direct connexion, as Corssen ‘Beitr.’

323 assumed, with *mrd-ú-s* 'soft,' 'tender,' which belongs to the rt. *mard* 'crush,' 'rub away,' and goes along with Lat. *mordē-re* (Zd. *mared* 'bite'), and as Ebel 'Ztschr.' vii. 226 recognized, with 327 *ἀ-μαλδύ-νειν* 'break,' 'weaken' (No. 255 b). — On the other hand *ἀ-μβλύ-ς*, for **ἀ-μλν-ς*, has come from the same root with syncope of the radical vowel. The notions 'weak,' 'dull,' 'stupid' are closely akin. — OHG. *marawi* reminds us of the OIr. *marb* 'dead:' cp. No. 468.

458. *μάρ-να-μαι* (*μόρ-να-μαι* Hesych.) fight. — Skt. rt. *mar* (*mṛ-ṇā-mi*) or *marn* (*mṛṇ-ā-mi*) crush, dash to pieces, *pra-mṛ-ṇā-mi* crush, destroy.

'Pet. Dict.,' Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 135, Fick i². 717. — It cannot be denied that there is a connexion with rt. *μερ, μορ* (No. 468); but we must not forget that *μάρνασθαι* is also found used of a 'wrestling-match' (σ 31), so that the fundamental notion cannot be 'to kill' or 'to wish to kill.' Cp. note to No. 481.

459. Root *μαχ* *μάχ-ο-μαι* (fut. *μαχ-έ-σομαι*) fight, *μάχ-η* battle, *μάχ-ιμο-ς* warlike, *πρό-μαχο-ς* champion, *μάχ-αιρα* knife, sword.

Lat. *mac-tā-re* slaughter.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Benf. ii. 42, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 19 ff., Leo Meyer vi. 426, Pott W. iii. 1002. — I cannot follow Corssen ('Ztschr.' iii. 270) in deriving *mac-ta-re* (cp. No. 19) in both its meanings from the notion of increasing, inasmuch as it is too closely connected in its meaning of slaughter with the words here collected; nor yet Kuhn in joining the root *μαχ* with *σφαγ* and Goth. *slah-an*. — The epic pres. *μαχ-έ-ο-μαι, μαχ-εί-ο-μαι* is to be referred to a noun-theme *μαχες*, as *τελέ-ω, τελεί-ω* to *τελες*. — Goth. *mēk-i*, ChSl. *mīč-ī* *μάχαυρα* are quite distinct phonetically, and therefore in etymology.

460. Stem *με* *έμε* pronoun of the first person sing., *έμ-ό-ς*.

— Skt. Zd. *ma* (Skt. acc. *mā-m, mā*). — Lat. *me, me-u-s*, Umbr. dat. *me-he*. — Goth. *mī-s* mihi, *mī-k* me. — ChSl. acc. *mę*, Lith. dat. *mā-n* etc. — OIr. *mé* ego, *-m-* mihi, me, *ní-m-charat* non me amant, *do-m* ad me, *mo* meus, Cymr. *mi* ego.

Bopp 'Vergl. Gr.' ii. 104, Schleicher 'Comp.'³ 628 ff.

461. Root *με* *μέ-τρο-ν* measure, *μέτρ-ιο-ς* measured, proper, *μετρέιν* to measure.

Skt. rt. *mā* (*mā-mi, mī-mē*) measure, ascribe, shape, *mā-trā, mā-tra-m* measure, measure of time, matter, *mā-tar* measurer, *mā-na-m* measure, *mā-*

na-s building. — Zd. *mā* measure, make, *mā* (f.) measure.

Lat. *mē-tā-re*, *mē-tā-ri*, *mē-ti-or*, *mensa*, *mensūra*, *nī-mi-s*.

ChSl. *mē-ra* Lith. *mē-rà* measure, *ma-tū-ti* measure, *mēta-s* time, year.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. i. 266, Benf. ii. 31 f. — Cp. rt. *μεδ* No. 286 and rt. *μεν* No. 429. — I now omit *μί-μο-s*, *μῖ-μέ-ο-μαι* as doubtful: Fick i³. 722 groups them with Skt. *mā* 'exchange' (*mājā-tē*). — 328 It is not improbable that the OLat. *mā-nu-s* 'bonus' (*Cerus mānus* 'Carm. Sal.') with *im-mānī-s*, which is undoubtedly its negative, belongs here (cp. *μέτριος*): its loc. *mānē* is 'in good time,' and *Mānēs* are 'good spirits' (Preller, 'Röm. Mythol.' p. 72), Corssen i². 431. Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 383 compares *mānu-s* with the comp. *ἀμείνων*. — *mā-nu-s* hand (Osc. acc. *manī-m*) as the 'measurer,' 'feeler,' 'shaper' (cp. Skt. *mā-tra-m* = *mā-ter-ie-s*) is discussed by Corssen 'Ztschr.' iii. 300. We have also from the same root, with a different suffix *μά-ρη* (*ἡ χεὶρ κατὰ Πίνδαρον* 'Schol. B. L. ad Il. O 137,' Lobeck 'Paralip.' p. 74), from which the ancients correctly derived *εὐμαρής*, *εὐμάρεia* (cp. *εὐχερής*). — Corssen i². 432 refers also Lat. *mōs* to this group. — Cp. No. 471, 472. — OIr. *tomus* 'mensura' is taken as a compound of *mess* 'iudicium' No. 286 (Z². 787).

462. *μέγ-α-s* (by-stem *μεγαλο*), *μείζων*, *μέγ-ιστο-s* great, *μεγα-λύν-ω* magnify, *μεγαίρ-ω* esteem as a great thing, grudge, *μέγ-εθ-os* greatness.

Lat. *mag-nu-s*, *mā-jor*, *maximu-s*, *mag-is*, *magis-ter*, *magistr-ātu-s*.

Goth. *mik-il-s* *μέγας*, *mikil-j-an* *μεγαλύνειν* (OHG. *mihhil*), comp. *mais* (OHG. *mēr*), superl. *maist* adv. *τὸ πλεῖστον*.

Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *māh*, Pott W. iii. 955. — Skt. *mah*, *mah-ā-s*, *mah-ānt*, *mah-at*, *mah-ā* 'great' closely approximates to these words. But the *h*, which points to a *gh*, does not agree with either the Greek medial or the Gothic *k*. Two alternatives are possible here. The one, that the root was originally *magh*, the same as that which occurs in Goth. *mag δύναμαι*, and which will present itself as No. 473. In that case we must assume a transition from *gh* into *g*. This is the view of Grassmann 'Ztschr.' xii. 92, and Fick i³. 168. In the same way Corssen 'Ztschr.' xi. 327 (cp. Ascoli xvii. 274) thinks he can recognize in the Osc. *Mahiis* = *Magius* a word belonging to this root, and pointing to an Ital. *gh*. The *g* in *mag-nu-s*, *mag-is*, like that in

the Zd. *maga* 'greatness,' and the *z* of *maz mazañt* 'great,' may just as well have originated in *g* as in *gh*. The other alternative is that there were from early times three related roots side by side, *mak* (No. 90), *mag* and *magh*, all three perhaps to be traced back to *ma*, and all with the meaning of extension. The latter view, which Sonne also approves ('Ztschr.' x. 129), recommends itself to me, mainly because the phonetic changes it assumes are less gratuitous. — Cp. 'Ztschr.' ii. 325. — It is remarkable that in the three words, belonging to three families of speech, collected above, the positive shows a more derivative stem-form than the comparative and superlative. — *μεγαίρω*, perhaps also *μέγαρο-ν* 'chamber,' from a stem with *ρ* instead of the *λ* appearing in *μεγαλο*: cp. p. 558. — The Keltic words for 'great,' OIr. *már*, *mór*, Cymr. *maior*, show no trace of the guttural, and come from root *ma*. We may add the compar. OIr. *máio*, *mō*, Corn. *moy*, Cymr. *mwyr* 'major' (like Skt. *dāv-īja-s* to *dū-rā* 'far'), identical with Goth. *mais*: superl. OIr. *máam*, Cymr. *mwyaſ* (Z². 276, 299). Of the same origin is OIr. *méit*, Cymr. *meint* 'greatness' st. *manti* (Z². 845).

463. *μεῖ-δ-ος* (Hesych.), *μεῖ-δ-η-μα* smile, *μεῖ-δ-ά-ω*, *μεῖ-δίαω* smile. — Skt. rt. *smi* (*smáj-ē*) smile, *smi-tá-m* a smile, *smája-m* astonishment, admiration. — Lat. *mī-ru-s*, *nī-mīru-m*, *mīrā-rī*. — OHG. *smie-l-en*, 329 *smie-r-en* smile. — ChSl. *smi-ja-ti se* γέλᾱν, *směchŭ* γέλως, Lett. *smee-t* laugh.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. i. 636, Benf. i. 527, Fick i³. 254. — The *δ* will be discussed on p. 656. — A trace of the initial *σ* is preserved in *φιλο-μειδής*. — Here belong the proper names *Μειδίας*, *Μείδων*, *Μείδυλος*. — In *mī-ru-s* (cp. Skt. *smē-rá-s* 'smiling'), as in *clā-ru-s* the *r* belongs to the suffix, so in OHG. *bi-smēr* 'ridicule.' The German verbs in *r* and *l* are denominative. But *μεῖλ-χο-s* cannot be compared (Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 264) because of the Aeol. *μέλλιχος* (Ahr. 'Aeol.' 58). Cp. No. 464. — Otherwise as to *mīru-s* Corssen i². 508.

464. *μεῖλ-ια* (pl.) love-gifts, propitiatory offerings, *μεῖλ-ιχ-ο-s* (Aeol. *μέλλιχος*) mild, *μεῖλ-ίχ-ιο-s* mild, soft, *μεῖλ-ιχ-ίη* (Hom.) mildness, *μεῖλίσσ-ω* soften, *μεῖλ-εῖν* ἀρέσκειν Hesych.

Goth. *mild-s* φιλόστοργος, OHG. *mil-ti* mild.

ChSl. *mil-ŭ* ἐλεεινός, *mil-ovati* ἐλεεῖν, *mil-ostŭ* misericordia, *mil-o* dowry, Lith. *mal-ónė* grace, *mýl-iu* love, *meilù-s* lovely.

OIr. *melldach* gratus (Z². 61).

Schleich. 'Ksl.' 126, Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 486. — My previous discussion of these words started from the Skt. rt. *marḍ* (*mrḍāmi*), the meaning of which, 'to be gracious,' 'kind,' 'to rejoice,' with *mrḍi-ka-m* 'grace,' 'pity,' agrees with that of the words here given, especially with *μειλίσσειν* (*ἀμειλίχος*, *ἀμειλικτος*). Still I renounce the attempt, after what Joh. Schmidt has remarked in opposition, to establish phonetic agreement, as the Vedic *ḷ* of this root is generally regarded as the representative of the older *ḍ*. — The traces in the Greek words of a double λ should be noticed: the clearest instance is the Aeol. *μῆλιχος* (*μελλιχόμενθε* Alcaeus). A trace of the form *μέλλος* occurs in the epigram of the Arcadian Echembrotos in Pausan. x. 7, 4; for the pentameter ends *μέλεα καὶ ἐλέγους*; hence too a different light falls upon the well-attested reading in the 'Hymn. in Merc.' 502 *θεὸς δ' ὕπο μέλος αἶδεν*. From *μελλ* came by compensatory lengthening Ion. *μεῖλ* in *μεῖλια*, *μειλίσσω*, etc.; Dor. *μηλ* in *Εὔ-μηλο-ς*, *Καλλι-μηλο-ς*, *Φιλο-μήλα*, words of musical reminiscence which Welcker ('Ep. Cyclus' i². 257) is certainly correct in deriving from 'song' rather than from 'sheep.' *μέλ-π-ειν*, expanded by a π (*Ἐκάεργον* A 474) evidently meant originally 'to sound gentle,' 'to gladden,' *μελπεσθαι* ('*Ἀρηι*') 'to show oneself glad,' 'cheering,' hence *μελπη-θρο-ν* 'delectamentum,' *μέλ-κ-ιο-ν* too in Hesych. which means *inter alia* *παίγνιον*, offers itself for comparison. Upon what assimilation the λλ rests is hard to say. Perhaps *μεῖδλια* is for **μελ-ν-ια*, *μέλος* for *μελ-νος* (cp. *τέμ-ε-νος*), *μεῖδλιν* for *μελ-νλιν*, like *εἰδλιν* for *φελ-νλιν* (No. 660). — Pott mentions also the familiar Attic address *ὦ μέλε* 'my dear friend,' which agrees entirely with the Slav. *milŭ*, especially in the modern usage of the word, and consequently gives a clear instance where one liquid is lost. But *μέλεος* — according to Aristarchus (ed. Lehrs 103) in Homer always only *μάταιος* — must be kept quite distinct. — The meaning of 'friendliness' extends through all the forms. By this less physical meaning they are distinguished from those quoted under Nos. 457 and 465. — The proper
 330 names *Μίλλαντος* (Aeol. form for *Μιλητος* 'Anecd. Oxon.' ii. 239), *Μίλτας*, *Μιλτώ*, *Μιλτιάδης* (and *Μιλων* (ῖ)?) seem to be derived from this root with *ι* for *ε* (cp. *ἴσθι* rt. *εσ*).

465. *μέλι* (st. *μελιτ*) honey, *μελί-φρων* honey-like, *μέλισσα* bee. — Lat. *mel* (*mell-is*), *muls-u-s*, *muls-a*, *muls-um* (?). — Goth. *milith* *μέλι*. — OIr. *mil* *mel*, *milis* *suavis* (Z². 238).

Pott i¹. 245, Benf. ii. 358, Stokes 'Corm. Gl. Tr.' p. 113. For the suffix Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' ii. 150, otherwise, without regard to this, Leo Meyer v. 379. — We must suppose that *mell-is* (for *melt-is*?) is analogous to *μίλιτ-ος*, but *mel* for *melt* (cp. No. 200) analogous to

Goth. *milith*. *muls-u-s* for *melti-u-s* (?). Cp. Corssen 'Beitr.' 327. No connexion with Skt. *mādhū* (No. 322) can be proved. *μέλισσα* = *μελιτ-ja*, by-form *μελῖαι*· *μέλισσαι* Hesych. — Cp. Hehn³ 137, Van. 703. The latter with Fick i³. 719 places the word under No. 457.

466. Root *μερ*, *μαρ*. — *μέρ-μηρ-α*, *μέρ-ι-μνα* care, *μερ-μαίρ-ω*, *μερμερ-ίζω* care, *μέρ-μερ-α* *ἔργα* memorable deeds, *μάρ-τυρ* (*μάρ-τυρ-ο-s*, *μάρ-τυ-s*) witness, *μαρ-τύρ-ιο-ν* evidence, *μαρτύρ-ο-μαι* summon as witness.

Skt. rt. *smar* (*smār-ā-mi*) remember, think, *smṛ-ti-s smar-αῖα-m* memory, remembrance, *smar-ά-s* recollection, remembrance, love. — Zd. *mar* remember, know, mention, *mar-e-ti* precept.

Lat. *me-mor*, *memor-ia*, *memor-ā-re*, *mor-a*.

OPruss. *er-mir-it* devise.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 1, 713, Benf. ii. 38. — The Teutonic words (Goth. *mēr-jan* κηρύσσειν, OHG. *māri* 'clarus') I have omitted, because Fick 'Ztschr.' xxii. 382 doubts the loss of an initial *s* before *m* in these languages. The group *sm* is retained only in Skt.; but the notion of 'remembering' runs through all these words. — *μέρμερα* even Hesych. explains by *φροντίδος ἄξια*, but *μέρ-μερ-ο-s* has also an active meaning, 'inventive,' also 'morosus,' hence probably the proper name *Μέρμερος*, like *μερμηρικοί*· *οἱ πειραταί* (Hesych.). — *μέρ-ι-μνα* is formed like *μέδ-ι-μνο-s*. There is more difficulty with the much discussed words *ιδ-μωρο-s*, *ἐγγεσι-μω-ρο-s*, *ὕλακό-μωρο-s*, *σινά-μωρο-s*. Goebel 'Philol.' xix. 418 derives them from the rt. *μαρ* (*μαρμαίρω*) 'glitter,' which will have to be discussed on p. 567. But it is hard to believe that this little-used root was employed by Homer in the 'faded' sense of 'to be conspicuous,' 'to be prominent,' especially of dogs (according to this explanation) 'conspicuous by barking.' Benary 'Ztschr.' iv. 49 starts from our rt. *μερ*; the meaning of *-μωρο-s* would then be something like 'mindful of' (cp. *μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς, δαιτός*), *ω* as in *ταλαίπωρο-s* (rt. *περ* No. 356), *φώρ* (rt. *φερ*), *δῶμα* (rt. *δεμ*). Cp. Monro on B 292. — On p. 103 we saw that probably *mora* 'hesitation' [Germ. *Bedenken* 'bethinking'] belongs to this root, and compared with it *μέλλειν* in the meaning of 'delay.' In this case a trace of the fuller initial sound once present is possibly preserved in *ἡ-μελλ-ο-ν* ('Greek Verb' p. 76). *μέλλειν* by its other senses is closely connected with the rt. *μερ* (Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 383). But from *μέλλειν* again we cannot separate *μέλ-ειν*, *μέλ-εσθαι*, *μελ-έ-τη*, *μελ-ε-τά-ω*, *μελ-ε-δ-ώνη*, *μελ-εδ-αίνω*, 331 etc., in all of which the notion of careful thought comes out just as in

μέρ-ι-μνα. μέλ-ει μοι is related to μέλεισθαι like the antiquated 'es dünkt mir' [methinks] to 'denken' [to think]. For the transition from ρ to λ p. 547 ff.—Having regard to the Lat. *mora*, *moror*, OIr. *maraim* 'maneo,' may be placed here.

467. Root μερ μείρ-ο-μαι (ἔμ-μορ-α, εἴμαρ-ται) obtain a portion, μέρ-ος, μερ-ί(δ)-s portion, part, μερί-ξ-ω divide, μόρ-ο-s lot, fate, μοῖρα proper portion, fate, μόρ-α division (of the Spartan army), μόρ-σιμο-s determined by fate.

Lat. *mer-e-o*, *mer-e-o-r*, *mer-e-nda*, *mer-e-trix*.

Pott W. ii. 1, 545 (cp. ii². 388) puts these words together with an expression of uncertainty. Otherwise Benf. ii. 33.—The comparison of *mereo* with μέρος is found as early as Scaliger ad Varronem (Vossius 'Etymolog.' p. 318), though with the addition of the wonderful reason 'a μείρω i. e. divido, quia meritum fere partium est sive labor, sive pretium spectetur,' whilst Vossius more correctly remembers the meaning *consequor*, *sortior* (λαμβάνω, λαγχάνω), and quotes *merenda* ἄριστον δειλινόν ('Gloss. Lab.'), which he compares with *praebenda*. This word points unmistakeably to the fundamental notion of division, which appears in δαί-ς, δαπ-ς (Nos. 256, 261), so that *mer-e-o* therefore means 'I receive a share' or 'as a share,' *mer-e-o-r* 'I receive' or 'gain for myself my share.'— Cp. p. 114.—It is not improbable that *mer-c-e(d)-s*, *merx* also have developed from this root by an expanding *c*. Corssen 'Beitr.' 111 takes *merx* simply as 'the earning' one. For the *ει* of εἴμαρται (ἔμβραται Hesych.) cp. 'Greek Verb' p. 360. It is difficult to identify the meaning of this root with No. 466, though in spite of this Ebel 'Ztschr.' v. 417 attempts to identify them. The fundamental notion of these words is 'to measure out to,' 'to distribute to.'

468. Root μερ (μορ, μαρ) ἄ-μβρο-το-s immortal (ἀ-μβρόσιο-s), βρο-τό-s mortal (μορ-τό-s), μαρ-αίν-ω wither (trans.), μαρ-α-σ-μό-s withering, parching.

Skt. rt. *mar* (már-ā-mi, mri-jē) die, mṛ-tá-s dead, maráju-s, mṛt-ja-s mortalis, a-mṛ-ta-s immortalis, a-mṛ-ta-m drink of immortality, mar-ás, mṛ-ti-s death, mār-i-s pestilence, plague.—Zd. *mar* die, mare-ta mortal, maretan human being.

Lat. *mor-i-o-r*, *mor-(ti)-s*, *mor-tuu-s*, *mort-āli-s*, *mor-bu-s*, *mar-c-e-o*, *marc-e-sc-o*, *marc-i-du-s*.

Goth. *maúr-th-r* caedes.

ChSl. *mr-ě-ti* mori, *mor-ŭ* mors, pestis, *sŭ-mrŭ-tŭ* mors, *mrŭ-tvŭ* νεκρός. — Lith. *mŕ-ti* die, *már-a-s* plague, *mórai* (pl.) bier, *s-mèr-ti-s* death.
 OIr. *marb* dead, *marbaim* I kill, Cymr. *marw* death, dead.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 1, 552, who is right in banishing *μópo-s*, 332 *μépo-s*, etc. for a well-grounded comparison with *μαρ-áiv-ω* *mor-bu-s*, which again brings with it Skt. *mlā* (*mlā-j-ē*) 'fade,' with which goes the expanded *mar-c-ē-re* = *μαρ-áiv-εσθαι*, compels us to arrive at the fundamental notion of 'wasting away.' With this I have endeavoured ('Ztschr.' i. 33) to connect also Lat. *mar-e* (cp. 'Αμφί-μápo-s, son of Poseidon) with the related ChSl. *mor-je* 'sea,' Lith. *már-és* 'bay,' Goth. *mar-ei*, Ir. *muir* 'sea,' and Skt. *mar-ú-s* 'desert,' *mar-ú-t* 'wind,' on the ground of a common antagonism to the life of vegetation. Pictet i. 110 compares Skt. *míra-s* 'sea,' which is only quoted by grammarians. Max. Müller 'Lect.' ii. 320 agrees with me, while Corssen i². 404, 411 refers these words to the rt. *μαρ* (*μαρ-αίρω*) 'glitter' (cp. 'Pet. Dict.' v. p. 570). That the sea glitters is just as undeniable as that it makes plants die, and that it causes thirst in one who attempts to drink of it. Both explanations are therefore possible so far as the meaning goes. The connexion of Goth. *marei* with OFris. *mar* 'grave,' ODutch *māere* 'sea,' 'marsh,' 'pond,' and also with OHG. *muor* 'marsh,' 'moor,' 'mōrass' (Schade 'Dict.' 411) is in favour of my explanation (cp. Fick i³. 717). — On the gloss *ἐμopρεν* *ἀπéθαεν* (Hesych.) cp. 'Greek Verb' 281. — Cp. also No. 458. — Other material bearing on this widely ramifying root is supplied abundantly by Diefenbach 'Vergl. Wb.' ii. 38 ff. For the fundamental meaning of the root cp. on No. 481. — In Ir. *marb* *b* is for orig. *v* (st. *marva-*), as in *fedb*, Cymr. *gwedw* 'vidua,' *tarb*, Cymr. *taru* 'taurus,' *delb*, Cymr. *delu* 'forma' (Z². 54, 130). With *marb* cp. Germ. *mürbe* No. 457.

469. *μέσο-s* (Hom. Aeol.), *μέσο-s* (Att.) medius (sup. *μέσσ-ατο-s* hence *μεσσάτ-ιο-s*), *μεσσ-ηγύ-(s)* between.

Skt. *mádhja-s*, Zd. *maidhya* medjus, Skt. *madhya-má-s*, Zd. *madh-ema* the midmost.

Lat. *med-íu-s*, Osc. *mef-ia-i* (= *mediae* loc. sing.), *di-midiu-s*, *merī-die-s* (for *medī-die-s*).

Goth. *midji-s* medius, *mid-uma* middle.

ChSl. *mežda μέσον, meždu ἀνὰ μέσον*, Lith. *vidù-s* (?)
the inner, *vidùì* within, *vidurýs* middle.

OIr. *medón* medium (Z². 778).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott i¹. 105, Benf. ii. 30, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 126, '*meždu* = *medju*.' — μέσο-s is for μεθ-jo-s, μέσο-s is yet further weakened. We may notice the loc. μέσοι = Skt. *madhyē* 'in the midst,' Lesb. — Aeol. also μέσυ (Ahr. 'Aeol.' 154). The first component part of μεσαι-πάλιο-s 'mixed gray,' is the feminine to this (cp. *ιδία, δημοσία*). — It cannot be determined whether μέσ-φα and μέσ-φι 'until,' belong here or to μετά (No. 212). μεσο-ηγύ perhaps compounded with an adj. formed from the rt. *áy* (cp. *ex-iguu-s*), similarly μετ-αξύ (No. 212). — In Lith. the *v* is surprising. — Add perhaps the name of the Irish county *Mide* 'Meath.' A shorter stem *mid-* exists in some compounds according to Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 339.

470. μή prohibitive particle. — Skt., Zd., OPers. *mā*.

Bopp 'Gl.' — The prohibitive use is common to these languages.
333 In Skt. *mā* is used with the conj., optat. of wishing, and imper., like μή in Greek. We omit here the Lat. *nē* (cp. No. 437).

471. μήν (st. μηνς) Ion. μέis month, μή-νη moon, μην-ιαίο-s monthly.

Skt. *mās, māsa-s* month, Zd. *māoñh* (m.) moon,
month, *māoñha* (m.) moon.

Lat. *mens-i-s, Mena, mens-truu-s*.

Goth. *mēna* moon, *mēnôth-s*, OHG. *mānôt* month.

Lith. *mėnũ* (gen. *mėnesio*) moon, *mėnesi-s* month,

ChSl. *měseč* moon, month.

OIr. *mí* (gen. *mís*, st. *mens-*), Cymr. *mis* month (Z². 117).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. i. 272, Benf. ii. 32, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 276, ii. 261.
— The root is probably *ma* 'measure' (No. 461), and hence the moon was described by the original Indo-Germans as 'the measurer.' Fick i³. 722 prefers for the 'changing moon' the rt. *mā* 'exchange' mentioned under No. 450. But the root cannot be shown to have been used in a sense like that here required. — It is very doubtful to me whether we can trace back all the forms of the noun to the primary form *mans*: μή-νη, *Mena* (*menstruationis dea* Welcker 'Götterlehre' 552) Goth. *mēna* go back to another form with the suffix *-na*. But the Aeol. μην-ος (Ahr. 51) is certainly for μηνσ-ος, so that it points to a stem *mēns*, to which an expanding suffix *i* is added in Skt. and

Lith., an *a* in Skt. Add also the Sabellian *mes-en-e*=abl. *mense*, explained by Corssen 'Ztschr.' ix. 165. (Cp. 'Ztschr.' vi. 85).

472. μήτηρ (st. μητερ), Dor. μάτηρ. — Skt. *mātā* (st. *mātā*), Zd. *mātā* (st. *mā-tar*). — Lat. *māter*. — OHG. *muotar*. — ChSl. *mati* (st. *mater*). — Lith. *motė* (st. *moter*). — OIr. *máthir* *mater*.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott i. 112, Benf. ii. 31. — The fact that *mātar* is found as a masculine in the Rigveda, with the meaning 'measurer' ('Pet. Dict.' v. p. 701) tends to show that the root is no so-called natural sound, occurring also in *mamma*, *μάμη*, but the verbal root *ma* (No. 461). Max Müller 'Oxford Essays' 1856 p. 15 translates it by 'maker,' and traces it back to the rt. *ma* in the sense of 'to fashion.' Related uses of this root (cp. *ma-nu-s*) are mentioned above. Still we might also think of the occupations of the apportioning housewife. In any case *ma-ia* 'mother' comes from the same root. — On the phonetic irregularity of the Teutonic words see Verner 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 101 ff.

473. *μηχ-os*, *μηχ-ap* means, expedient, *μηχ-ανή* device, design, *μηχανᾶ-σθαι* form designs.

Skt. *máh-as* splendour, power, *mah-án* greatness, wealth.

Goth. *mag* possum, *mah-t-s* *δύναμις*.

ChSl. *mog-a* (inf. *moš-ti*) possum, *moš-ti* potentia, *po-moš-ti* *βοηθεῖν*.

OIr. *do-for-magar* augetur (Z². 883).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. iii. 1001. — Very differently Benf. i. 353. — 334 The Skt. rt. *mah* (*máh-ā-mi*) 'delight,' 'rejoice,' *māh* 'give' with the related words are foreign in meaning (cp. Grassmann 'Lex.' 1012). The words here given can hardly be separated from *māh* 'great' (No. 462). We must probably start from the fundamental idea 'to have power,' which among the Greeks developed especially in the direction of intellectual power, of clever devices, etc. — *μηχ-os* still has in Homer the prevalent meaning 'means to (against) something,' 'help.' This same force is noticeable in *ἀμηχάνος*, when active 'incapable,' when passive 'impossible.' — Pott compares also AS. *mac-ian* 'facere,' 'formare,' OHG. *machôn* 'make:' but though their meaning comes very near to that of the Greek words, they belong to No. 462 from a phonetic point of view. — Whether OIr. *cumang* 'potestas,' *cumaing* 'potest,' *cumachte* 'potentia' (Z². 872), belong here is doubtful, for the *m* is single (ModIr. *cum-hachda*), hence after removing the preposition *cum-* only *ang* is left as the root-syllable, and this

is established in *di-ing* 'impossibilis' (Z². 862) with the meaning 'posse.' On the other hand, *ní chaemais* 'non poteris' can hardly be anything but the reduplicated (cp. 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 225) *s*-future of a root *mag*, *mang*, as Stokes 'Beitr.' vii. 50 has explained it to be.

474. Root *μιγ* *μίσγ-ω*, *μίγ-νυ-μι* (ἐ-μίγ-ην, ἐ-μίχθη-ν) mix, *μίγ-α*, *μίγ-δα*, *μίγ-δην* (adv.) mixedly, *μιγ-άδ-ες* mongrels, hybrids, *μίξις* mixing.

Skt. *miç-rá-s* intermixed, *miçra-jā-mi* mix, intermix, *ā-mīk-shā* mixed milk, curds, *miksh*, *mī-miksh* mix.

Lat. *misc-e-o*, *mix-tu-s* (*mis-tu-s*), *mix-tū-ra* (*mis-tū-ra*), *mix-ti-o* (*mis-ti-o*), *mis-cellu-s*, *miscell-āneu-s*.

OHG. *misk-iu* mix.

ChSl. *mēs-i-ti* miscere, Lith. *mīsz-ti* to mix oneself, *mīsz-īni-s* hybrid, *maīsz-ý-ti* mix, mingle.

Corn. *cymmysc*, OIr. *cum-masc* commixtio, OIr. *com-mescatar* miscentur (Z². 473, 901).

Bopp 'Gl.' W. ii. 2, 569, Benf. ii. 42, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 126, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 308.—Evidently *mīk* is the original form and the *γ* softened from the *κ*. In the Greek, Latin, and Irish present-stem the guttural has been lost before *σκ*, *sc*. These letters have become attached to the whole stem in Latin and Keltic. For *μίσγω*, *Meiξίας* cp. Müller 'Ztschr.' xxiv. 495, who tries to prove a connexion with OS. *mengan*, OHG. *mengan* 'mix.'

475. *μινύ-ω*, Hom. *μινύθ-ω* diminish, destroy, grow less, *μινύ-ξηο-ς* ὀλιγόβιος (Hesych.), *μίνυνθα* a little while, *μινυνθά-διο-ς* short-lived.—*μείων* less, *μειό-ω* diminish.

Skt. rt. *mī* (*mī-nā-mi*, *mī-nó-mi*, *mī-j-ē*) diminish (trans. and intrans.).

Lat. *mī-nu-o*, *mīnū-tu-s*, *mīn-or*, *mīn-us*, Osc. *mīns-treīs* = minoris, Lat. *mīnis-ter*.—*mīn-imu-s*.—*Mīnūciū-s*.

Goth. *mīns* less (adv.), *mīnniza* (adj.) smaller, *mīnnist-s* the smallest.

335 ChSl. *mīn-ij* minor, Lith. *mīnù*, ChSl. *mīn-a* (inf. *mē-ti*) θλίβω, Lith. *mēn-ka-s* little.

Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 464, Benf. i. 471, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 126.—With regard to the comp. *μείων* I once followed J. Grimm, who assumed ('Gr.' iii. 658) that *μείων* was for *μνε-ιω-ν*. The comparative stem of an adjective st. *μνν* would then have to be *μνε-ιω-ν*, and thence become

by syncope *μν-ων* and by loss of the *ν* *μείων* (masc. *μείων*), while the Latin *min-us* is evidently for *min-i-us*. *minis-ter* and the Oscan *mins-treis*=*minoris*, preserved as a comparative (Mommson 'Unterit. D.' 280), like *magis-ter* have received in addition a second comparative suffix. But however certain this explanation of the Latin form is, there are difficulties of many kinds in the way of the Greek. According to the analogy of *ἡδ-ίων* we should have expected *μν-ων*. The diphthong *ει* occurs in *ἀρείων*, *χερείων*, i. e. only where an *σ* has been lost between *ε* and *ι*. Hence as the Skt. *mī-nā-mī*, referred to by Leo Meyer 'G. A.' 1864 p. 325, makes several parts from rt. *ma*, e.g. aor. *a-mā-sī-t*, it will be more correct to start from a rt. *ma*, which at a very early time was accompanied by the weaker by-form *mī*, just as rt. *pa* by the weaker *pī* (No. 371). Then *μν-ι-ων* can be explained from this *ma*, as *πλε-ι-ων* from *pla*. Schleicher also 'Comp.'³ 465 assumes for the *min* occurring in Latin, Teutonic, and Slavonic, an older *man*. We may thus connect with this root also Skt. *man-āk* 'a little,' 'only,' *min-dā* 'personal defect,' which resemble Lat. *man-cu-s*, *men-da*, *men-dicu-s*. The 'Pet. Dict.' on *man-āk* reminds us of *μόνος*, which, however, from the Epic *μοῖνο-s* appears to go back to **man-va-s*. — If any one is not content to interpret the *Μαρία* as 'the little ones,' they may be explained as 'the destroyers,' the champions who demolish ranks, by referring to Skt. *pra-minā-mī* 'supero.' — I have now omitted the mimetic words *μννρό-s* 'whining,' *μννρείν*, *μννρίζεσθαι*, Lat. *minurrire*, as Fick 'Ztschr.' xix. 251 more correctly connects them with Skt. *min-mīṇa-s* 'speaking indistinctly,' and adds Lat. *min-trī-re*. — From the Keltic languages the following words probably belong here: Ir. *mīn* 'small,' 'tender,' Cymr. *mwyn*, Corn. *muin* 'tenuis,' 'exilis' (Z². 99). Glück 'Kelt. Nam.' p. 99 compares these words with Gk. *μᾶρό-s* 'thin' (cp. No. 456), but this agrees at most with Ir. *mīn* in its vowel.

476. *μόθο-s* tumult. — Skt. *math* (*manth*, *máth-ā-mī*) turn round, twirl, shake, *manth-ā-s*, *math-ana-m* rubbing, twirling, preparation of butter. — ON. *möndull* turning stick. — ChSl. *meť-a* turbo, *meť-ežŭ* turbatio, Lith. *ment-ùri-s* (m.), *ment-ùrė* (f.) twirling stick. — OIr. perf. sing. 3 *memaid*, *ru maith* broke (intr.) broke out, *maided* clades (Z². 802), *maidm* (pl. nom. *madmann*) eruptio.

Benf. i. 258, ii. 347, Miklos. 'Lex.' 394, Windisch 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 210. — The primitive form of the root is *mat*, the aspiration in Greek as in Skt. is of later origin. — Kuhn in his essay 'The Origin of Fire and of the Drink of the Gods' Berl. 1859 discusses the name *Προ-μηθ-*

εύ-s and its relation to the Skt. *pra-mantha-s*, the name of an instrument used in kindling fire by rubbing pieces of wood, with other analogies in language and in practice. — Pictet ii. 31 explains further how this rt. *manth* with its numerous derivatives, dating from a very ancient time, denoted the twirling motion in the preparation of butter. According to Aufrecht (ut supra) the root probably occurs, though employed in a different sense, in Lat. *ment-ula*, by-form *mencla*, cp. *mulo*, Loewe 'Prodr.' 303 f. — From Greek μόθ-ων εἶδος τι ὀρχήσεως (Hesych.) may also belong here.

477. μορ-μύρ-ω murmur, rustle. — Skt. *mar-mar-a-s* rustling (adj.), a rustling. — Lat. *mur-mur*, *mur-mur-ā-re*. — OHG. *mur-mur-ōn*, *mur-mul-ōn*. — [Germ. *murren*, *murmeln*.] — Lith. *mur-m-ū* grumble, *murm-lén-ti* murmur.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Benf. ii. 39.

478. Root μυ (?) μυ-κό-s, μύ-τι-s ἄφρωνος (Hesych.) (cp. μύδο-s, μύνδο-s, μύ-τη-s, μυτ-τό-s). — Skt. *mū-ka-s* dumb. — Lat. *mū-tu-s*.

A. Weber 'Ztschr.' vi. 318 starts from rt. *mu* 'bind' (No. 451), and Max Müller ii. 91 agrees with him, translating *mū-ka-s* 'tongue-bound.' So 'Pet. Dict.' Fick i³. 180. In Skt. we have the unauthenticated rts. *mū* and *mav* 'bind' and the part. *mū-ta-s* 'bound.' — Ir. *muít* 'dumb' (Corm. 'Gl. Transl.' p. 118) is a borrowed word. — Perhaps the root of these words is not distinct from that of the Gk. μύ-ειν 'close' (eyes and mouth), to which belong μύ-οψ 'blinking,' 'short-sighted,' μύνδα 'blind man's buff,' μν-ᾶν 'blink,' 'close the mouth.' Intensive μοιμᾶν, μοιμύλλειν. μύ-σ-τη-s, μν-σ-τήριον are due perhaps to an expansion by an *s*. — The words for 'secret talk,' Lat. *mussare*, *mussitare* 'mutter,' OHG. *muccazan*, *mutilōn* 'mussitare,' Lat. *mutire* (Enn. 'Trag.' fr. 376 Vahlen 'palam mutire plebejo piaculum est') are referred by Fick i³. 727 perhaps more correctly to a root *mū* 'sound,' to which also μῦ-θο-s will belong. — Other words of similar sound may be omitted.

479. Root μυδ μύδ-ος moisture, rottenness, μυδ-ά-ω am moist, rot, μυδ-αίν-ω moisten, μῦδ-αλέο-s moist, rotten, μυδ-ών rotten flesh, μύδ-ρο-s glowing mass of metal.

Skt. rt. *mid* (*méd-jā-mi*) grow fat, *méd-as* fat.

Goth. *bi-smeit-an* ἐπιχρίειν, OHG. *smīzan* illinere, MHG. *smuz* dirt.

Benf. i. 482, who also compares μύσ-ος 'loathing,' 'abhorrence.' We

should then have to assume a rt. *mus* expanded by an *σ*, or a suffix *-σος* as in *ἄλ-σος*. — The German elucidates the interchange between *i* and *u*. The original form of the root seems to have varied between *smud* and *smid*. Cp. No. 63, and for the meaning p. 114. — Fick ii². 183 regards *μυδ* as a by-form of *μαδ* (No. 456).

480. *μυ-ῖ-α* fly, *μυ-ῖ-α* maggot (Hesych.). — Lat. *mus-ca*.
— ON. *mý*. — ChSl. *much-a* musca, *mušica* culex,
Lith. *musė* fly.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott i¹. 85, Benf. ii. 43, Förstemann 'Ztschr.' iii. 47, Fick i². 726. — The ChSl. form is for *mus-a*, which must be reckoned the primary form, whence *μυ-ῖ-α* for *μυσ-ια* and with another suffix *mus-ca*. We might trace the stem *mus-a* to rt. *mus* (Skt. *mush*) 'steal,' 'rob,' so that the fly would be among insects, what the mouse was among mammals (No. 483). So Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' viii. 71. — 337
ON. *mý* from **mā-jā*. OHG. *muccā*, represented by the OS. *muggjā* [Eng. *midge*] probably does not belong here [but cp. Förstemann 'Geschichte des Deutschen Sprachstammes' i. 54.] — The equivalent words Skt. *māksha-s* 'fly,' Zd. *makshi* 'midge,' 'fly,' I now omit here.

481. *μύλ-η*, *μύλ-ο-ς* mill, millstone, *μύλ-ωθ-ρό-ς* miller,
μύλλ-ω grind, *μύλ-αι*, *μύλ-όδοντ-ες*, *μύλ-ῖται*
dentes molares, grinders.

Lat. *mol-o*, *mol-a*, *mol-āri-s*, *mol-i-tor*, *ē-mol-u-mentu-m*.

Goth. *mal-an* ἀλήθειν, *mal-v-ja-n* συντριβεῖν, OHG. *mul-i* mill, *mel-o* meal, *mul-ja-n* crush.

ChSl. *mel-j-a* (inf. *ml-ě-ti*), Lith. *mal-ù* (inf. *mál-ti*) grind.

OIr. *melim* molo, *do-melat* edunt, *to-malt* edere.

Kuhn 'Zur ältesten Gesch. der indog. Völker' p. 16, Benf. i. 496, Schleicher 'Ksl.' 126, Pott W. ii. 1, 535. — The Greek *υ* has here evidently been developed from *a*. It is important for the history of civilization that these words are common to all the European members of the family of languages, but to these alone. In Skt. we find at most the rare *mal-ana-m* 'rubbing.' — Max Müller ii. 317 assumes for the rt. *mar* the fundamental meaning *rub*, which he thinks established itself with only a slight modification in these words for 'mill.' He very acutely connects with this also *μάρ-ρα-μαι* (No. 458) and *μῶλο-ς* ἄρνος 'the toil and moil of Ares,' while he reconciles the rt. *mar* 'die' (No. 468) with this fundamental notion, according to the analogy of rt. *gar* (No. 130), by means of the idea 'to rub oneself out.' — Bréal 'Rivista' 1874 (p. 454) explains *ē-molu-mentum* as the 'gain by grind-

ing.' (Cp. *νόστος*, No. 432.) — The Irish compound *do-, to-melim* means 'to rub away,' 'destroy,' 'enjoy;' cp. 'Beitr.' viii. 445. Ir. *mulenn* 'pistrinum' is a borrowed word, and is derived from Lat. *molendinum* (Z². 778).

482. *μύρμος*, *μύρμηξ*, *μυρμη-δών* ant. — Zend *maoiri*. — ON. *maurr*, Low Germ. *miere* [AS. and OE. *miere*, cp. *pismire*]. — ChS. *mrav-ij* *μύρμηξ*. — Cymr. *morion*, Arm. *merien* formicae.

Pott W. ii. 2, 202, Grimm 'Gesch.' 327, Förstemann 'Ztschr.' iii. 50. — There are in the main two views as to the origin of these words. The one advanced by Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iii. 66, taken up again in a different way by Bugge 'Ztschr.' xx. 15, connects them with Skt. *vam-rá-s* 'little ant,' *valmika-s* 'ant-hill.' Thus *vam* (No. 452) would be the root, and the insect would get its name from spitting out ant-juice. But this is opposed by the fact that in none of the other languages does the form correspond to this assumption. Legerlotz 'Ztschr.' x. 382 explains it otherwise. — Schweizer 'Ztschr.' xii. 304 starts with *formica*, from which he arrives at the rt. *frem* = Skt. *bhram* with the fundamental idea of restless motion. But even if *μύρμηξ* for *φυρμηξ* could have originated hence 'by assimilation,' we have still to account for the form *βύρμαξ*, *βόρμαξ* (Hesych.); and the other languages agree still worse. — Hence both attempts fail to solve the problem of supplying an etymon for all the names of the ant, which are closely related phonetically. We had therefore better leave the Skt. and the Latin entirely out of the question. In five languages the insect bears a name which can be readily traced back to a rt. *mar*, *mur*. Such a root, it is
 338 true, nowhere presents itself in a verb, but we may regard 'to swarm' as the meaning, and *μύρμιοι* as related. *βύρμηξ*: *μύρμηξ* = *βάρναμαι*: *μάρναμαι*. *φόρμικα* *μύρμηκα* and *ῥορμικας* *μύρμηξ* (Hesych.) are probably both intended to explain the Lat. *formica*. — Doubts on the score of the Slavonic form are advanced by Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 132. — The Cymric has beside *morionen* also *myrwionyn*, Corn. *menvionen* 'formica' (Z². 1076).

483. *μῦς* mouse, muscle. — Skt. *mūsh*, *mūsh-a-s*, *mūsh-a-ka-s*, *mūsh-ika-s* rat, mouse. — Lat. *mūs*, *musculus-s*, *mus-cip-ula*. — OHG. *mās*. — ChSl. *mys-ŕ* mouse.

Bopp 'Gl.', Pott W. ii. 2, 448, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 126. — The rt. *mush* (*mush-ná-mi*) with the by-form *mūsh* is still extant in Skt. as a verb with the meaning 'steal,' hence there can hardly be any doubt as to the explanation of the word *mouse* as 'thief' (cp. No. 480). *sh* like ChSl. *ŕ* has sprung from *s*. The transference of this animal's

name to parts of the body deserves notice: Gk. *μῦς* 'muscle,' *μυών* 'muscular part of the body,' Skt. *mush-kā-s* 'testicle,' 'pudendum muliebres' (cp. *μύσχος* τὸ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ γυναικεῖον μόριον Hesych. Fick i³. 723), Lat. *mus-culu-s*, OHG. *mūs* 'muscle,' especially on the upper arm, ChSl. *mys-ica braxiow* (Miklos. 'Lex.'). — But what are we to say to *σῦς* ὁ *μῦς* (Hesych.)? We find also *σμί-s* *μῦς*, *σμί-nθα* 'house-mouse,' *Σμυνθεύς*. A rt. *σμι* seems to be at the bottom of these (cp. *σμί-nη* 'knife'): fundamental idea 'to gnaw.'

484. *μωρό-s* (Att. *μῶρο-s*) fool, *μωρ-ία* folly, *μωρ-ό-ω* stupefy, *μωραίν-ω* am foolish, simple. — Lat. *mōru-s*, *mōr-io(n)* fool, *mōrāri* to play the fool, *mōr-ōsu-s* (?).

The two derived words make it probable that Lat. *mōru-s* is no borrowed word. Pott's reference to the rt. *ma* (W. i. 282) is less probable than that suggested by Pictet 'Ztschr.' v. 330 to the Ved. *mūrā-s*, 'stupid,' 'purbblind.' We might also regard as related *momar* 'stultus apud Siculos' Fest. p. 140. — According to Fick i³. 718 Skt. *ū* has originated from *ā* under the influence of the *r*.

485. *δμβρο-s* rain, *δμβρ-ιο-s* rainy, *δμβρ-έ-ω* rain. — Skt. *abhrā-m* storm-cloud, clouds, *āmb-u*, *āmbh-as* water. — Lat. *imber* (st. *imbri*).

Bopp 'Gl.' who is undoubtedly wrong in dividing *abhra* into *ap* ('water') and *bhara* ('bearing'). Schweizer 'Ztschr.' ii. 66 more correctly (so Fick i³. 492) groups together all the words here mentioned, as coming under the common idea of water, and also reminds us of *ἀφρό-s* 'foam,' which had been compared with *abhrā-m* by Weber. Medials and aspirates vary in Skt. as in Greek. See on this point p. 528. — Bugge 'Ztschr.' ii. 386 holds Osc. *anafriss* to be identical with *imbri-bus*. So Corssen i². 163. — From the rt. *abh* perhaps comes, as I have conjectured 'Stud.' ii. 440, following Benfey ii. 75, *νήφω*, i. e. *νη-αφ-ω* (Dor. *νάφω*). Cp. No. 456. — OGall. *ambe* 'rivo' ('Beitr.' vi. 229), OIr. *abann* 'stream' with Lat. *amnis* are also akin: cp. Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 340.

486. *ᾠμό-s* crudus, crudelis, *ᾠμό-τη-s* rawness. — Skt. *āmā-s*, *āma-s* raw, uncooked, unripe, *am-lā-s* sour, acidity. — Lat. *am-āru-s*. — OHG. *am-pher* [ModG. *Ampfer* sorrel]. — Ir. *óm* raw.

Benf. ii. 89, 'Ztschr.' viii. 88, 'Ind. lect. Kil. aest.' 1856 p. viii., 339 Pictet 'Ztschr.' v. 341, Stokes 'Ir. Gloss.' 90. — On the OHG. *ampher* 'sorrel' cp. Pictet i. 309, Kuhn 'Beitr.' ii. 381, Skt. *amlā-s*,

amli means also 'wood-sorrel,' 'oxalis corniculata.' The by-form *ambla-s* is noteworthy phonetically, for its *b* was the preliminary step to the OHG. *ph*. Pott W. ii. 2, 153.

487. ὤμο-s shoulder, ὤμο-πλάτη shoulderblade. — Skt. ṛsa-s, ṛsa-m shoulder. — Lat. *um-e-ru-s*. — Umbr. *onse* (*uze*) in *umero*. — Goth. *amsa*.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott ii¹. 290, Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' i. 283. — The primitive form is *amsa-s*, whence Graeco-It. *omso-s*, Gk. ὤμο-s, but besides this Hesych. mentions ἄμ-έ-σω ὤμο-πλάται, a form in which *ε* (as in the Lat. *um-e-ru-s* for *om-e-so-s*) has developed between the two continuous sounds, as in *num-e-ru-s*, beside the Osc. proper name *Niumsieis*. Aeol. ἐπ-ομμα-σία-s = ἐπ-ωμα-δία-s cod. c Theocr. xxix. 29 has retained the older *μμ* from *μσ*. Bücheler 'Populi Iguvini lustratio' p. 16. — Umbr. *onse* Huschke, Savelsberg 'Ztschr.' xxi. 111, Bugge xxii. 463, [Bücheler 'Umbrica' p. 89].

P

A Greek *p* corresponds in the following cases to an Indo-Germanic *r*, and this is retained as a rule also in the other languages; but in some cases it has passed into *l*.

488. Root ἄρ ἄρ-ἄρ-ι-σκ-ε fitted, ἄρ-μενο-s fit, suiting, ἄρ-ηρ-α suit (ἄρ-ηρ-ότ-ε-s near to one another), ἄρ-σ-α, ἥρ-αρ-ο-ν fitted together, ἄρ-θ-ρο-ν joint, limb, ἄρ-τύ-ω fit together, prepare, ἄρ-τύ-s, ἄρ-θ-μό-s union, friendship, ἄρ-ι-θ-μό-s reckoning, series, number, ν-ήρ-ι-το-s uncounted, ἄρ-μό-s joint, shoulder, ἄρ-τιο-s fit, exact, ἄρ-τι just, exactly, ἄρ-τί-ζ-ω prepare, ἄρ-ι- proper, good (ἄρ-είων, ἄριστο-s), ἄρ-έ-σκ-ω please, ἄρ-ε-τή excellence, ἄρ-ε-τά-ω be of use, serve, ἐρι-ήρ-ης trusted.

Skt. rt. *ar* to hit upon anything, to attain, *ára-m* fit, fast, *ará-s* spoke of a wheel, *ar-já-s* attached, faithful, *īr-má-s* arm. — Zd. rt. *ar* go, *air-ya* faithful, *areta* complete, *ere-thé* rectitude.

Lat. *ar-ma*, *ar-mu-s*, *ar-tu-s* limb, *arti-culu-s*, *ar-tī-re*, *ar-tā-re* to fit in firmly, *ar-tu-s* narrow, *ar-(tī)-s*, *arti-fex*.

Goth. *ar-m-s*, OHG. *aram* arm, Goth. *li-thu-s* limb. 340

ChSl. *ra-me* ῥῆμος, Lith. *ar-ti* (adv.) near, *arty-ma-s* (adj.) near, *artin-ti* bring nearer, OPruss. *irmo* arm.

OIr. *áram* gen. *áirme* numerus, *áirmim* numero, *alt* (n. pl. *ailt*) junctura, *do-rímu* enumeró.

Benf. i. 56, Pott W. ii. 1, 78. — Much light is thrown upon this widely ramifying root by the meanings given in the 'Pet. Dict.' for Skt. *ar-já-s* and rt. *ar*, whose part. perf. act. fem. *ārushā*, except as regards the varying reduplication, entirely corresponds to the Gk. *ἀρ-απῖ-α* 'fitting.' With the causative form *ar-pajā-mi*, which means 'fasten,' 'secure,' are connected *ἀρπ-ε-δών(ο)*, *ἀρπ-ε-δώνη* 'rope,' 'cord'; the aspirate here is in the same position as that of *ἀρ-μός-s* and its numerous derivatives (*ἀρμοῖ*, *ἀρμόξω*, *ἀρμονία*). On further extensions (*ἀμ-αρ-τή*, *ὀμ-αρ-τή*, *ὀμ-αρ-τέ-ω*, *ὀμ-ηρο-s*, *ὀμ-ηρ-εύ-ω*, *Ὀμ-άριο-s*) 'De nomine Homeri' p. 11 sq. — By the side of Lat. *ar-s* is Skt. *ṛ-ti-s* in its meaning 'manner' and 'way.' — The meanings develop themselves simply from the idea 'fit,' which is readily taken transitively, and from which the notions of 'close union,' and also of 'narrowness' (Lat. *ar-tu-s*) and 'straitened circumstances,' 'affliction' (Goth. *ar-m-s* *ἐλεεινός*) are as little removed as the transferred notion of 'suiting,' 'pleasing' (*Gefallens*), which in German has been formed from the idea of coinciding (*zusammenfallen*); cp. *convenit*. In the Homeric *ἄρσαντες κατὰ θυμόν* A 136, *ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἤραρον ἡμῖν δ* 777 we can clearly see the transition. There is a good parallel to *ἀρετή*, as far as meaning goes, in MHG. *vuoge* 'proper behaviour' (Wörner 'Substantivorum Homeric. index' p. 17). The positive of *ἀρεῖων* occurs in the Hom. voc. *ἀρές* (E 31), as Ixion recognized (Bekker 'Hom. Bl.' i. 195, Hartel 'Ztschr. f. österr. Gymn.' 1871 p. 604). — Cp. also Ebel 'Ztschr.' vi. 452 and Leo Meyer 'Bemerkungen' p. 45; the latter connects also *Ἀρ-η-s*, *ἔρ-ι-s* with Skt. *ár-i-s* 'enemy,' and the hostile meaning of the rt. *ar* 'strike.' This might be admitted, if we assumed that a Gk. *ép* with a special meaning was developed from the rt. *ar*. In any case *ἔρ-ι-s* is not to be separated from *ἐρ-έ-θ-ω*, *ἐρ-ε-θ-ίζ-ω* 'provoke,' which remind us of Lat. *in-rī-to*. — The fundamental meaning of this root can, however, hardly have been anything but that of 'motion in the direction of something.' In most of its applications this is regarded as 'successful,' 'attaining its goal.' Thus we may connect without violence also *ἀρ-έ-σθαι*, *ἔρ-α-σθαι* 'attain,' which are generally referred as aorists to *αἶρω*, together with *ἀρ-ο-s* 'gain' (Aesch. 'Suppl.' 887) (cp. Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 460). If we remember that *αἶρω* almost always appears in

Homer in the fuller form $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\rho\omega$, there is not the least probability that the st. $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\rho$ (for $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\rho$) should have been shortened to $\acute{\alpha}\rho$ in $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. The present to these aorists is rather $\acute{\alpha}\rho\text{-}\nu\upsilon\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$ (cp. also $\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\text{-}\alpha\rho\upsilon\text{-}\varsigma$). There is no reference whatever here to the notion of 'raising' occurring in $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega$. Hence it is only in this sense that we find the fut. $\acute{\alpha}\rho\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ (Schneidewin ad 'Soph. Aj.' 75), as distinguished from $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega$ (for $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\rho\omega$) from $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega$ (Aesch. 'Pers.' 795). — With these meanings $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\text{-}\iota\text{-}\theta\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ 'day-labourer' is at once seen to be connected, probably also $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\text{-}\alpha\nu\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$, the primary meaning of which seems to be 'a collection of money.' — Next to these comes a group of words which go back to the notion of 'counting' ('putting together'): $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\sigma\alpha\text{-}\eta\rho\iota\tau\alpha$ X 349: cp. Rumpf in 'Fleckeisen's Jahrb.' 1866 p. 85, $\eta\rho\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ 341 $\omicron\lambda\eta$ Hes. 'Opp.' 511, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\text{-}\theta\text{-}\mu\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\varsigma$, cp. OHG. $r\ddot{i}\text{-}m$ [Eng. (mis-spelt) *rhyme*] 'numerus,' 'series' (Fick i³. 737), with which goes *ra-tio*, *ra-tu-s*, Joh. Schmidt. 'Voc.' ii. 461. It can hardly be doubted that the particle $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ ($\acute{\alpha}\rho$, $\acute{\rho}\acute{\alpha}$) is derived from this root; $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ as an interrogative has the greatest resemblance to the Lith. interrogative $\grave{a}r$. — For the 'splitting' of the rt. *ar* into $\acute{\alpha}\rho$, $\acute{\epsilon}\rho$, $\acute{\omicron}\rho$ see above p. 46. Hence results a relationship of this root with Nos. 490, 492, 500. It will be seen on p. 701 that $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ also belongs to it. — References for the Irish words are furnished by Z². 241, 265, 435. They contain the root-forms *ar*, *al*, *rā*.

489. $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}\chi\text{-}\nu\eta$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}\chi\text{-}\nu\eta\text{-}\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\chi\text{-}\nu\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\varsigma$ spider, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}\chi\text{-}\nu\text{-}\iota\omicron\text{-}\nu$ spider's web. — Lat. *arā-neu-s* *arā-neā* spider, and spider's web, *arā-neu-m* spider's web, *arā-neare*.

Förstemann 'Ztschr.' iii. 56 (cp. Kuhn iii. 69) attempts an etymology based upon the equivalent Skt. name $\acute{u}r\eta\alpha\text{-}nābha\text{-}s$, properly 'having wool on the navel:' but this is very uncertain. Otherwise Max Müller iv. 368. The true view has been taken by Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 377. He deduces a rt. *ark* 'range one by another,' 'spin,' which we may regard as an expansion of *ar*. This shows itself, as I have proved 'Ztschr.' xiii. 398, most clearly in $\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\text{-}\nu\text{-}\varsigma$ (by-form $\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\upsilon\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\nu$) 'net,' which is related to this root precisely as Goth. *nati* 'net' to OHG. $nā\text{-}ja\text{-}n$ ('sew'), and as $rē\text{-}te$, probably for $srē\text{-}te$ to *ser-o* (No. 518), and also in $\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$ τὸ $\acute{\rho}\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha$, $\phi\acute{\iota}$ τὸν $\sigma\acute{\eta}\mu\omicron\nu\alpha$ $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ αἱ $\delta\iota\alpha\zeta\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$. Add, with λ for ρ and an inserted vowel, $\eta\lambda\alpha\kappa\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$ (Hes. $\eta\lambda\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$) 'spindle.' Otherwise Brugman 'Stud.' iv. 145. $\acute{\alpha}\rho\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\chi\text{-}\nu\eta$ shows the same vowel, but preserves the ρ . κ has been aspirated under the influence of the ν ; cp. for this p. 502. Hence $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}\chi\text{-}\nu\eta$ means 'spinner.' The Latin words are perhaps borrowed from the Greek: Corssen i². 634 considers this certain. — Fick ii². 23 adds with hesitation the AS. *rynge* 'spider.'

490. *ἀρό-ω* plough, *ἀρο-τήρ* ploughman, *ἀρο-το-s* ploughing, season for ploughing, *ἀρο-τρο-ν* plough, *ἀρου-ρα* ploughed land, *πολύ-ηρο-s* πολυάρουρος (Hesych.).

Lat. *ar-ā-re*, *arā-tor*, *arā-ti-o*, *arā-tru-m*, *arvu-s* ἀρόσιμος, *arvu-m*.

Goth. *ar-jan* ἀροτριᾶν, OHG. *err-an* arare [OE. *ear*], *ar-t* aratio, ON. *ar* aratio, *ardhr* aratrum.

Lith. *ār-ti*, ChSl. *or-a-ti* plough, Lith. *arīma-s* ploughing, field, *arkla-s* (Lexica), ChSl. *oralo*, *ralo* plough.

Cymr. *aradyr*, Ir. *arathar* aratrum, Corn. *erv* ager, Arm. *irvi* sulci (Z². 131, 285, 831).

Kuhn 'Ind. Studien' i. 351, Pott 'W. i. 293. — *ar-i-tra-m* 'oar' (No. 492) has nothing in common with *ἀρο-τρο-ν* 'plough,' except the root with the general notion of moving (No. 488). In its application to ploughing *rt. ar* (almost always retaining too its vowel *a*), is proper to all the European languages, as distinguished from the Oriental. Whether *ἔρα* 'earth' (cp. Goth. *air-tha*), *ἔρα-ζε* is connected with these words is doubtful. Grimm 'Gesch.' 54 ff., Pott ii¹. 179, Pictet ii. 78. — For Greek, with the exception perhaps of *ἄρσει-s* 342 *ἀροτριάσει-s* (Hesych.), *ἀρο* as a derivative verbal-stem is the only form. Nothing can be said with certainty as to the origin of *ἄρουρα*. Misteli ('Ztschr.' xvii. 178) holds that *ἄρουρα* is reduplicated and divides it into *ἀρ-ορ-φα* (cp. *ἀκ-ωκ-ή*), Fick i³. 497 into *ἀρ-φο-ρα*. Grassmann ('Wtb.' 265) compares Ved. *urvārā* 'sown field,' tracing it back to *ar-va-ra*. We should thus have in the East a trace of this root, but a doubtful one. — Beside 'arathar ab aratro' we find also in Cormac's glossary 'ar ('work of the plough') ab eo quod est aro' (*airim*).

491. *ἄρο-ην* (st. *ἀρσεν*), Ion. *ἔρο-ην*, Att. *ἄρῶην* masculine, *ἀρσεν-ικό-s* of a masculine nature. — Skt. *rsha-bhā-s* bull, Zd. *arshan* man, male.

Schweizer 'Ztschr.' iv. 308 following Benfey's 'Sanskrit Chrestomathie, Glossar.' p. 61, Fick i³. 499. — We may regard as the root of the words grouped together here *ars*, Skt. *arsh* 'flow,' in the sense of 'besprinkle;' according to the 'Pet. Dict.' indeed this is 'related to *varsh*,' so that this explanation would ultimately come to the same thing as Benfey's. Still I do not know what we should say to the relation of *varsh* to *arsh*. Who will contend that the

oldest language could not have possessed two rts. *ars* and *vars* (cp. No. 497) synonymous but phonetically distinct? — Sonne 'Ztschr.' x. 103 derives the surname of Dionysos Εἰραφι-ώτης (Alc. fr. 90 ἐρραφε-ώτης) from *arsabha-s* (Skt. *r̥sha-bhā-s*), so that—as a further derivative—it would mean 'fertilizer.' I do not attempt to determine whether *arie(t)-s* belongs here, mainly because of the fem. *arna* Paul. 'Epit.' 20 and Lith. *ėrỹti-s* 'lamb:' cp. OIr. *rether* 'aries.'

492. Root ἐρ ἀμφ-ήρ-ης double-oared, ἀλι-ήρ-ης rowing through the sea, πεντηκόντ-ορο-s fifty-oared ship, ἐρ-έ-τη-s, ὕπ-ηρ-έ-τη-s oarsman, ἐρ-ε-σία rowing, crew of rowers, ἐρ-έ-σσ-ω row, ἐρετ-μός-s oar.
Skt. *ar-ī-tra-s* (adj.) driving, *ar-ī-tra-s* (subst.) oar, *ar-ī-tra-m* or *ār-i-tra-m* helm, *ar-i-tā* (st. *aritar*) oarsman.

Lat. *ra-ti-s*, *rē-mu-s*, *rēm-ig-īu-m*, *tri-rēm-i-s*.

ON., AS. *ār*, MHG. *rie-me* oar (Low G. *reem*), OHG. *ruo-dar*.

Lith. *ūr-ti* row (1 sing. pres. *ūr-i-ù*), *ūr-kla-s* oar.

OIr. *imm-rera* (perf.) gloss upon 'solverat' (Z². 448), *rám* (plur. *rámæ* Z². 16) oar.

Kuhn 'Ind. Studien' i. 353, Pott W. i. 294, Benf. ii. 305, who also adds to this group *κυβ-ερ-νά-ω* and compares the first syllable with *κύμβη*; but *κύμβη* is too rare in the meaning 'boat'—probably originally only poetical, like 'shell' (No. 80)—to make this explanation plausible. There is an attempt at explanation in 'Stud.' iii. 194. — By the side of the rt. *ar*, Gk. *ἐρ*, which underlies these words, there is also the metathesized *ra*, appearing most plainly in *ra-ti-s*. I have intentionally omitted from the words in -ήρ-ης quoted in the text *τρι-ήρ-ης*, for the 'three-decker,' like *δι-ήρ-ες* 'the second story,' derives its name from rt. *ἀρ* 'fit.' Schweizer ('Ztschr.' iii. 353) is
343 right in counting among the words of the cognate languages OHG. *ruo-dar* (*uo* from *ā*). *ἐπέσσω* = *ēper-jō* points to a noun-stem *ēpera*, as *πυρέσσω* to *πυpero* (nom. *πυρετός* 'fever'); cp. Ebel 'Ztschr.' iv. 335. We may probably add the town-names *Ἐπέτρια*, *Ἐπεσσός* ('Ἐπεσος'). But also words which denote motion forwards on land, like Skt. *rā-tha-s* (Suff. *tha*, Lindner 'Altind. Nominalbildung' 85), Lith. *rāt-a-s*, Lat. *rot-a*, [Germ. *Rad*], OIr. *roth* 'wheel,' cannot be separated; especially as Skt. *ar-ī-tra-m* denotes not only 'rudder,' but also, according to the 'Pet. Dict.,' 'a part of a carriage,' and as OIr. *ara* 'auriga' (gen. *arad*, st. *arat*-, Z². 255) certainly also belongs here. But Lat. *rot-a* cannot be separated from *rot-*

undu-s, the form of which, pointing as it does to a derived verbal-stem *rotō*, I have explained in the 'Symbola philolog. Bonn.' i. 278. The 'Pet. Dict.' compares with *ἰπ-ηρ-έ-τη-s* Skt. *ar-a-ti-s* 'servant,' 'help.' This meaning suits well enough the wider use of *ἰπηρέτης*, but not the narrower 'oarsman,' which the word with its derivatives certainly has. Hence *ar-a-ti-s* may have been derived directly from the fundamental notion of 'going,' 'striving' (cp. No. 273), *ἰπηρέτης* on Greek soil immediately from that of 'rowing.' — On the difference between *rts. ép* and *áp*, st. *ápo*, cp. No. 490. — Irish has only the root-form *rā*. Further authorities for the verb, which denotes 'a voyage by sea,' in 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 212.

493. Root *ép*, *Feo* Hom. *είρ-ω* say (*ép-έ-ω*, *είρη-κα*, *ἐρή-θην*, *ρή-τό-s*), *ρή-τωρ*, Aeol. *βρή-τωρ* orator, *ρή-τρα* (Elic *Φράτρα*) decree, *ρή-μα* word, *ρή-σι-s* speech, *εἰρή-νη* agreement, peace (?), *ρή-σκ-ο-μένων* *λεγομένων* (Hes.).

OPers. *var* announce, Zd. *var* teach (?).

Lat. *ver-bu-m*, Umbr. *verf-ale* ('formula' Bréal, 'templum' Bücheler).

Goth. *vaúr-d* word, *anda-vaúrd* answer, *ga-vaúrd-i óμιλία*.

OPruss. *wir-de* word, Lith. *vár-da-s* name.

Fick i³. 772, Corssen i³. 171, Bezzenberger 'Beitr.' i. 253. — On the *f* of the Greek forms see Ahrens 'Aeol.' 34, 36, 226, Ebel 'Ztschr.' xiii. 458, Knös 90 f. For *είρηκα*, *εἰρήνη* 'Greek Verb' p. 360 f. Add also Cyprian *εὐφρητάσασιν* Deecke and Siegismund 'Stud.' vii. 247. — On the other hand the verbal forms which denote 'asking,' like *ἐρείσθαι*, *ἐρείομεν* (A 62), *ἐρωτᾶν*, *ἐρευνᾶν*, *ἐρεῖνεω* are without any trace of a *f* and hence have nothing to do with this root (Knös 185). Bugge 'Ztschr.' xx. 9, Fick ii³. 210 give conjectures as to the origin of these words. — On *εἰρήνη* cp. Giese 'Aeol. D.' 187. — *ῥ-αρ-ίζ-ω* 'chat' (*ῥαρισ-τή-s*, *ῥ-απο-s*) may probably be regarded as a reduplicated form for *ῥα-ῥαρ-ίζω*. Otherwise Bugge 'Stud.' iv. 337. — The comparison of OIr. *bríathar* (acc. *bréthir* Z³. 244) 'verbum' with Gk. *φρήτρα* (Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 340) is uncertain, for Ir. *é*, *ía* points to an earlier *ai*.

494. *ἐρέβ-ινθο-s*, *ῥροβο-s* chick-pea. — Lat. *ervu-m*, *ervilia*. — OHG. *araweiz*, OS. *erwet*.

Pott i¹. 117, Benf. ii. 313, Hesych. *λεβίνθιοι ἐρέβινθοι*. — Lat *v* = Gk. *β* as *vicia* *βυκίον*. — On the termination Lobeck 'Paralip.' 244. — For the German words, which are possibly borrowed, Grimm 'Gr.' 344

ii. 222. — *ἄρ-ακο-s*, later *ἄραχ-os*, 'a kind of pulse,' seems to be of kindred root. It does not follow from *ἡ ἐρίβουθαι* N 588 (cp. *ἡ ἀπολείσθαι*) that there was an initial *f*, as is assumed by Hehn³ 190, misled by Legerlotz ('Ztschr.' x. 380). Cp. No. 523 b.

495. *Ἐρινύ-s*. — Skt. *Saranjū-s*, *saranjū-s* hasty, quick.

Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 439 ff., where he points out some remarkable coincidences between the Arcadian legend of Demeter Erinys related by Pausan. viii. 25 and the Vedic legends of Saranjū. Max Müller ii. 482 agrees with this etymology, though in a different sense. For him *Ἐρινύs* is 'the blush of dawn,' while Sonne 'Ztschr.' x. 121 sees in it 'the storm-cloud.' — The spir. lenis appears in the place of the aspirate as in the copulative *d* = *á*, *sa* (No. 598). *ĩ* points to an **Epevvū-s*, **Epevvū-s*. The spelling with one *v* is the better established, according to L. Dindorf's note in Steph. 'Thesaurus.' No stress is to be laid on the *ε* which once occurs in an inscription (C. I. ii. p. 353), any more than on the isolated *v* (C. I. i. 916). — But we may notice the Macedonian form preserved by Hesych. *Ἀράπισιν* *Ἐρινύσι*: Pott discusses this ('Personennamen' p. 107), reminding us of *ἀρά* 'curse.' Cp. Fick 'Ztschr.' xxii. 200.

496. [*ἔρ-os*] Ion. *ἐῖρ-os*, *ἔρ-ιο-v* wool, *ἐρ-ίν-εο-s*, *ἐρεού-s* woollen.

Skt. *ura* in *ura-bhra-s* ram, i. e. wool-bearer, *úra-na-s* ram, *úrā* sheep, *ūr-ḡa-m*, *ūrḡā* wool.

Lat. *vell-us*, *vill-u-s*, *lā-na* (for *vlā-na*).

Goth. *vulla* wool, *vullarei-s* fuller.

Lith. *vl-na* wool, *vil-óni-s* woollen, ChSl. *vlā-na* wool.

Cymr. *gulan* lana (Z². 130).

Bopp 'Gl.', Pott W. ii. 1, 565, Benf. ii. 296, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 129. — The root is rightly taken to be the *var* 'cover,' which is preserved in Skt. Hence Skt. **var-a*, shortened into *ur-a*, **var-ḡa* shortened *ūr-ḡa* = *fep-i-v(a)* in *ἐρ-ίν-εο-s*. The initial digamma has disappeared in Greek without leaving a trace. The shortest substantive *ἔρ-os* is merely hypothetical; for we actually find only *ἐῖρ-os* with Ionic lengthening (for **fepos*, **ēfepos* ?), and compounds like *εὔ-ερ-os*. As we have in Skt., Lith., and Slav. a form with a nasal suffix, it is natural to explain the double *l* as originating in *ln*, not only in the Goth. *vulla* but also in the Lat. *vellus*, *villus* (cp. Corssen 'Beitr.' 327). Even in Greek there are not wanting forms in which the *r* has passed into *λ*. The kinship of *οἶλο-s* 'curly' (*οὐλό-τη(τ)-s*, *οὐλό-θριξ*) has long been recognized. But Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 318 attractively explains *λῆ-ρος*

'wool' too from **flā-nos*, which is distinguished from the deduced **vel-nus* (*vellus*) only by metathesis. Hence it appears to me the simplest course to explain *lā-na* too as **vlā-na*. In *λά-χ-νη* 'wool,' 'down' (for *fla-κ-νη*) I see an expansion by *κ* (cp. *πελ-ί-χ-νη*), which was aspirated before *ν*. Add *λάχ-νο-s* 'sheep's wool,' *λαχ-νή-εις* 'woolly,' 'rough' (previously No. 537). — To the words with the harder liquid seem to belong also Gk. *ἄρν-ες* 'lambs,' *ἄρν-ειό-s* 'ram,' *πολύ-ῥήν* 'rich in sheep;' for the forms *βάρ-ιον* πρόβατον, *βάρ-ιχοι* ἄρνες (Hesych.) and the proper name *Ῥάρων* on a Boeotian inscription (Clemm 'Stud.' viii. 429) point to an initial labial. There are traces of this remaining in the Iliad too (Knös 56 f.), so that I. Bekker writes *Ῥαρῶν*. The 345 double *ρ* in *πολύ-ῥήν* arose, we must suppose, from *ῥρ* as in *ἑρῥή-θην*, so that we must assume an old double form *ῥαρ-ν*, *ῥρα-ν*. The second form is preserved as *ῥήν* in later authors, and in the derived *ῥήν-ιξ* = *ἄρναις* 'sheepskin,' *Ῥήνεια*. *ἄρν-ειό-s* with the distinctive accent is a derivative like the adjective *ἄρνεος*, but it has a decided analogue in the Skt. *ūrṇājū-s* 'ram' (= **varṇā-ju-s*). It is very hard to determine whether the OHG. *ram* 'ram,' compared by Förstemann 'Ztschr.' i. 496, is related, because we must also take into consideration Lith. *er-yt-is* 'lamb' and Lat. *a-rie(t)-s* with their initial vowels: and these have certainly nothing to do with this root and have been mentioned under No. 491. — With Cymr. *gulan* Stokes 'Corm. Transl.' p. 131 identifies Ir. *olann* 'wool,' but compares both words with Gk. *λάχνη*.

497. *ἔρσ-η* (Hom. *ἔέρσ-η*, Cret. *ἄερσ-α*), *ἔρσ-η* dew, *ἑρσῆι-s* dewy. — Skt. *varsh-á-s*, *varsh-á-m* rain, rt. *varsh* (*vársh-a-ti*) rain. — OIr. *frass* shower of rain.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 468, Benf. i. 327. — The vowel prefixed in the epic form, as in that preserved in Hesych. (*ἄερσαν* τὴν δρόσον *Κρητες*) points clearly enough to *ῥ* (Ahr. 'Dor.' 51). — With regard to the meaning it is noteworthy that Hesych. quotes on *ἔρση* also *νορία*, *ὀμίχλη*. As from rt. *ars* comes *ἄρσ-ην* (No. 491), so from rt. *vars* come Skt. *vṛsh-a-s* 'bull,' Lat. *verr-e-s* 'boar,' as 'besprinkler,' and Skt. *vṛsh-an* 'man,' 'male,' 'stallion.'

497 b. *ἐρύω*, *Φερύω* for *F(ε)ρυσ-ω* draw, *εἰρύ-μεναι*, *ἐρυσ-τάζω*, *ῥυστάζω* frequentative. — *ῥυ-τό-s* drawn towards, *ῥυ-τήρ* rein. — *ἔρρειν*, *Φέρρειν* with-draw, to be gone, *ἀπό-ερ-σε* tore away, *ἀπ-α-υρ-άω* take away, *ἀπούρας*.

Lat. *verrere* (OLat. *vorrere*) drag through, draw away, sweep, *verri-culu-m* net, *ver-su-s* furrow.

ON. *vörr* furrow, OHG. *werran* distrahere.

Bugge 'Ztschr.' xx. 26, Fick i². 776, Van. 904, 906 ff.—I have discussed these words thoroughly in 'Stud.' vi. 266 ff.—The various words linked together by the meaning 'draw,' go back to the rt. *fer*: from this comes *fer-v*, by expansion with *s* *fer-s*, and with anaptyxis *fer-v-s*. The traces of the *f* are certain: cp. Hom. ἀποφέρσειε, with a long second syllable, Aeol. βρύ-τηρ=βντήρ (Ahrens 34), βέρρης δραπετής Hesych. (Ahrens 'Dor.' 46), ἐνθάδε φέρρων Θ 239, Knös 100.—εἰρυσθαι 'defend,' 'protect,' is unconnected.

498. ἐρωδιό-ς (ῥωδιό-ς) heron. — Lat. *ardea*.

Pott i¹. 213, Förstemann 'Ztschr.' iii. 56, Benf. ii. 6.—Probably there is some connexion or other with the word which Hesych. s. v. ἄραμος explains by ἐρωδιός. Instead of this form, which violates the alphabetical order, some conjecture ἄραπος.—We can hardly suppose that the Lat. word is borrowed, but must rather assume a common primitive form *ardja*, so that *ω* would have to be taken as a vowel developed out of *ρ* and lengthened under the influence of contiguous sounds, as Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 417 takes the *ω* of κωλ-ω-νό-ς beside the Lith. *kál-na-s*. Cp. Fick ii². 25.—Herodian indeed taught that the true spelling was ἐρφιδίος (περὶ μονήρους λέξεως i. p. 116 Lentz), but this perhaps was only to favour his derivation from ῥοίζω.

499. εὐρύ-ς wide, εὐρύ-ν-ω widen, εὐρ-ος width, breadth.
— Skt. *urú-s* (fem. *urv-ti*) wide (comp. *vár-ījas*), *uru-gā-já-m* wide room, *uru-kákshās* (*Kakshas* eye) wide-seeing, *vár-as* breadth, space. Zd. *uru vouru* wide.

Bopp 'Gl.', Pott i¹. 221, Benf. i. 79.—An initial metathesis has taken place. *εὐρυ* : *varu* = *παῦρο-ς* : *parvu-s*, *νεῦρο-ν* : *nervu-s*.

500. Root ῥρ ῥρ-νν-μι, ῥρ-ῖν-ω, ῥρο-θ-ύν-ω (fut. ῥρσω, aor. ῥρ-ορ-ο-ν) excite, ῥρ-ωρ-α am excited, raised, ῥρ-το raised himself, ῥρ-σο (ῥρ-σεο) raise thyself, ῥρ-έ-οντο they broke up, ῥρ-ού-ω hurl myself, ἀν-ορού-ω spring up, οὐρ-ο-ν room, δίσκ-ουρα (pl.) casts of a quoit.

Skt. rt. *ar* (*r-ṇó-mi*, aor. *ár-a-m* 3 sing. aor. m. *ár-ta* = ῥρ-το) raise myself, struggle upwards, excite, *īr* to raise oneself, excite. Zd. rt. *ir* raise oneself, rise (of stars).

Lat. *or-i-o-r*, *or-tu-s*, *or-īgo*.

Benf. i. 53, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 396, 459, Pott W. ii. 1, 3.—The individual meanings of the Skt. words were demonstrated first in the

'Pet. Dict.' The $\bar{\iota}$ in $\bar{\iota}r$ has come, as is often the case, from a . The root is the same as that discussed under Nos. 488, 490, 491, but even before the separation of the European nations from each other, this parted off into three forms $\acute{\alpha}p$, $\acute{\epsilon}p$, $\acute{\omicron}p$ with different vowels, and essentially different meanings. In this case we can see with unusual clearness the closer community of the Greeks and Italians on the one side, and the Indians and Iranians on the other.—On the ov of $\acute{\omicron}p$ - ov - ω 'Ztschr.' iii. 77.—Bugge 'Stud.' iv. 327 proves that this root occurs also with the meaning 'shoot forth,' 'grow,' so *ortūs* Lucr. i. 212, and connects with it, probably with justice, Norweg. *runne*, *rune* with the fully equivalent $\acute{\epsilon}p$ - vos (cp. $\delta\eta$ - vos , $\zeta\chi$ - vos , $\xi\theta$ - vos) which I previously placed under 523 b. We may add ON. *renna* 'shoot forth,' 'grow quickly.' Isolated ϵ by o as in $\acute{\epsilon}p$ - μa under No. 502.

501. Root $\acute{\omicron}p$, *Fop* $\acute{\epsilon}p\iota$ $\acute{\omicron}p$ - o - $\nu\tau a\iota$ look after (3 sing. plpf. $\acute{\epsilon}p\iota$ $\acute{\omicron}p$ - $\acute{\omega}p$ - $\epsilon\iota$), $ov\bar{p}$ - o - s guard, watchman, $\acute{\epsilon}p\iota$ - $ov\bar{p}$ - o - s overlooker, $\phi\rho ov\bar{p}$ - $\acute{\omicron}$ - s ($\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}$ - $ov\bar{p}$ - o - s) guard, $\phi\rho ov\bar{p}\acute{\alpha}$ watch, guard, $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}$ - $ov\bar{p}$ - o - s ($\tau\iota\mu\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}$ - s) guardian of honour, avenger, $\pi\upsilon\lambda a$ - $\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}$ - s , $\theta\upsilon\rho\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}$ - s door-keeper, $\acute{\omega}p a$ care, protection, $\acute{\omicron}p\acute{\alpha}$ - ω ($\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\acute{\omega}p\acute{\alpha}$ - κa , $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omega}p\omega$ - ν) see, $\acute{\omicron}p a$ - μa look, $\acute{\alpha}$ - $\acute{\omicron}p a$ - τo - s invisible.

Lat. *ver-e-o-r*, *ver-i-tu-s*, *verē-cundu-s*, *re-ver-e-o-r*.

Goth. *vars visan* to be careful, ware, OHG. *war* intentus, *giwar* aware, *war-a* intuitio, consideratio, cura, MHG. *war nemen eines dinges*, to beware of a thing, OS. *war-ō-n* animadvertere, observare, Goth. *daúra-var-d-s* $\theta\upsilon\rho\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}$ - s door-ward, OHG. 347 *wartēn* videre, exspectare, cavere, *war-t*, *war-to* custos.

Pott W. ii. 1, 582, Benf. ii. 297, Diefenbach 'Goth. Wtb.' i. 201 210, Döderlein 'Gloss.' 2274, where the explanation here given of $\acute{\epsilon}p\iota$ δ' $\acute{\alpha}n\acute{\epsilon}r\epsilon s$ $\acute{\epsilon} s\theta\lambda o\iota$ $\acute{\omicron}p o\upsilon\tau a\iota$ (ξ 104), $\acute{\omicron}p o\upsilon\tau o$ (γ 471), $\acute{\omicron}p\acute{\omega}p\epsilon\iota$ (Ψ 112), which is supported by an old interpretation, and is defended by Lobeck against Buttmann 'A. Gr.' ii. 260, is confirmed by sound arguments.—For the peculiarities of the augment cp. 'Greek Verb' p. 81. The existence of the f is further proved by $\beta\acute{\omega}p o\iota$ $\acute{\omicron}p\theta a\lambda\mu o\iota$ (Hesych. Suid.), by $\pi\upsilon\lambda a\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}s$, $\pi\upsilon\lambda e\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}s$ = $\pi\upsilon\lambda\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}s$ (Hesych.) and by the vowels in composition, though on the other hand we find even in Θ 178 $\acute{o}\delta e\acute{\nu}\acute{o} s\omega\rho o s$. The length of the o in the Homeric $\pi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ - $\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}$ - s is seen to arise from a transposition of quantity, if we compare Dor. $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}$ - $ov\bar{p}$ - o - s (Ep. $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}$ - $ov\bar{p}$ - o - s): hence $\tau\iota\mu\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}s$ is 'honour-ward.'—Darmesteter 'Mém.' ii. 369 has endeavoured to trace the rt. $\acute{\omicron}p$ back to *sar* Zd.

har 'guard,' 'protect' (and also *ser-vā-re*): but this is open to objection, inasmuch as particular Greek forms, as this scholar admits, can only be explained from *var*.—For the meaning see Introduction p. 101.—The root will recur in other uses on p. 587.—It is tempting to place here OCymr. *guarai* 'scena,' *guaroïou* 'theatra' (Z². 127: cp. Baumeister 'Kelt. Br.' 114), but in modern Cymric *gwareu* means 'play,' 'sport.' A rt. *vel* 'see' is retained in Cymr. *gwelet*, Arem. *gwelet* 'videre' (inf. Z². 535), OIr. *fili* 'poeta' (gen. *filed*, st. *velet*-, Z². 255). May we add the 'femina fatidica' *Valeda*, nationis Bructerae, Tac. 'Hist.' iv. 61?

502. ὄρ-μή rush, impulse, ὀρμά-ω press on, rush, ἀφορμή, ὀρμη-τήριον incitement, starting-point of a movement.

Skt. rt. *sar* (*sār-ā-mi*, *sī-sar-mi*) run, flow, in compounds also to attack, fall upon, press forward, *sār-ma-s* flow (subst.), *sar-ās* liquid, brook, *sar-īt* river.—Zd. *har* go.

Pott W. ii. 1, 658, Benf. i. 60, Fick i². 796.—Kuhn in Haupt's 'Ztschr.' vi. p. 131 compares ὄρμη with the Indic *Sarāmā*, and *Sāramājā-s* the son of the latter with the Gk. Ἐρμείας ('Ερμῆ-s), ascribing to both ὄρμη and *sarāmā* the meaning 'storm' ('Ztschr.' iv. 27). Hence Kuhn and Welcker ('Götterl.' i. 342) are fundamentally agreed about the etymon, though they take it in very different ways, while Max Müller 'Lect.' ii. 468 regards Ἐρμείας as 'the dawn-son.' [Cp. also Cox 'Aryan Mythology' ii. 231]. I have still some difficulties with regard to the names of the Gods because of the Greek *appellativa* ἑρμαῖον, ἑρμηνεύς, ἑρμηνεύω, which resemble Ἐρμείας in sound, but are still unexplained. I cannot think of deriving them simply from the name of the God (Pott 'Ztschr.' vi. 46); at any rate I should not be able to quote any name of a God used thus. The latest discussion of this is Benfey's 'Hermes, Minos, Tartaros,' Gött. 1877.—On the other hand ἑρμα in ἑρμὶ ὀδυνάων (Δ 117) must certainly be added here. The word has evidently the meaning of the later ἀφορμή and may be translated by 'source.' The isolated ε as in ἑρως under No. 500.

503. ὄρνι-s (st. ὄρνι, ὄρνιθ, Dor. ὄρνιχ), ὄρνε-ο-ν bird.—Goth. *ara* (gen. *arins*), OHG. *aro*, *arn* eagle [*Aar*].—ChSl. *orŭ-lŭ*, Lith. *erėli-s* (also *eri-s*) eagle.—Com. *er*, Cymr. *erydd*, *eryr* aquila (Z². 1074).

Grimm 'Gesch.' 1021, Fick i². 494, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 341.—Benfey's objection (i. 332) that ἄ-ορν-ο-s proves the existence of *f*,

has no weight, for this late word in its isolation can no more prove the initial labial than *ἄ-σπτο-s*, *ἄ-ορμo-s* prove one in the case of the roots there concerned.—The *θ* as against the Dor. *χ* will occupy us on p. 495.—Ebel 'Ztschr.' v. 66 conjectures as the rt. *ὄρ* (No. 500), so that the bird would be denoted as the 'upstriving.'—For the names of the eagle Pictet i. 456. Perhaps also the name of the Thracian king **Ορολο-s* or **Ολορο-s*, transmitted to the father of Thucydides, belongs here. The form of it reminds us most of the Slavonic words.

504. *ὄρ-os* (Ion. *ὄρος*) mountain, **Ορέσ-τη-s*, **ὀρεί-τη-s*, **ὄρε-ιο-s* (Ion. *ὄρειο-s*) dwelling in the mountains, **ὀρει-νό-s* mountainous, dwelling in the mountains, **ὄρ-εύ-s* (*ὄρ-εύ-s*) mule. — *ρί-ο-ν* height, promontory.

Skt. *varsh-mán* (m.), *vársh-man* (n.) height, *vársh-ījas* the upper.

Lat. *verr-ūca* steep height, wart.

ChSl. *vrǣch-ŭ*, Lith. *virsz-as* peak, height.

My previous comparison with Skt. *giri-s*, ChSl. *gora* 'mountain' is untenable, because the loss of an initial *γ* cannot be proved.—I now place *ὄρος* among a set of words, which are grouped together by Fick i². 216, 775, but not connected with *ὄρος*. Fröhde 'Ztschr.' xxii. 267 hesitates about connecting *ὄρος* with these words.—We may assume a rt. *var* 'heighten,' 'raise.' It underlies the verb *ἀ-φέρω*-ω (contr. *αἶρω*), which I previously placed wrongly under No. 518. The *ἀ* is prothetic. To this belong Ion. *μετ-ήρορo-s* (Att. *μετ-έωρο-s*), *παρ-ήρορo-s*, *συν-ήρορo-s*, *πόδες ἄωροι* (*penduli*) μ 89, *ἡρέ-θ-ο-νται* B 448, *ἀπήωροι ὄζοι*, perhaps also *ἀήρ* (st. *ἀφερ*) and certainly *αἰώρα* 'hanging basket' (cp. Brugman 'Stud.' vii. 345), perhaps for *φαί-φωρα* (cp. *μαι-μάω*). The *f* has been lost before the *ο* of *ὄρος*, *ὄρος*, just as in *ὄρ-ανό-s*=Skt. *Váruṇa-s* (No. 509). Homer. Ion. *ὄρος* (*ᾠρεσι* or *οὔρεσι* Sappho 'Fr.' 94, Theocr., Callim. *ᾠρεα*) is to *ὄρος* as *οὔρανó-s* is to the Aeol. forms *ὄρανο-s*, *ᾠρανο-s* (also Doric). The *f* is retained as *β* in *Βορέας*, *Βορρᾱs*, **Υπερ-βόρε-ιοι* (*Tramontana*, *Ultramontani*). Bugge (Bezenb. 'Beitr.' iii. 112 gives the same account of *ὄρος*, and with *verr-ūca* puts the AS. *wearr* 'callus,' 'nodus.'—To these words belong further Phryg. *ᾠρου*, *ᾠω* (Achilles Tatius on Arati *Phaenomena*, according to de Lagarde 'Gesammelte Abhandl.' p. 288), to which Hübschmann 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 34, 48 adds Armen. *ver*, *i veroy* 'above.'—The rt. *var* appears expanded as *vars*, to which belong the Indian, Latin, and Slavo-Lettic words quoted in the text. From this comes *ρί-ο-ν* (*περὶ ῥίον*, ἀλλὰ *ρίφ* Hom.) for *φρισ-ο-ν*, with that *i*, which so easily comes from an *a* under the influence of a neighbouring *r*, e. g. in *ρίζα* beside *rād-īx* (Joh. Schmidt

'Voc.' ii. 330). We can hardly prove, I think, that *θρ-os* too came from *φορ-os*. — *θρ-θός-s* (El. *βορσόν σταυρόν*, Lacon. *"Απρεμς Βωρθία*), which agrees with the Sanskrit *ūrdh-vā-s* even in its application to the loud voice, also perhaps belongs here, so that it is due to an expansion with *θ*=Skt. *dh*. Fröhde 'Bezzenb. Beitr.' i. 251 wishes to connect also *βρι-αρός-s*, *βρι-ήπνο-s* with these words, and with ON. *risi* 'giant' (Germ. *Riese*), OS. *wriselik* 'gigantic;' also (iii. 19 ff.) *θροσθύρη*, which we may translate 'High-gate.'

- 349 505. *θρρῶ-s* os coccygis, rump, *οὐρά* tail, *οὐραχο-s*, *οὐρ-ίαχο-s* the extreme end. — OHG. *ars* anus. — Ir. *err* tail, end.

Pott i¹. 123, Benf. i. 103, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 341. — *θρρῶ-s* for *θρο-s*, *οὐρά* with compensatory lengthening. — Perhaps Lat. *urruuncu-m* 'quod in infima spica' Varro 'R. R.' i. 48, 2 is related. — Otherwise Bugge 'Ztschr.' xx. 30, Leo Meyer xxiii. 67, Fick i³. 203.

506. *θρός-s* (*θρρῶ-s*) late *οὐρός-s* whey. — Skt. *sāra-s* or *sārā-s* curdled milk. — Lat. *seru-m* whey. — Lith. *sūri-s* large cheese, ChSl. *syřǫ τυρός*.

Pott i¹. 123, Benf. ii. 59. — The spir. lenis instead of the aspirate, which we should have expected in place of *s*, as in *ἐτέος* (No. 208), *θπός*=*sucu-s*. — As *θρός-s* is the oldest form, *θρρῶ-s*, which is perhaps expanded by the use of another suffix (*fo*?), cannot be any obstacle to this comparison, as Pictet ii. 30 and Fick i³. 796 consider it. The Slavo-Lettic words are kept distinct by Joh. Schmidt ii. 281.

507. *θρυξ*. — Skt. *vartaka-s*, *vartakā*, *vartakī*, *vārtikā* quail.

Benf. i. 334, Förstemann 'Ztschr.' iii. 53, Kuhn ib. 68. The Skt. form *vārtikā* quoted by the last is not given in the 'Pet. Dict.' — A *f* in Greek is established by *γόρυξ* *θρυξ* Hesych. The genitive *θρυκ-os* quoted by grammarians (cp. L. Dindorf in 'Steph. Thes.' s.v.) contains the earlier *κ*, which was afterwards weakened into *γ*. The suffix is therefore the *k* common in Greek and Latin in the case of the names of birds. The root in Skt. is held to be *vart*=Lat. *verte-re*, whence also *vārt-ula-s* 'rotundus.' Pictet i. 495 explains this from the custom of these species of birds to roll round on the ground.

508. *θρυγ-μός-s*, *θρυγ-ή*, *θρυγ-μα* a roaring, howling. — Lat. *rug-i-o*, *rugī-tu-s*. — ChSl. *ryk-nq-ti ὀρύεσθαι*.

Pott i¹. 213, Benf. ii. 6. — Both compare also words which point to an Indo-Germanic *k*, like the Slavonic verb and OHG. *roh-ō-n* 'rugire.' According to this a weakening from *k* to *g* would be probable (cp. *μυκ-ά-ο-μαι* and Lat. *mug-i-o*). — The verb *ὀρύγω* or *ὀρυγάνω*

quoted by Benfey and also by Pictet 'Ztschr.' vi. 183 is nowhere to be found. On the other hand *ρύξεν* 'bellow' is probably akin ('Greek Verb' p. 225), and proves that the *o* is prothetic (Van. 813). *ὀρυγμός*-s in Hesych. is probably rightly explained by *βρυχμός* instead of the traditional *βρυχόμενος*. *ὀρυγ-μαδός*-s: *ψόφος*, *κτύπος*, *ὀρυγμαδες*: *θόρυβοι* look like mere corruptions of the better established *ὀρυμαγδός*-s. Cp. *ὀρύ-ω* (No. 523.)

- 508 b. *ὀ-ρύσσω* (original stem *ρύκ*) dig, scrape, *ὀρυξ*, *ὀρυγξ* graver, chisel, *ὀρυκτήρ* digger, spade, *διῶρυξ* ditch, conduit, shaft. — Lat. *cor-rūgu-s*, *ar-rūg-ia* conduit, shaft, *runc-ā-re* weed, pluck up, *rūga* wrinkle (?).

Fick i³. 744, 'Greek Verb,' p. 222. — The *o* is prothetic: on the variation of the consonant at the end of the root see p. 529. — Fick adds also Skt. *luñk* 'pluck,' 'tear away,' and compares with Lat. *rūga* the equivalent Lith. *raukà*. Vaníček compares Czech. *ryč* 'digger,' *ryč* 'spade.'

509. *ὀυρανός*-s (Aeol. *ὄρανο-ς*, *ὄρανο-ς*) heaven, firmament, 350
palate, *ὀυράν-ιο-ς* heavenly, *ὀυρανί-ων-ες* caelites,
— Skt. *Várūna-s* God of water, 'all-embracing'
(Pet. Dict.).

Benf. i. 324 (otherwise ii. 298), Pott W. ii. 1, 554. — Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 457 '*Várūna-s* in its oldest form equivalent to Gk. *ὀυρανός* later 'God of the waters,' which are called 'the wives of *Varūna*.' — Schweizer iii. 387 against Bopp, who derives *ὀυρανός*-s from Skt. *varsh* 'rain' (No. 496). — The root of this old word is *var* 'cover.' For the Aeolic forms see Ahr. 93, 101.

510. *ὄυρο-ν* urine, *ὄυρ-έ-ω* pass urine (aor. *ἐούρησε*),
ὄυράνη, *ὄυρήθρα*, *ὄυρη-μα*. — Skt. *vāri* water.
Zd. *vāra* rain, *vāreñti* it rains. — Lat. *ūr-īna*,
ūrīn-ā-ri dive, *ūrīnā-tor* diver. — ON. *úr* (n.)
fine rain, *ýra* to rain fine, AS. *vār* sea.

Pott W. ii. 1, 596, Benf. i. 324, Bugge 'Ztschr.' xx. 29. — For the peculiarities of the augment 'Greek Verb' p. 80. — Bopp 'Gl.' refers here, as Varro 'L. Lat.' v. 126 did before him, *urna* and also *ur-ceu-s*, but the former is more likely to be connected with *ur-o* (rt. *us*) as being a vessel of burnt earth, the latter probably has its origin in the Gk. *ύρχη* (Lob. 'Paral.' p. 34). For the meaning of the words here compared the Lat. *ūrīnāri* is especially instructive, inasmuch as it has developed quite independently from the idea of water. — Italian proper names which presumably belong here, are dis-

cussed by Corssen 'Beitr.' 238. — OIr. *fúal* (Z². 949) 'urina,' which Stokes 'Ir. Gl.' 222 was inclined to compare with Skt. *vāri*, owes its *úa* evidently to compensatory lengthening, and probably comes from rt. *vag* 'to be moist,' 'to wet,' Fick i³. 764 (cp. *ύγρός*).

511. *ράπυ-s* turnip (later *ράφυ-s*), *ράφ-ανο-s* cabbage, *ράφ-αρί-s* radish. — Lat. *rāp-a*, *rāp-u-m* turnip. — OHG. *ruoba* wild turnip. — ChSl. *рэпа*, Lith. *rópė* turnip.

Pott i¹. 109, Benf. i. 73. — We might suppose borrowing both in Latin and in German. Still this does not seem probable. If we start with the form in π and assume aspiration in Greek, all is easily explained. For this and for many dialectic forms W. Roscher 'Studien' i. 2, 74. — Cp. No. 513.

512. *ράχι-s* spine (by-form *ράχ-ε-τρο-ν*, *ράχ-ία*), *ράχι-αίο-s*, *ράχί-τη-s* spinal. — OHG. *hrucki*, ON. *hrygg-r* back(?).

Pott ii¹. 205, Benf. ii. 316, Grimm 'Gesch.' 307 'a Gk. ρ may exceptionally correspond to an OHG. *hr*:' this is, however, probably the case only when κ has been lost in the Greek, and I do not know a second instance of the kind (cp. *λάξ* and *calx* No. 534). The origin of the word and its relation to *ράχ-o-s* 'thorn-hedge' (cp. *spina dorsī*), *ράχος* 'rag,' etc., is still very obscure, hence I regard this comparison as very uncertain. — To the OHG. *hrucki* belongs Ir. *crocenn* 'tergus,' 'pellis,' 'Beitr.' viii. 437.

- 351 513. Root $\pi\epsilon\pi$ $\phi\pi\pi$ *ρέπ-ω* incline (of the balance), *ρόπ-ή* inclination, turning of the scale, momentum, *ἀντί-ρόπο-s* of equal weight, *ἀμφι-ρόεπ-ής* inclining to both sides (*amb-ig-uu-s*), *ρόπ-αλο-ν* stick (for throwing), cudgel, club, *ρόπ-τρο-ν* knocker, clapper, bird-trap, *ραπ-ί-s* rod, *καλα-ῦροψ* shepherd's staff.

Lat. *rep-en(t)s*, *rep-ente*, *repent-īnu-s*.

Lith. *virp-iu* quake, tremble, waver.

Döderlein 'Syn. und Etym.' vi. s. v. *repente*, 'Gloss.' 2320 suggests the extremely probable comparison with *rep-ente*, which we must regard as a locative adverb formed from the participial stem (cp. *ἐθελοντί*); hence it means *ρόπῃ τι, momento*. — The only trace of the ϕ is retained in the ν of *καλα-ῦροψ*: as to the first part of this word Döderlein 'Gl.' 2104 offers some conjectures; but it is very probable that *κάλο-s* 'cord' underlies it, and that so the word means 'cord-

stick.' This stick is used by shepherds for throwing, like the *ρόπ-αλο-ν* [cp. Ψ 845 f., and Paley on Theocr. iv. 49]. Hence the notion of a quivering motion through the air runs through all these words, and this is just as suitable to the wavering and trembling of the tongue in the balance. — *ῥαπί-ς* 'rod' seems — like the swinging ring used for knocking at a door, and the quivering tambourine, both *ρόπτρον* — to be also named from swinging, and, as the word is quoted in Hesych. also with the meaning *ῥάπυ-ς*, so perhaps all the words treated under No. 511 belong to this stem. — But *ῥάβ-δο-ς* resembles still more the Lith. *vīrba-s* 'twig,' 'rod,' ChSl. *vrūb-a* 'salix' (cp. also *verb-er*, *vīrg-a*). — Benf. ii. 310 offers all kinds of other combinations. — *ῥίπ-τω*, *ῥίπ-ή*, which, in spite of the neglect of the 'shifting of mutes,' can hardly be separated from Goth. *vairp-a* [cp. *mold-warp*] is distinguished from the other forms by its *ι*, though not more, as Delbrück 'Stud.' i. 2, 132 (cp. Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 333) proves, than *κρῖ* from *hord-eu-m*. Cp. for *ρίπτω* and *ῥείπτω* Pott i¹. 257, Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' vi. 176, xv. 5, Grassmann xii. 108, Fick xix. 264. — It is better to suppose that *ῥέμβ-ω* 'turn,' *ῥόμβ-ος* 'turning,' etc. have come from rt. *fr̥ep* by a nasal strengthening and a consequent softening of the *π* into *β*. Pott i¹. 260 holds *ῥέμβ-ω* to be equivalent to Goth. *hvaīrb-a* 'verto' — whence the German 'Wirb-el,' — Fröhde 'Bezenb. Beitr.' i. 250 to the Skt. *varḡ* 'press,' so that it would only be an accidental variant of *ῥέργω* (No. 142). — Cp. Walter 'Ztschr.' xii. 388 f., Gustav Meyer 'Stud.' vi. 251.

514. *ῥίγ-ος* cold, *ῥίγ-ιον* colder, worse, *ῥίγ-ηλό-ς*, *ῥιγε-δανό-ς* frosty, awful, *ῥίγ-έ-ω* (*ἔρῥιγα*) shudder, *ῥιγό-ω* freeze.

Lat. *frīg-us*, *frīg-idu-s*, *frīg-e-o*, *frīg-e-sc-o*.

Pott i¹. 258, Benf. ii. 110. — It is easier to assert than to prove a connexion with *rig-e-o*, *rig-or*, *rig-idu-s*; the entirely similar formation of derivatives where the quantity and the initial letter are alike different, would of itself oppose the assumption that *frig* and *rig* are originally identical. Cp. Corssen i². 451. — Gk. *ῥίγ* has lost an initial labial. So the question must remain open whether this *φρῖγ* may be perhaps only weakened from *φρῖκ* (*φρίσσω*, *φρίξ*, *φρίκη*). — All further comparisons are extremely uncertain. The OHG. *frīos-an* 'freeze,' in particular, agrees neither in its initial nor in its final letter. — Lat. *frig-ē-re* 'roast' belongs to No. 162.

515. *ῥίζα* (Lesb. *βρίσδα*) root. — Lat. *rād-īx*. — Goth. 352 *vairt-s* root (*wort*), OHG. *wurz-ā*, *wurz-ala*. — Cymr. *gwreidd-yn*, Corn. *grueit-en* radix.

Pott i¹. 250, who has rightly seen that neither Skt. *rdh* nor *vrđh*

suit these words, which rather point to a rt. *vard*, *vrad*, Corssen i². 403, Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 315, 352. — For Aeol. βρίσθα = *φριδ-ια* Ahr. 'Aeol.' 34 sq. There are suggested for comparison also Aeol. βραδινό-ς (βραδινός), βραδ-ανό-ς with the by-forms βραδ-αλό-ς, βραδ-αλό-ς (Σ 576), 'slim,' 'slender,' βράδ-αμνο-ς, βράδ-αμο-ς, βρόδ-αμνο-ς, ὀρόδ-αμνο-ς, βράδ-ιξ 'shoot,' 'twig,' the somewhat varying meanings of which have their analogy in the Teutonic languages, where *wurz*, *wirz* mean also vegetable, 'wort.' The rt. *vrad* which is thus deduced Sonne 'Ztschr.' xii. 367 finds in the 'Nirukta' v. 15 f. as a by-form of *mrad* 'to be pliant,' 'yielding.' Cp. Benfey 'Gött. Nachr.' 1875 p. 33. In the 'Pet. Dict.' *vrad* is translated by 'grow soft' (*avradanta devās* Rignv.). βραδ-ό-ν 'rose,' Aeol. βρόδον is according to Pott 'E. F.' ii². 817 and Hehn³ 217, 527 of Iranic origin (Armen. *vard*), Lat. *rosa* certainly from βρόδέα, βρόδιά, like *Clausus* from *Claudius*. [Cp. Max Müller in the 'Academy' for 1874, p. 488, 576]. — Perhaps Düntzer is right in connecting with this root the difficult περι-ρρηδής, which in χ 84 περιρρηδής δὲ τραπεζίη κάππεσε is explained by περιφερής, while in Hippocrates it means 'wavering.' We may therefore translate it in the Homeric passage by 'reeling.' Lobeck 'Paralip.' 156 connected the word with βράδες τὸ ἀμφοτέρωσθε ἐγκεκλιμένον, i. e. 'waving evenly.' *rādix* and βίξα must have meant originally 'twig,' whence the transition to 'root' is easy. It is doubtful whether *rad-iu-s* and *rā-mu-s* (which may easily have lost a consonant) are related. But *rūd-i-s* 'staff' certainly belongs to the rt. *rudh* (also Skt. *ruh*) 'grow,' for it corresponds to AS. *rōd-a*, OHG. *ruot-a*, which require an ante-Teutonic *dh*. Add Zd. *rud* 'grow,' Goth. *liud-an* with *l*, ChSl. *rodi-t-i* parēre, etc. — Cp. Lobeck 'Elem.' i. 85. The weakening of *ā* into *ι* is as in ἴζω, πινέ-ω. — Cymr. *gwareiddyn* (Z². 1077), if we strike off the suffix -*yn* (Z². 295), gives the primitive form **vrad*.

516. βίψ (st. βίπ) hurdle-work, mat, βίπ-ί-(δ)-ς fan, βίπ-ίξ-ω fan. — Lat. *scirp-u-s* rush, *scirp-eu-s*, *scirp-āre*. — OHG. *sciluf* rush.

Pott i². 140, who compares also γρίπο-ς, γρίφο-ς as 'rush-mat.' — Gk. βίπ is thus for σκρίπ, whence by metathesis came *scirp-u-s*, and with *ι* for *τ*, the regular shifting of mutes and a subsidiary vowel, the German word. — Cp. Benf. i. 212. — The notion of a ἱμαντῶδες φυτόν, which the scholiast on Aristoph. 'Pax' 699 gives to the word βίψ, comes out clearly in the three languages. — Εὔ-ρίπο-ς no doubt belongs here. — βίπ : *scirp* = *rēp* : *serp*. — Otherwise Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 332.

517. Root βυ, cpu βέ-ω (βέυ-σω, ἐ-βρύη-ν) flow, βέ-ος, βό-ο-ς, βεῦ-μα flood, βό-ή, βύ-σι-ς, βεῦ-σι-ς flow-

ing, *ῥυ-τό-ς*, *ῥευσ-τό-ς* flowing, *ῥέ-ε-θο-ο-ν* bed of a stream, stream, *ῥύ-αξ* stream of fire, *ῥύ-μη* swing, press, *ῥυ-θ-μό-ς* time (in music).

Skt. rt. *sru* (*sráv-ā-mi*) flow, *sra-v-a-s* outflow, *sráv-ant-ī*, *sró-t-as* stream.

Lat. *Ru-mo* (older name of the Tiber), *ru-men* udder, 353 *Rumin-a*.

OHG. *strou-m* stream.

Lith. *sra-v-j-ù* flow, bleed, *srov-ě* a streaming. ChSl *s-t-ru-ja* fluentum, *o-s-t-rov-ŭ* insula (literally *ἀμφί-ρυ-το-ς*).

OIr. *sruth* a flow, flood, *di-sruthigud* derivatio, *srúaim* (dat. plur. for *srúamann-aib*) stream.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. i. 1370, 'Personennamen' 400, Benf. ii. 8, Schleicher 'Ksl.' 130, 136. — After Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 27 had already discussed the *t*, which the Slavo-Teutonic words — but also *Σιρύμων* — add to the forms of the other languages, Förstemann 'Ztschr.' iv. 277 and now even Kuhn himself xiv. 223 confidently assume *stru* as the root. Kuhn lays especial weight on the Zend form *thru* 'flow' (by the side of *gru* 'go'), *thraota* (masc.) 'stream.' It does not seem to me probable that the common combination of sounds *str*, if originally occurring, would become weakened into *sr*, which is nowhere a favourite: while on the other hand from an original *sr str* might very easily have come from the desire for greater ease of pronunciation. Pott W. i. 1373 quotes analogies, e. g. Czech. *s-t-řib-ro* = ChSl. *sreb-ro* 'silver.' In no case, however, can we, I think, make use of the aspiration of the *t* to *th* in this *thru* — an aspiration confined to the Zend, and to be explained by the special phonetic laws of this language — to assume a *sthru* for other languages, and to arrive from this, as Kuhn does, even at the Lat. *flu*. For *flu* cp. No. 412 d. — The Latin representatives of this root are discussed by Corssen 'Ztschr.' x. 18, 'Beitr.' 427, ii². 85, 1012. To those quoted above, he adds *Roma* for *Rou-ma* = *Σιρύμη*, 'stream-town' (but see Ritschl 'Rh. Mus.' xxiv. 17), *Romulu-s*, *Re-ate*, for *Rev-ate*. — From Greek probably the Homeric *ῥά-ο-μαι* also belongs here (cp. *Εὔ-ρώ-τας*), which is related to *ῥέω* phonetically, as *πλώω* to *πλέω*. The meaning 'press on' (Λ 50), 'move with force' can be easily reconciled with that of 'streaming' (cp. rt. *plu* No. 369). Skt. *sru-tī-s*, which means not only 'outflow' but also 'way,' 'road,' points to a further use of the root. With regard to *ῥώμη*, *ῥώννυμι*, which strongly remind us of *rōbur*, I am now doubtful. *ῥώμη* is not seldom contrasted with *ἰσχύς*, e. g. in Plato 'Sympos.'

190 b, and approximates so closely to *ῥύμη* that it is natural to take it as 'force of movement.' — But that *ῥυ-θ-μός-s* (cp. *βα-θ-μός-s*, *στα-θ-μός-s*) was first noticed by the Greeks from listening to the sea, I feel quite certain. — *ῥωή*, *ῥωέω* in their twofold meaning (cp. Fick 'Ztschr.' xxii. 375) I altogether omit. — Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 281 conjectures an identity of root between *sru* and *sar* (Skt. *sār-a-ti*) 'run,' 'flow,' and arrives at *ῥόθο-s*, *ῥοθεῖν*, though here, it must be admitted, the notion of noise comes into prominence, while *ῥώθων* 'nose,' like *nāsu-s* (No. 443), got its name rather from flowing. — Authorities for the Irish words in Z². 239, 991, O'Dav. 'Gl.' p. 115.

518. Root *cep* (*ἐρ*, *ἐρ*) *σειρ-ά* rope, *σερ-ί-s* *ζωστήρ* Hesych.,
ῥρ-μο-s necklace, *ῥρμα-θός-s*, *ῥρμ-ιά* fishing line,
ῥρ-μα ear-ring, *εἴρ-ω* (*ῥ-εἰρ-ε*, *ῥ-εἰρ-μένο-s*) fasten,
 bind, *εἴρ-μός-s* fastening, *εἴρ-ερ-ο-s* bondage.

Skt. *sar-at* yarn, thread.

354

Lat. *ser-o* range, fasten, *ser-a*, *re-serā-re*, *ser-tu-m*,
ser-iē-s, *sor-(ti)-s*.

ON. *sör-vi* necklace.

Lith. *seri-s* thread, cobbler's waxed thread (?).

Fick ii³. 263 ; cp. Bugge 'Ztschr.' xx. 32. — The rt. *sep*, Indo-Germanic *sar* 'bind,' 'tie,' clearly occurs in Greek, and that in three forms, which Lobeck 'Rhem.' 136 sq. following old grammarians also holds to be related. For *ῥρ-μα* Buttm. 'Lexil.' i. 111 [p. 300 'E. T.']. — *ῥ-απ* 'wife' (Hes. *ῥ-απ-ε-s*) is explained by Pott 'Ztschr.' vi. 262 from the copulative *ῥ* and root *ῥ* 'join.' But so the hiatus is not accounted for. If we divide it into *ῥ-σῥῥ* the word becomes quite a parallel to *συν-ῥοπο-s* and *con-jux*. (Cp. Lobeck 'El.' ii. 74.) I cannot believe that *ῥῥῥ* and *soror* (Skt. *svāsar*) have anything in common. — Lobeck 'El.' i. 176 refers here also the *ἄπαξ εἰρημένον* *εἴρ-ερ-ος* (θ 529) explained by Apollonius in his Lexicon by *δουλεία*. — *ser-a* is explained, not so much from the equivalent *σειρά*, which is later, as from the Homeric custom of moving the bolt to and fro with a thong (a 442). *sor-t-ēs* 'a serendo,' because they were usually strung together by a thread. *rē-te* probably for *srē-te* with metathesis as in *rēp-o* compared with *serp-o*, in (*t*)*lā-tu-s* by the side of *tul-i*. Cp. on No. 489. — But even *sar* is perhaps not the full form of the root. — For the forms *ῥεῖρ*, *ῥεῖρ-μένος* which point to an initial consonant see 'Greek Verb' p. 81. Ebel 'Ztschr.' iv. 165, 171, hence deduces a rt. *svar*, from which in particular the *σ*, retained in *σειρά*, is well explained. On the other hand, I now place *δείρω* and all that goes with it, with the fundamental notion of 'lifting,' 'raising' under No. 504. — The Lith. *sever-*

jù 'weigh,' *svàr-a-s* 'weight,' 'pound,' etc. I prefer to omit entirely.— We are reminded of the Lat. *sero, consero, series*, by the OIr. glosses: *caith bed srethi* gl. on 'acus substernendum' (Z². 182), *bid comsrithi* gl. on 'cum his manus conserenda est' (Z². 480): *sreth* 'series,' 'ordo,' *com-sreth* 'constructio' (Z². 871, 992). Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 308 is inclined to place these words under No. 227 (rt. *star*), but it is not proved that an original initial *st* is replaced by *s* in Irish. The question can only be whether the Irish words belong to a rt. *sar* with the meaning 'bind,' 'fasten.'

519. *σῦρ-ιγξ* pipe, shepherd's flute, *σῦρίζ-ω* pipe, *σῦριγ-μó-s*, *σῦριγ-μα* piping. — Skt. rt. *svar* (*svár-ā-mi*) sound, resound, sing, *svár-a-s* or *svar-á-s* sound, note, vowel. — Lat. *su-sur-ru-s*, *ab-sur-du-s*. — ChSl. *svir-a-ti*, *svir-i-ti* 'αὐλεῖν, σπρίττειν,' *svir-ěli* *σῦριγξ*.

Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *svr*, Pott W. ii. 1, 721, Benf. i. 460. — The connexion of *ab-sur-du-s* (cp. *absonus* and Cic. 'De Divin.' iii. 41) was proved by me more fully 'Ztschr.' i. 268. — The form **τυρίσδω* has no support. Ahrens 'Dor.' p. 65 rejects it on MS. authority as hyper-Doric. Cp. also Meineke ad Theocr. ed. tertia p. 17.—Cp. Corssen 'Beitr.' 99, i². 488 and No. 388.

520. *ῥπαξ* (st. *ῥπᾶξ*). — Lat. *sōrex* (st. *sōrec*) shrew-mouse.

Benf. i. 461, Grimm 'Gesch.' 303. — Benf. conjectures that the word is to be referred to the rt. *svar* mentioned under No. 519, and 355 hence that the animal was named from its cry, which among the Romans was thought worthy of particular attention (Plin. 'N. H.' ii. 41). So Pictet i. 413.

521. *ψάρ* (modern Greek *ψαρό-βι*). — Lat. *stur-nu-s*. — OHG. *star-a* (fem.) starling, MHG. *star* (masc.), AS. *stear-n*. — Bohem. *skor-ec* starling.

Pott ii¹. 297, Benf. i. 677, Förstemann 'Ztschr.' iii. 48, Kuhn iv. 34. For the initial letter see p. 704. — Hesych. has preserved a form with *στ*, *ἀ-στραλό-ν* ὁ ψαρός ὑπὸ Θεταλῶν, for with Lobeck 'Prolegg.' 93 we may regard *ψαρός* as equivalent to *ψάρ*, and the connexion of this with *stur-nu-s* even Lobeck declares to be 'non admodum incredibile.' Cp. Siegismund 'Stud.' v. 153. If we consider the Slavonic form, it becomes probable that *sk* was the original commencement of the word. Cp. No. 106, Pictet i. 482. On the other hand Fick ii². 146 compares *ψάρ* with Latin *pāru-s* 'tit-mouse,' Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 457 with OHG. *sprā* (Germ. *Sprehe*) 'starling.'

e corresponds to the *o* of *ol-esco*, just as in *vel-i-m*, *velle* by the side of *vol-o*, *bene* by *bonus*, *helus* by *olus*. The meaning 'germ,' shared also by *incrēmentum*, which is of quite similar origin (e.g. Ov. 'Met.' iii. 102 'vipereos dentes, populi incrementa futuri') [cp. Munro in 'Journal of Cl. and Sacr. Philology' iv. 292 ff. commenting upon Verg. 'Ecl.' iv. 49] suits excellently the entire usage of the word, as Tr. illustrates further by the similar use of *semina*. Otherwise Leo Meyer 'Bezzenb. Beitr.' ii. 86 ff. Fick 'Ztschr.' xxii. 384 wishes to deduce a form **hele-mentum*, and to connect it with the rt. *ghal* 'sprout' (No. 197). *ἀλ-θ* (No. 303) and *ἀλ-δ* have been derived from rt. *ἀλ* by expansion. In *ἀλδ-αίν-ω*, *ἀλδ-ήσκ-ω* the latter shows the two main meanings of the root unaltered. — Cp. No. 494. Pott W. ii. 1, 123.

524. *ἄλλο-s* (Cyp. *αἰλο-s*) another, *ἄλλ-ήλο-us* one another, *ἄλλά* but, *ἄλλο-ῖο-s* of another kind, *ἀλλάσσ-ω* change, exchange, *ἄλλό-τροιο-s* strange.

Lat. *ali-u-s* (OLat. *ali-s*, *ali-d*), *ali-bi*, *ali-qui-s*, *ali-ēnu-s*, *al-ter* (st. *al-tero*). — Osc. *allo alia* (nom. s. fem.).

Goth. *ali-s* ἄλλος, *alja* (conj.) beside, *aljar* elsewhere, OHG. *ali-lanti*, *eli-lente* foreigner, foreign country; Goth. *alja-thrō* ἀλλαχό-θεν, OHG. *alles*, *elles* (conj.) else, otherwise.

OIr. *aile* (st. *alia*) *alius*, *araile*, *alaile* *alius*, *ailigid* *mutat*, *ailithre* peregrinatio, Cymr. *arall* *alius*.

Cp. *ἔνιοι* No. 427, from which stem we felt compelled to distinguish this. — Diefenbach 'Wtb.' i. 38. — The distinction is especially supported by the fact that both in Greek and in Gothic both stems (*an* and *al*) occur side by side. Cp. Schleicher 'Comp.' 225 ['E. T.' 115]. Corssen 'Beitr.' 295, Fick i³. 501. — Cyp. *αἰλων* = ἄλων Deecke and Siegmund 'Stud.' vii. 253. Cp. Armen. *ail* (Hübschmann 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 33) and the Irish form. — The reduplicated *ἄλλ-ήλο-u-s*, like Skt. *anjōnja* (No. 426), has a noteworthy dissimilation in the second member. A comparative suffix occurs not only in *al-ter*, but also in *ἄλλό-τροιο-s*, which, as the Lesb. *ἄλλό-τερο-πο-s* shows (Ahrens 'Aeol.' 55), is derived from a st. *ἄλλο-τερο*. Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' v. 365 prefers to assume in the suffix a derivation from the Skt. adverbial suffix *trā*—*anjā-trā* 'alibi'—but it can hardly be denied that this suffix is also akin to that of the comparative. On the wide ramification of these suffixes cp. Corssen 'Ztschr.' iii. 242 ff. — *ἁλλάσσω* goes back to a stem *ἄλλακω*, which is developed from *ἄλλο* just as Skt. *anjā-kā* from *anjā*, 'Ind. lect. Kil. aest.' 1857 p. viii. — Ir. *ailigim*

(Z². 437) is formed like Gk. ἀλλόσσω; cp. Z². 795: *araille*, st. *aralia*. With Cymr. *arall* cp. the Irish *aill* 'aliud.' From *aillthre* 'peregrinatio' is derived *aillthrech* 'Romipeta,' i.e. 'pilgrim' (Z². 782).

525. ἀλώπηξ (st. ἀλωπ-εκ). — Lith. *lápė* fox, *lapù-ka-s* young fox (Nesselm.).

Pott i¹. 208 compares Skt. *lōṛāsā-s*, *lōṛāka-s* 'jackal,' 'fox.' But Skt. *ō* is not Gk. *ω*, and the preservation of such a compound is the less probable in that neither of the two stems can be proved to exist in Greek. We rely upon the evident agreement, 353 which even extends (Schleicher 'Lit.' ii. 286) to the quantity of the vowel in the stem-syllable. — Hesych. gives ἀλωπό-ς ἀλωπεκώδης, πανούργος Σοφοκλῆς and ἀλωπά ἢ ἀλώπηξ, though the latter is suspected and does not occur in its place (M. Schmidt p. 136). Hence *εκ* is a hypocoristic termination, and ἀλώπηξ (*vulpe-cula*) is in itself parallel to the Lith. diminutive. Cp. μύρμ-ηξ and μύρμ-ο-ς No. 482. It would not be possible to identify it with *vulpe-s* without assuming a loss of the *v* in Gk. and Lith., and in no way could we identify it with Goth. *faūhō*, in spite of Förstemann 'Ztschr.' i. 498. — *ά* prefixed as in ἀ-λείφ-ω. — ἀλωπ-ήκ-ων Anan. fr. 5, 5 (Bergk³ p. 787).

526. γλυκύ-ς sweet (by-form γλυκ-ερό-ς), γλυκύ-τη(τ)-ς sweetness, γλεῦκ-ος must, ἀ-γλευκ-ής bitter. — Lat. *dulci-s*, *dulc-ēdo*, *dulce-sc-o*.

If these words go together, *g* must be earlier than *d*, for Skt. *gul-ja-s* 'sweetness,' which Benfey ii. 137 compares, as well as the more remote Lith. *gardū-s* 'of pleasant taste,' and refers to a root akin to *glu-tire*, closely approximates. — Can *dulci-s* have come from *gulci-s* by dissimilation, as *tenebrae* from rt. *tam*, *mihi* from *mibhi* by the side of *tibi*? — The assumed *deûkos* for γλεῦκος has no authority. — Otherwise Fick i². 617.

527. Root *fel*, *fal*. — ἐλύ-ω wind, curve, εἰλύ-ω ἱλλω roll, wrap round, εἶλυ-μα, ἔλυ-τρο-ν cover, εἰλ-εό-ς twisting of intestines (*ileus volvulus*), ἱλ-ιγξ, ἱλ-ιγγ-ο-ς whirling, dizziness, ἱλλά-ς cord, Hom. ὀλοοί-τροχο-ς (ὀλοί-τροχο-ς) rolling stone, ὄλ-μο-ς mortar, οὐλαί (οὐλοχύται) bruised barley, ἀλέ-ω grind, ἄλευ-ρο-ν, ἄλειαρ meal, ἄλε-το-ς grinding, ἄλε-τρίβ-ανο-ς pestle, Ἀλενάδαι, ἄλο-ά-ω thresh, ἄλω-ή, ἄλω-ς threshing-floor.

Skt. *vár-a-s* circle, *ūr-mí-s* (for *var-mi-s*) wave, fold,

rt. *val* to turn here and there, *val-aja-s* circlet, ring.

Lat. *volv-o*, *volū-ti-m*, *volū-tā-re*, *volū-men*, *vol-va*, *vol-ū-ta*.

Goth. *valv-j-an* (*at-valujan* προσκυλίνδειν), OHG. *wellan* roll, *wulluh* involucrum, OHG. *wulsta* corona, labium, OHG. *wella* unda.

Lith. *vél-ti* to full, roll, *vólio-ti*, ChSl. *val-i-ti* volvere, ChSl. *vla-ja-ti* fluctibus agitari, *vlǎ-na*,

Lith. *vil-nì-s* wave.

OIr. *futumain* volubilis (Z². 777).

One of the most widely ramifying Greek roots, and at the same time a most difficult one, inasmuch as a number of forms present themselves which to some extent admit of comparison. The difficulty here, as often, lies in the proper division. Buttmann 'Lexil.' ii. 141 ff. [430 'E. T.'] was the first to separate these words correctly from those which, like εἰλω, ἀλῆραι (No. 660) mean 'to press,' while in those here grouped together a curvilinear movement appears with the three modifications of 'winding,' 'rolling,' and 'grinding.' The last modification 359 is to a certain extent linked to the second by the notion of 'fulling,' and this again approximates to 'threshing.'—From the rt. *fel* we have the further expansion εἰλω with a κ (ἐλξ, ἐλίσσω). In this derivative stem the most decided traces of the initial diagraphma show themselves (Knös 77 f.), though these are not quite wanting even in εἰλύω (ξ 479 σάκεσιν फैλυμένοι ὄμους). Thus the εἰ in εἰλίσσων is satisfactorily defended against Ebel 'Ztschr.' iv. 168. With the forms in *a* is connected ἄλωδέω 'roll' (fut. ἀλίσω).—A number of words with the meaning of 'grind' remind us much of No. 481. But as an initial *μ* is not usually either simply dropped or changed into *f*, the two stems must be kept distinct. The word μάλερο-ν = ἄλερο-ν, for which we have the authority of Hesych. and other grammarians, is in its form so like the latter, that we can hardly regard it possible that there should happen to be so similar a form in the case of different stems: and we must explain the *μ* from the *f* once present in *f*άλερο-ν (cp. p. 591).—With ἄλειν in the meaning 'to turn,' 'to wind' (intrans.), Lobeck 'De metaphora et metonymia' p. 6 connects *ad-ūl-o*, *ad-ūl-o-r*, which denoted originally the 'wagging of the tail' and 'fawning' of brutes.—Skt. *ul-ūkha-la-m* 'mortar' reminds us of ἄλμος, but the latter part of the word is unexplained. Pott's (i¹. 224) comparison of ἔλυ-τρο-ν with Skt. *var-ū-tra-m* 'upper clothing' (rt. *var* 'tegere') has much plausibility; but

while in Greek, Latin, Teutonic, and Lithuanian the notion of 'wrapping up,' which is easily derived from that of 'rolling,' 'turning,' is clearly to be seen, this is not the case in Skt. It is the same with *ūl-va-m* 'the integument which surrounds the womb,' itself evidently identical with *vol-va* (cp. *val-volae* 'pods'), but far removed from *volvere*. — Cp. also Benf. ii. 299, Lottner 'Ztschr.' vii. 190, Fick i³. 212. It is worth noticing Pott's (i. 120) explanation of *ἀμπ-ελ-ο-ς* from *ἀμφί* and *ἐλ*, hence 'the clasping (with tendrils),' especially as *ἐλαιο-ς* occurs in the Alexandrian writers for 'tendril,' 'twig.' — The final letter present in *ελ*, *volv*, Goth. *valv*, is, as Buttmann saw, a shortened reduplication; the same *f* appears in the second *o* of *δλοοί-τροχο-ς* as in that of *δλο-ά-ω*. In the same way we explained the *β* of *φόβο-ς* No. 409 and of *φέρβω* No. 411, the *π* of *πόρ-π-η* No. 356. Corssen, who wrongly denies this phenomenon (cp. Lat. *ste-ti* for *ste-st-i*), is compelled to explain the *v* of *volvo* as a mutilated suffix. — Cp. Brugman 'Stud.' vii. 333. — Ir. *fillim* 'tardo,' 'lento,' 'flecto' (Z². 435, 983, cp. also *in-ru-fill* 'implicuit' Z². 877), which Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 342 compares with Lat. *volvo*, might rather be akin to Goth. *valtjan* 'to turn,' for *ll* not uncommonly comes in Irish from *ld*. — On the Slav. words see Miklos. 'Lex.' 68.

528. *ἐλαιον* oil, *ἐλαία* (Att. *ἐλάα*) olive. — Lat. *oleu-m*, *olīva*. — Goth. *alēv* (n.) *ἐλαιον*, *alēv-i* *faīrguni* Mount of Olives, OHG. *oli*. — Lith. *alėju-s*, ChSl. *jelėj*, *olěj* oil. — OCymr. *oleu* oleum, OIr. *olachrann* olive-tree (Z². 57).

With Benfey ii. 120, Diefenbach 'Wtb.' i. 36, Hehn³ 513, I now regard the words in all other languages as borrowed from *ἐλαία*; *olīva* is to *ἐλαία* as *Achivi* to *Ἀχαιοί*; initial *o* for *e* as in *elogium* = *ἐλογεῖον* 'Ber. der k. s. Ges. d. W.' 1864 (histor. phil. Cl.) p. 5, Fleck-eisen 'Jahrb.' 1866 p. 3 ff. We ought perhaps to consider as the root of *ἐλαιον* (with Pott i¹. 208) the rt. *li* 'liquefacere' to be mentioned under No. 541. In Greek the prefixing of a vowel is justified; 360 it would not be so in the other languages. This is the main reason for my present view.

529. *ἐλ-α-φο-ς* stag, *ἐλλό-ς* (*ἐλλό-ς*) young stag. — Lith. *ėl-ni-s* elk, ChSl. *jel-enʹ* stag. — Cymr. *elain* cerva, OIr. *elit* capreolus (Z². 805).

Benfey ii. 9, who compares also Skt. *rshja-s*. But in the 'Pet. Dict.' *ῥῥῖα-s* is explained to be the older form, and the meaning 'antelope-buck' is given to the word. We should be thus brought to a rt. *ark*, which reminds us rather of No. 5. But the Greek, Keltic,

and Slavo-Lith. names agree unmistakeably, for the ChSl. *j*, as in countless instances, has grown out of the spiritus lenis. Apollonius 'Lex.' and other grammarians write *ἐλλό-ς* with spir. len. Perhaps it is for *ἐλ-νο-ς* and so corresponds almost exactly to the Slavo-Lith. form. Pictet i. 438 regards *ar* as the root, in the sense of 'hurry,' 'drive;' and with this he connects also *ἐλαύνω*. Fick i³. 500 adds Lat. *al-a-cer* and OHG. *ūjan* 'hurry.' Cp. p. 551, No. 661. The suffix of *ἐλα-φο-ς* is the same as in *ἐρι-φο-ς* 'buck' and Skt. *ṛsha-bhā-s* (cp. on No. 491), *vr̥sha-bhā-s* 'bull.' Cp. Jahn's 'Jahrb.' 69 p. 95.—Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 342.

530. *ἔλος* (*φέλος*) low ground, *ἔλος*, *ἑλέα*, *ἡλι-ς*. — Lat. *Vel-iae* (?), *Velitrae*, *valli-s*. — ON. *völl-r* plain.

The *f* has a good deal of authority for it in the case of the town in Lower Italy *Velia*, which in Herodotus i. 167 is called *Ἰέλη* (Strabo vi. p. 252). Servius ad 'Aen.' vi. 639, Dionys. Halic. 'Arch.' i. 20 derive the name of the Roman *Velia* from *φέλος*. But *ἔλος* does not properly mean 'marsh' at all, but according to Suidas *δύλον δάσος*, according to the 'Et. Gud.' *ἰγρὸς καὶ δασὺς τόπος*, that is, 'low ground,' 'meadow-land:' in γ 221 horses feed in the *ἔλος*, but nobody drives horses into a marsh. So too E. Curtius 'Peloponnesos' ii. 288 explains the Laconian *ἔλος*. — From the same root comes the name *φέλι-ς*, which quite corresponds to the Lat. *valli-s*; hence *φέλοι* = *ἡλεῖοι* (Ahr. 'Aeol.' 226); thus *ἡλι-ς* means 'Sunken Land,' 'Hol(low)land' (E. Curtius 'Peloponn.' ii. 97). Are the length of the vowel in Greek, and the doubled *l* in Latin to be explained from a suffix *vi*, so that *val-li-s* would be for *val-vi-s*? So also Corssen 'Beitr.' 321. — The Lat. *Vēlā-bru-m* cannot belong here because of its *ē*, but Corssen 'Ztschr.' iii. 260 finds the clearest analogue of the Gk. *φέλος* in the Volscian *Vēles-tro-m* which we find on the *tabula Veliterna* (Mommsen 'Unterital. D.' 320) as the gen. plur. of the name of the inhabitants of *Velletri*, which 'lies on the northern edge of the Pontine marshes.' Voretzsch 'De Inscript. Cret.' p. 5 is perhaps right in adding the Cretan *Βολοέντιοι*.

531. *ῥλο-ς* nail, knob, *ῥφ-ηλο-ς* provided with nails, *ῥφ-ηλό-ω* nail fast. — Lat. *vallu-s* stake, tooth of a comb.

Ahr. 'Aeol.' 58. — *f* may be discovered plainly from the form *γαλλο-ς* recorded by Hesych. — the *λλ* of which makes the agreement with *vallu-s* still more clear, — and from the Hom. *ἀργυρό-ηλο-ς*. — Other explanations in Pott i¹. 223. — Vossius 'Et.' 535 regards

vallu-s as a diminutive of the adjective *vāru-s* 'bandy-legged' (cp. on No. 81). To me the difference of meaning does not seem great enough to separate ἥλο-ς from *vallu-s*. *vallu-m* is probably only a collective from *vallu-s*, just as the Gk. χάρ-αξ denotes both. — Pictet 361 compares various Sanskrit forms from the rt. *var*, for instance *ā-vara-ṇa-m*, which, among other meanings, has that of 'bolt.' These words must have derived their name from the notion of 'protecting.' Similarly Corssen 'Beitr.' 320, cp. i². 459.

532. Root *lā* (λας) *lā-ō* (Dor. λῶ λῆς λῆ, 3 pl. λῶντι) wish, λῆ-μα, λῆ-σι-ς will, λι-λα-ί-ο-μαι desire, λε-λίη-μαι desire, strive, λία-ν mightily, very.

Skt. rt. *lash* (*lāsh-ā-mi*, *lāsh-jā-mi*) desire, *las* (*lās-ā-mi*) glitter, play, *lā-las-a-s* desirous.

Lat. *las-c-ivnu-s*.

Goth. *lus-tu-s* ἐπιθυμία, *lus-tō-n* ἐπιθυμείν.

ChSl. *las-k-a-ti* adulari, *las-ka* adulatio, *laska-vŭ* blandus.

Pott W. ii. 2, 459, Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *lash* and *las*, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 268, Benf. ii. 136 f.; Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 118 excludes the Slavonic words, because we cannot find in them originally any trace of 'desire.' — The rt. *las* has lost its *σ* before vowels in Greek (cp. γεύω No. 131). For λῶ and the other Doric forms Ahrens 'Dor.' 348. λι-λα-ί-ο-μαι for λι-λασ-ιο-μαι, where the *j* denotes the present stem, reduplicated like Skt. *lā-las-a-s*; λε-λίη-μαι perhaps to avoid labdacism from λε-λί-η-μαι, so λῖαν (λίη-ν) for λι-λα-ν. The *σ* seems to have been preserved in λās-τη πόρνη Hesych., with which λάσταυρο-ς = κίναιδος (Lob. 'Proleg.' 259) is certainly related (suffix *vara* ?), also probably λās-θη 'ludibrium' (ἐπὶ γέλωτι καὶ λāsθη Herod. vi. 67): further according to Benfey λαι-ί-ς, λᾶ-μαχο-ς (Hesych. ἄμαχος), λαι (ἐπὶ αἰσχροπυγίας Hesych.) and other words seem to be related: we may probably add also λᾶ-ρό-ς 'lickerish' (greedy), λᾶ-μυρό-ς (cp. λαιδρό-ς Hesych.) 'greedy,' 'bold,' λαικάειν 'to wench,' though I should prefer to connect λωίων with rt. λαν, λαφ (No. 536), for through all the Greek words here adduced there runs the fundamental idea of 'unrestrained desire,' 'bold lust,' with which λωίων will not fit in; on the other hand this all the better suits λεωργό-ς 'sinner,' probably from λᾶ-φορ-γός, where λᾶ is a contracted adjective stem from λας, λαςο (cp. Hartung on Aesch. 'Prom.' 5). Hence λεωργός is one who acts in opposition to θέμις or δίκη according to his own desires. λᾶ-σθαι* παίζειν, λᾶ-σθω* χλευάζεω (Hes.) quite recall the meaning of the Skt. *las*. — *las-c-ivnu-s* presupposes *las-cu-s*, whence it is derived as *fest-*

ivus from *festu-s*. — Ascoli 'Fonol.' 228 [189] regards the Skt. *sh* here as in *bhāsh* (No. 407) as a representative of *sk*. — Whether OIr. *air-le* 'voluntas,' *com-airle* 'consilium,' contain the rt. *las* is very doubtful, for there is no demonstrable trace of a *s*, and the words which probably belong to *air-le*, *ir-lithe* 'obediens,' *irladigur* 'oboedio,' *lam*, *air-lam* 'promptus,' 'paratus' (Z². 770, 802, 868) deviate also in meaning.

533. *λαιός-s* left. — Lat. *laevu-s*. — ChSl. *lěvŭ*.

Pott i¹. 119, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 128, Benf. ii. 306. — Hesych. gives the derivative words *λαί-διο-s*, *λαι-δρό-s*, and *λαίβα ἀσπίς*, *λαίβας ἀσπίδας* *Κρήτες*, which Ahrens 'Dor.' 49 aptly refers here. — Angermann 'Stud.' v. 393 regards the cognomen *Laeca* (from **Laevi-ca*) as the same as Scaevola, cp. *Nas-ica*.

362 534. *λάξ*, *λάγ-δην* with the heel, with the foot, *λακ-τ-ίζ-ω* strike out with the foot, *λακ-πάτη-το-s* trodden with the feet. — Lat. *calx* (st. *calc*), *calc-ar*, *calc-eu-s*, *calc-ā-re*, *calc-i-trā-re*. — ON. *hæl-l* [AS. *hēla*] *calx*. — Lith. *kul-ni-s* heel.

Pott ii¹. 204, Benf. ii. 316, Fick ii³. 59. — A *κ* has been lost at the beginning of the Greek word, perhaps under the influence of the *κ* of the following syllable, so that **κλαξ* must be regarded as an older form of *λάξ*, and as a metathesis of *calx*. The *ξ*, as in *πίξ*, arose from a case-suffix *s*, so that *καλκ* = *calc* remains as the noun-stem. In this the second *k* is derivative, hence the root is *kal*, which probably occurs also in *κολ-ε-τρά-ω* (cp. *cal-c-i-trā-re*) 'stamp,' and reminds us on the one hand of Lat. *cel-l-o*, on the other hand of Lith. *kùl-ti* 'strike,' 'thresh.' Add *λάκ-τι-s* 'club,' in the Alexandrian writers. Cp. No. 55.

535. *λαῖ-ός-s* people, *λαῖ-οί* folk, *λαῖ-ῖ-το-s*, *λή-ῖ-το-s* publicus, *λειτ-ουργία* public duty. — Goth. *jugga-lauth-s* youth, OHG. *liut* populus, pl. *liuti* folk (Germ. *Leute*). — ChSl. *ljud-ŭ* *λαός-s*, *ljud-ije* *λαοί* homines; Lett. *laudi-s* folk, people.

Pott W. iii. 1017, Benf. ii. 28. — The Greek word contains the stem *λαφο*, established by *Λαναγήτρα* 'C. I.' 1466 and *Λαφο-κό-φων*, which Priscian read (i. 22, vi. 69 H.) 'in tripode vetustissimo.' If only for this reason, but also because the change of *d* into *λ* can only be proved to take place in Greek in a few dialects, I cannot admit the conjecture of Bréal ('Mythe d'Edipe' p. 18), that *λαός-s* corresponds to the Skt. *dāsa-s*. Nor can Bernhardt's derivation ('Programm von Wiesbaden' 1862 p. 11 ff.) from the rt. *κλυ* (No. 62) be maintained as

'obedient,' for the loss of an initial *k* is extremely rare. The other languages point to a primitive form *laudh*. Hence the Goth. *liud-an* 'crescere' cannot be compared at any rate directly: for the attempt to regard this verb with the Skt. *rudh* (*ruh*) as the root of the Gk. *λαφ-ο*, which would thus stand for **λαυθ-ο*, is a failure. The northern words are at most only distantly related to the Greek. — The derivation of *βασι-λεύ-ς*, i.e. Herzog ('leader of the people'), from the rt. *βα* and Ion. *λεν* = *λαο* (cp. *Δευ-τυχίδη-ς*), compounded like *Στησί-χορο-ς*, is more fully established in the 'Rhein. Mus.' iv. (1845) p. 258 f. Cp. also Döderlein 'Gloss.' 2007. An important parallel is supplied by *ζευξι-λεω-ς*, as Sophocles 'Fr.' 136 D called the king 'ὃ ὑπεξευγμένοι εἰσὶ λαοί' (Hesych.) — Kuhn 'Ind. Stud.' i. 334 first referred *βασι-λεύ-ς* to the stem *λεν* = *λάφα* (*lāa-ς*) 'stone,' so that it would mean 'stone-treader,' referring to the old Teutonic and Keltic custom that the king should show himself to the people on a stone. He compares also Σ 503 *οἱ δὲ γέροντες εἶπ' ἐπὶ ξεστοίοισι λίθοις ἱερῶ ἐν κύκλῳ*. Pictet ii. 395 adds some further illustrations; Bergk 'Rhein. Mus.' xix. 604 states the same etymology as a 'thesis.' Pott ii². 250 does not decide. Phonetically both explanations are possible. The former seems to me the simpler, and the custom on which the latter is based does not appear sufficiently proved for Greece. For there is a great difference after all between a high stone which the king *stands* upon in order to be seen, and the stone *seats* of the old judges. — Perhaps OCymr. *liti-maur* 'frequens populis' (Stokes 'Beitr.' iv. 395) belongs here.

536. Root *λαφ* *λά-ω*, *ἀπο-λαύ-ω* enjoy, *λε-ία*, *λη-ῖ-(δ)-ς* booty, *λη-ῖ-ζ-ο-μαι* capture, *λη-ῖ-τι(δ)-ς* she who 363 gives booty, *λά-τρι-ς* mercenary.

Lat. *lū-cru-m*, *Lav-er-na* goddess of thieves, *lav-er-n-iōn-es* thieves.

Goth. *lau-n* (n.) reward (Germ. *Lohn*), *anda-launi* recompense.

ChSl. *lov-i-ti* hunt, catch, *lov-ŭ* chase, capture.

OIr. *lóg*, *líach* pretium, foenus.

Pott W. i. 1292, Benf. ii. 2, Stokes 'Ir. Gloss.' 792. — *λά-ων* τ 229 (cp. *λάε* 230) according to Aristarchus ('Apollon. Lex.' p. 107 Bekk.) *ἀπολαυστικῶς ἔχων* hence, 'feasting' (Schol. B. *ἀπολαυστικῶς ἐσθίων*). Quite otherwise Döderlein 'Gloss.' 2270, who on the strength of a gloss of Hesych. translates the word by *bellen* 'bark,' while others explain *λάων* by *βλέπων*. I follow Aristarchus and regard *λά-ω* for *λαφ-ω* as the stem-verb, whence all the rest is developed. The oldest Doric

form for λεία is λαία or λῆα Pind. 'Ol.' xi. 44 (Zacher 'Nomina in -αιος' p. 73), Hdt. λῆϊη. Probably the word λω-ίων (for λωφ-ίων), superl. λῶσ-το-s, mentioned already under No. 532, belongs here, so that it would properly mean 'the more paying.' Cp. Tobler 'Ztschr.' ix. 262. — For *laverniones fures* Paul. 'Epit.' 117. λά-τρο-ν 'pay' is tolerably late. Like λά-τρι-s it goes back to λα, which is related to λαφ as κο to κοφ (No. 64). — The older use of the Latin *latro* (e.g. Plant. 'Mil.' 949) is quite equivalent to that of the Gk. λάτρι-s. Hence I consider *latro* as a borrowed word, which received an ampliative ending on Italian soil, and by degrees passed into a contemptuous sense. — Corssen i². 359. — It is natural to compare with Lat. *Laverna* Corn. *louuern* 'vulpes,' and with this beast of prey is connected *louennan* 'mustela,' perhaps also Corn. *loven* 'pediculus,' *lewen-ki* κυνόμυια (Z². 1074 ff.). In Corn. *louen*, Cymr. *llawen* 'laetus,' OCymr. *leguenid* 'laetitia' (Z². 128, 131) the fundamental meaning of this root can hardly be preserved, if they really belonged to it.

536 b. λάπ-τ-ω lick, lap, λαφ-ύσσω devour, swallow.

Lat. *lamb-o*, *lab-ru-m*, *lab-iu-m*, *lab-ea*, *Labeo*.

OHG. *lef-sa*, NHG. *Lefze*, *Lippe* lip, OHG. *laff-an* to lap.

Lith. *lūpa* lip.

Pott i¹. 259, Benf. ii. 12, Lottner 'Ztschr.' vii. 185, Corssen 'Beitr.' 353. — We must take λαπ as the root with which however we can hardly connect λαπάσσειν, ἐξαλαπάζειν. In Latin *p* is weakened to *b*. In Greek the *p* is also aspirated. — Fick i². 751 places here also ON. *lepil-l*, OHG. *leffil*, OPruss. *lapini-s* 'spoon,' connecting them with ON. *lep-ja* 'sup.'

537. Words previously discussed here are now placed under No. 496.

538. Root λεγ λέγ-ω pick, collect, count, tell, speak, λεκ-τό-s, λογ-ά(δ)-s chosen, κατα-λέγ-ω specify, συλλογ-ή collection, ἐκ-λογ-ή selection, λόγ-ο-s, λέξι-s speech, λογ-ίζ-ο-μαι reckon, consider.

Lat. *leg-o*, *leg-io(n)*, *de-lec-tu-s*, *lec-tu-s* chosen, *leg-ulu-s* collector, *leg-ū-men*, *lec-ti-o(n)*, *lec-tor*, *di-lig-ens*, *neg-leg-o*, *intel-leg-o*, *re-lig-io*, *ē-leg-a-ns*.

Goth. *lis-a* συλλέγω.

Lett. *lasz-it* collect, Lith. *lès-ti* gather up, *api-las-ù-s* dainty (?).

Pott W. iii. 606, Ahrens 'Philol.' xxvii. 251, H. Romundt 'The root λει in Greek' L. 1869, M. v. Lingen 'The roots λει and λειχ' L. 1877. — Buttmann discusses the use of λειω 'Lexil.' ii. 96 ff. It appears from this that the meaning 'speak' is quite the latest; for this is developed in Homer only gradually from the earlier meaning, through the intermediate notion of 'counting one's words' (cp. Eng. *take* and Germ. *zählen*). This is an objection to Benfey's combinations ii. 127 and to others as well. The name *Λελεγετες*, if at all of Greek origin, would rather denote select bands (*λελεγεμίαι*, *λελοι*) than a collected nation. — Lobeck 'El.' i. 40 connects *ἀ-λέγ-ω* with this root, reminding us of *λέγεσθαι*, *λογίζεσθαι* 'count.' But the Homeric use of *ἀλέγω*, *ἀλογίζω*, *ἀλογίζομαι*, as stated by Döderlein 'Gloss.' 109, will not quite suit this. It is clear, however, that *ἀ-λέγ-ω* (with prothetic α) is the opposite of Lat. *rec-leg-o*, and *θέω* *θεω* *οἷα* *ἀλογοντες* (II 388) is the exact opposite of Lat. *religens* and *religio* (Gell. iv. 9). For the applications of the root to what is immaterial cp. Max Müller ii. 63, Pott i². 201. — *λέσχ* 'place of conversation,' 'talk,' 'converse,' is not yet quite cleared up as to its suffix (Pott i². 644). — The Teutonic and Lithuanian words, so far as they are directly connected, must be referred to a stem *lake*, expanded by the addition of *s*. There is a similar loss of explosives in the Goth. *thus-waldi* = Lith. *tūkstantis* 'a thousand,' *causate* (rt. *vary* No. 141), Goth. *nithji-s* (No. 342), *sihus* (No. 337), in the OHG. *fā-t* (No. 384), *mis* = Goth. *maiths-tu-s* (note on No. 175). — The Lith. *leisti* is only used of birds, which gather, pick up grains, in a manner quite corresponding to the meaning which has seemed to us the original one. From this the application to the reading of what was written seems to have been developed independently in the GK. *ἐπιλέγωμαι* Herod. i. 204, *ἀνελέγωμαι* (Plutarch), in the Lat. *leg-o*, and doubtless also in the German *lesen*. Many interesting and likely comparisons of *λεγω* with words in the Teutonic family are made by Müller-Zimmermann 433 ff. He connects *leg-is* with the Norwegian *rekja* 'road,' *rekja* 'road' with the ON. *rekja* OHG. *rekja* 'road,' *rekja* 'road' with the ON. *rekja* OHG. *rekja* 'road' (Pott W. iii. 249). As it is only in Greek and here particularly late and later in the Italian region, that this root means 'speak,' its basic meaning must be 'what is spoken,' or that Germanic word is *leg* (Müller-Zimmermann vii. 167), with the equivalent ON. *leg* = Eng. *leg* and the construction of these words from the root *leg* (No. 171 of Pott W. iii. 249) and 'of *causate* *sihus* *sihus* *sihus* *sihus* every construction' (P. Bugge 'Stud.' ii. 214). The only difficulty that remains is presented by the On. *leg* = *leg* with a *g* which cannot be explained from *gā* (Müller-Zimmermann vii. 277). Zimmermann (see Zimmermann) i. 1 explains

himself decidedly in favour of connecting *lex* with *legere*, with the primary meaning of 'taking together,' 'grouping,' 'ordinance.'—From *lego* Jos. Scaliger derives not only *leg-ūmen* but *lig-nu-m* (Θ 547 ἐπὶ δὲ ξύλα πολλὰ λέγοντο), which would thus have meant properly 'brush-wood,' 'faggots:' this etymology has phonetically more probability than that from the Skt. rt. *dah* 'burn' (Bopp 'Gl.' Pott i¹. 282), for *lig-nu-m*: *leg* = *tig-nu-m*: *teg* (for *tec* No. 235).—Corssen differs on many points i². 444, 447, 531.—OIr. *legais* 'legisti,' 'legit' (Z². 462), etc. is borrowed from the Lat. *lego*: cp. Ebel 'Beitr.' ii. 147. Ir. *lessagim* (inf. *lessagud*) is derived from OIr. *less*, Cymr. *lless* 'commodum,' and denotes 'to look after the welfare, the advantage of
365 a person or thing;' and cannot be traced back to a root with *g*, because of Cymric *s*: hence it can hardly be identified with Goth. *lisa*.

539. λεί-ο-ς, λευ-ρό-ς smooth, even, λει-ό-τη(τ)-ς smoothness, λει-αίν-ω smoothen. — Lat. *lēv-i-s*, *lēv-i-tā-(t)-s*, *lēvi-g-āre*, *lēv-āre*.

Pott ii¹. 277, Benf. ii. 121. — The form λευ-ρό-ς, which Hesych. explains by λείος, and which occurs elsewhere in the sense of 'level,' 'wide,' has preserved the *v*, which corresponds to the Lat. *v*, for λευ-ρό-ς: *lēv-i-s* = *λιγν-ρό-ς*: *λιγν-ς*, as Lat. adjective-stems in *vī* regularly correspond to Greek adjective-stems in *v*. For the root cp. No. 544. — Here belongs also λίαξ, with hypocoristic suffix, παῖς ἀρχιγένητος (Hesych.) 'smooth-chin.'

540. λέχ-ριο-ς, adv. λέχ-ρις, Hom. λικ-ρι-φί-ς cross, awry, λοξό-ς cross, crooked, λίγξ, λίξ πλάγιος (Hesych.). Lat. *lic-i-nu-s* with crumpled horns, *Licin-iu-s*, *obliquu-s*, *lī-mu-s* distorted, awry, *luxu-s* sprained, *lux-āre* sprain.

Lith. *lėnk-ti* bow, *lėnk-ti* bend oneself, partic. *lėnkęs* bent, crooked, *-lėnk* (in compos.) -wards, ChSl. *lęk-a* κάμπτω, *lęk-ŭ* arcus.

Pott W. iii. 257, Benf. ii. 316. — We must start from the st. λεκ, which was modified in two ways, by aspiration, and by the weakening of *ε* into *ι*. But the original state of the sounds is clearly shown in λεκροί by the side of λικροί ὄζοι τῶν ελαφείων κεράτων (Hesych.), the meaning of which is closely akin to that of *lic-inu-s*. We may with Döderlein 'Lat. Wortbildung' p. 35 add *licula* 'cake,' 'cracknel,' according to Varro 'L. L.' v. 107 M. a Sabine word, so-called from its cross-folded shape. With a raising of the *ε* to *ο* and an expansive or derivative *σ* we have λοξό-ς, which is quite parallel to *luxu-s*. As to the common comparison of the name λοξίας, it seems

to me that there is much to be said for Fröhde's view (Bezzenb. 'Beitr.' iii. 8) that this epithet of Apollo, like the corresponding Ἀοξῶ for Artemis is connected with the Skt. *lāksh-man* 'mark,' 'sign,' *lakshā-jā-ti* 'to mark.' Without the expansive *s* the stem probably appears with a dull vowel in *luc-un(t)-s* 'genus operis pistorii' Paul. 'Epit.' 119. Cp. 'Symbola Philol. Bonn.' i. 276. Corssen i². 35 adds *lī-m-e(t)-s* as 'cross-road,' *lī-men* as 'cross-beam,' and (on p. 498) other Latin words. Bücheler in Joh. Schmidt's 'Vocal.' i. 107 points out from Attius (Ribbeck 'Trag.'² p. 284) a Lat. verb *linqu-ier* = 'obliquari.' Schmidt places here also Lat. *lax* (dolus) and *lac-io* (*pel-lic-io*) with ChSl. *lak-a* 'dolus' (also 'sinus'): cp. Mikl. 'Lex.'

541. Root λιβ λείβ-ω drop, pour, pour out, λοιβ-ή drink-offering, λίσψ (st. λιβ), λιβ-ά(δ)-s, λιβ-ος moisture, drop, λιβ-ρό-s moist, λείβ-η-θρο-ν channel, meadow, λιβ-άδ-ιο-ν water, meadow.

Lat. *dē-lib-ū-tu-s* moistened, *lib-ā-re*, *libā-tio*, *Lib-er*.

Benf. ii. 123, who follows the old explanation of λίσψ (st. λιβ), according to which the S. W. wind is called the 'wetting' (cp. Νόρος No. 443). For the forms λίσψ, λιβάς Lobeck 'Paralip.' 114. In Hesych. we find also λίβει σπένδει as a shorter present-form, and Λειβήνος Διόνυσος, corresponding to the Italian *Liber*, with which ἱβήνα τὸν οἶνον κρήτες is compared; this, like ἱβ-άνη, ἱβ-ανο-s 'pail' (ἱβ-δη 'plug'?) and the Hom. εἵβ-ω, seems to have lost its λ (Lobeck 'Elem.' i. 108). Cp. *ικμᾶν* λικμᾶν Hes. Pott W. i. 606 quotes similar instances from the Wallachian, e. g. *itze* = Lat. *licia*. The *z* of *delibū-tu-s* would be 366 of itself sufficient to banish any idea that the Lat. words might be borrowed. — We may further quote here some words, which seem to be derived directly from a rt. *li*, the expanded form of which lies before us in *lib*. In Skt. *lī* means 'adhaerere,' but also, in composition with prepositions, 'solvi,' e. g. *ā-lī* 'to become powerless,' *pra-lī* 'die,' *vi-lī* 'dissolvi,' 'evanescere.' As we find also a rt. *rī* with the meaning 'drop,' 'flow,' (Skt. *rī-ṇā-mi* 'make to flow,' OIr. *do-li-nim* 'mano,' 'polluceo' Z². 435), from which Justi 'Handbuch der Zend-sprache,' p. 56 derives Zd. *iri-th* 'pass away,' 'flow away,' and Corssen i². 534 *rī-vu-s* and various river-names, we may consider 'melt' as the fundamental idea from which on the one hand 'flow,' 'drop,' 'drip,' 'pass away,' 'melt away,' on the other 'melt on to,' 'adhere to,' have been developed. Cp. No. 340. Hence Lat. *li-n-o* (part. *lī-tu-s*), cp. ἀ-λίνω ('Greek Verb' p. 178) *po-li-o*, OIr. *le-n-im*, 'adhaereo' (perf. *ro-lil* 'adhaesit,' cp. 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 210, 230, Stokes 'Beitr.' vii. 13,

21), Lith. *lėj-u* 'pour,' *lėj-ti* 'pluere,' ChSl. *li-j-a-ti* 'fundere,' *loj* 'στέαρ' belong here (Pott. W. i. 600), and also perhaps *λι-μνη*, *λι-μήν* (st. *λίμεν*), *λειμ-ών*, which in their meanings of 'pool,' 'harbour,' and 'meadow' evidently stand in the closest relation with each other, and probably also with the Lat. *lī-t-us* (cp. *pec-t-us*). Pauli however ('Ztschr.' xviii. 23) wishes to connect *lī-t-us* with *κλί-τύ-ς* 'slope.' *λειμ-ών* is formed from a lost *λειμα(ν)*, like *χειμών* from *χειμα(ν)*, and coincides with *λείβηθρο-ν* (*Λειβηθρα*). Much important matter is furnished by Volckmar 'Die Stämme *li* und *ri*' Philol. vi. 627. Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 248 ff. wishes to keep the two separate. — With the Gk. *λειμών* goes Cymr. *llwyn* 'fruticetum,' OCymr. *loinou* 'frutices,' Gael. *lian* 'pratium' (Z². 96), the meaning of which is worth notice.

542. *λίνο-ν* linen, flax, thread, *λίν-εο-ς* linen. — Lat. *linu-m*, *līn-eu-s*, *līnea*, *līn-t-eu-s*. — Goth. *lein* linen, OHG. *līn* flax. — Lith. *līna-s* flax-stalk, *līna-t* (pl.) flax, ChSl. *līnŭ* linum. — OIr. *līn* flax, *léine* (gen. *léinead*) *camisia* (Z². 255).

Pott i¹. 119, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 128, Stokes 'Ir. Gl.' 36. — Perhaps we may, with Pott ii². 246, place here also the st. *līr* (Hom. dat. *līr-ti*, acc. *līr-a*), the *r* of which reminds us of the *t* of *līn-t-eu-s*, and also of the Lith. *līnta* ('Lex.') 'ornamental band,' and ON. *līnn-r* (for **līndh-r*) 'girdle.' — The difference of quantity in Greek, where the *ι*, with the exception of one place in Aristophanes ('Pax' 1178), and a difficult passage in Antiphanes (Meineke 'Com.' iii. p. 25) is short, and Latin, where it is always long, is remarkable. Cp. Hehn³ 523. — Ebel 'Beitr.' ii. 147 considers OIr. *līn* 'rete' (Z². 21), which cannot be separated from the above words, as borrowed from the Latin, though with some doubt; *léine* is certainly genuinely Irish. [Cp. Fick 'Indo-Germanen Europas' p. 487.]

543. *λί-ς*, *λέ-ων*, Ion. *λείων* (st. *λεοντ*) lion, *λέ-αινα* lioness. — Lat. *leo(n)*. — OHG. *lewo(n)*. — ChSl. *līvŭ*. — Ir. *leo*, *leoman*, Cymr. *lleu*, Corn. *leu* lion.

Pott W. i. 1261, Benf. ii. 1 are inclined to regard the word as borrowed from the Hebrew *laish*, while Benfey ii. 10 prefers to take Hebr. *lābi* as the source. In that case it must have spread from 367 Greece, and been borrowed again from the Greek by the other languages; but the independent form of the word in the various families of speech is against this. A. Müller ('Bezz. Beiträge' i. 290) expresses himself against the borrowing. Pictet i. 423 decides for the Indo-Germanic origin of the word *λείων*, appealing to the

Homeric similes from lions, and to the evidence of Herodotus (vii. 125) and of Aristotle as to the existence of lions in Paeonia. He connects the name with *λεία*, and hence with No. 536, but regards the derivation of *λί-ς* from the Semitic as demonstrated. But *λί-ς* [so Aristarch.] (acc. *λίῳ*) with a very surprising lengthening of a preceding short final vowel (A 239 ὥστε *λίς* [ἐπὶ τε *λίῳ* A 380, cp. P 109, Σ 318]) almost makes us conjecture that *λφι-ς* was the primitive form, with a *φ* corresponding to the OHG. and ChSl. *v*. Pauli 'Die Benennung des Löwen' (Münden 1873) suggests the rt. *liv* (Lat. *liv-i-du-s* 'grayish yellow' [but can this meaning be justified?]) The OHG. theme *lewon* is equivalent to the Lat. *leon*, while the Gk. *λεωντ* has a *τ* at the end, absent from the fem. *λέαινα* = *λεαν-ια* ('Ztschr.' iv. 215). — [From the absence of any corresponding name for the lion among the Eastern Aryans Benfey 'Geschichte der Sprachw.' p. 598 argues that the common Indo-Germanic home must have been in Europe.] — Lith. *lį́ta*, which in popular stories means 'dragon,' is to be entirely omitted here, according to Brückner 'Slawische Lehnwörter des Litauischen' p. 105. — Cymr. *llew* 'leo' is marked in Z². 109 as borrowed (Ebel 'Beitr.' ii. 147).

544. Stem *λίτ* (*γλιτ*) *λί-ς* (st. *λίτ*) smooth, bald, *λίτ-ός* smooth, sleek, *λίσσός-ς*, *λίσπος-ς*, *λίσφο-ς* smooth, *λίσ-τρο-ν* hatchet, adze.

Lat. *glit-tu-s* smooth, *gli-s* (st. *glit*) humus tenax.

Lith. *glitū-s* smooth, sticky.

The shortest stem occurs only in the Hom. *λὶς πέτρῃ*. For 'glittis' 'subactis, levibus, teneris' Paul. 'Epit.' 98 with O. Müller's note. *λίσ-πο-ς* appears (cp. p. 601) to be for *λιτ-φο-ς*, *λίσ-σό-ς* for *λιτ-ζό-ς*. The *γ* is retained in *γλίττον* τὸ ἀπόλοιμα Eustath., *γλιττόν* γλοιόν Hesych. (cp. Steph. 'Thes.') and in *γλίσ-χρο-ς* 'sticky' — for *γλιτ-χρο-ς*, cp. *αἰσ-χρό-ς* for *αἰδ-χρο-ς* — probably also in *ὀλίσ-θ-άν-ω* (ὥλίσθ-ο-ν) 'slip,' for its stem is *ὀλιτ*. We are also probably right in adding the name of the Cretan town Ὀλισσήν, also *Λισσήν*, *Βλισσήν* 'a glitta petra,' with Voretzsch 'De Inscr. Cret.' p. 10. Cp. Ahr. 'Dor.' 50. — A shorter stem without *τ* appears in *γλοι-ός-ς* 'sticky oil,' *γλί-α* (γλοιά) 'glue,' and the closely connected Lat. *glū-s*, *glū-t-en*, *glū-t-inu-m* (Corssen i². 384). — *ὀλι-βρό-ς* 'slippery' (Hes.) finds a companion in the further expanded *λυ-bri-cu-s* (Lobeck 'El.' 85; cp. Fick ii³. 223). Corssen 'Beitr.' 430 rejects the connexion, and prefers to refer *lubri-cu-s* to the Goth. *slīup-an* 'slip' (*schlūpfen*). In that case then we should have also to connect *ὀλι-βρό-ς*, as Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' i. 163 conjectures, with OHG. *slēffar* ('lubricus'). — Probably we must assume an early interchange between *i* and *u*, as in No. 545.

— With regard to the loss of an initial γ I am now somewhat doubtful.

545. Root $\lambda\iota\psi$ $\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (Hesych.), $\lambda\iota\psi$ - $\sigma\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ desire of passing urine, $\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi$ - τ - ω strive, desire.

Skt. rt. *lubh* ($\acute{u}bh$ - \bar{a} - $m\bar{i}$) to be confused, feel desire, *lub-dha-s* desirable, *lōbha-s* desire, longing.

Lat. *lub-et*, *lib-et*, *lib-ī-do*, *pro-lub-iu-m*, *līber*, Osc. *loufro*.

Goth. *liub-s* dear, *brōthra-lub-ō* brotherly love, OHG. *liub-an* to hold dear, *liub-ēn* to be dear, *mōt-luba* affectus, *lob* laus, *lob-ō-n* laudare, affirmare.

ChSl. *ljub-i-ti* φιλεῖν, *ljub-ŭ* carus, *ljub-y* ἀγάπη.

368 $\lambda\epsilon\lambda\iota\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ μάχης Aesch. 'Sept.' 380, $\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omega$ Apollon. Rhod. — $\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ is compared with Lat. *libet* by Lobeck 'Paralip.' 113. No case-forms of the word are known; still from the collection of words given here we could expect to find no other stem than $\lambda\iota\psi$. Perhaps this occurs also in the very obscure gloss of Hesych. $\lambda\iota\psi$ - $\epsilon\rho\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ ἐν συνδένδρῳ τόπῳ προσφιλῶς διάγοντες 'Stud.' iii. 198. — The clearer analogies in the other languages in Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. v. 375 ff. The interchange between i and u is as in $\phi\iota$ - $\tau\acute{u}$ - ω rt. $\phi\upsilon$ (No. 417). Lat. *līber* 'free,' according to the gloss in Paul. 'Epit.' 121 *loebes-um* (?) *liberum*, had once a diphthong in the stem. The Oscan *līv-freis* (gen. sing. = *liberī*), Falisc. *loferta* = *liberta* (Corssen i². 151 note) point to u as the vowel of the root: $\acute{u}v$ in Oscan, ou in Latin writing is here, as in $\tau\acute{u}v$ - ta 'community' = Goth. *thiū-da*, a genuine diphthong (cf. Locr. $\acute{N}\acute{\alpha}\phi\pi\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ beside $\acute{N}\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\pi\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$). For $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\theta\epsilon\rho\omicron$ - s , which has been incorrectly compared with this see p. 497. For the meaning the ChSl. *ljub-ī-mi* 'sponte' is instructive. We must also place here (*Venus*) *Libitina* according to what Preller 'Röm. Mythol.' 387 has collected on the subject.

546. Root $\lambda\upsilon$ $\lambda\acute{u}$ - ω loosen, $\lambda\acute{u}$ - α dissolution, separation, $\lambda\acute{u}$ - $\sigma\iota$ - s loosening, $\lambda\upsilon$ - $\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ loosener, $\lambda\acute{u}$ - $\tau\rho\omicron$ - ν ransom.

Skt. rt. $\bar{l}\bar{u}$ (lu - $n\acute{a}$ - $m\bar{i}$) cut, cut in two, *lav-ī-tra-m* sickle.

Lat. *re-lu-o* undo again, *so-lu-o* for *se-lu-o* (*so-lū-tu-s*), *lu-o* pay for, *luere* solvere (Gloss., Loewe Prodr. 422).

Goth. *lau-s-j-a* $\lambda\acute{u}\omega$, *laus* loose, *us-laus-ein-s* $\lambda\acute{u}\tau\rho\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. i. 1294, Benf. ii. 8, Bugge 'Ztschr.' xx. 10, Fick i³. 755. — The more forcible idea of 'cutting apart' appears in the European languages for the most part in a milder form. The Teutonic *laus*, OHG. *lōs*, like the Goth. *lis-a* (No. 538), and like OHG. *hlo-s-ê-m* (No. 62), is expanded by a sibilant, and is probably rightly connected with Goth. *fra-lius-an* 'lose' (*verlieren*), so that we must assume a new stem *lus*. — Lat. *so-lv-o*, even in Vossius 'Etym.' is broken up into *se-lu-o* and compared to *so-cors* for *se-cor(d)-s*. The uncompounded root probably appears in the old Roman goddess *Lua*, who is mentioned sometimes as *Lua Saturni*, sometimes as *Lua Mater*, and who is to be regarded with Preller 'Röm. Mythol.' 419 as a goddess of destruction, or of reaping. Probably *lue-s* (cp. No. 148) also belongs here. — For *Av-a-îo-s* Pott 'Ztschr.' vi. 136.

547. Root *λυ λῦ-μα* water that has been used for washing, filth, *λύ-θρο-ν* defilement, *λύ-μη* insult, *λυ-μαίν-ο-μαι* insult, *λού-ω* wash, *λου-τρό-ν* (*λο(F)-ε-τρό-ν*) bath, *λου-τήρ* bathing tub, *λού-τρο-ν* water that has been used for bathing.

Lat. *lu-o* (*ad-lu-o*, *pol-lu-o*, *di-lu-o*), *di-luv-iu-m*, *ad-luv-ie-s*, *lū-tor* washer, *pol-lū-bru-m* washing basin, *lu-tu-m*, *lu-s-tru-m*, *lav-e-re*, *lav-ā-re*, *lau-tu-s*.

ON. *lō-a* adluo.

OIr. *lóthor*, *lóthur*, Arem. *louazr* alveus, canalis (Z². 782).

Pott W. i. 1300, Benf. ii. 121, Corssen 'Beitr.' 516, Fick ii³. 223. 369 — From the fundamental idea of 'washing' all the others are gradually developed, especially that of 'dirt,' as that which is washed off, and hence that of 'insult' (cp. *pol-lu-o* *προ-πηλακ-ίζω* and *λυμαίνομαι*), and on the other side that of 'atonement,' so that perhaps not merely *lustru-m* 'mire,' but also *lūstru-m* 'sin-offering' belongs here: the latter according to Paul. 'Epit.' 120 has a long *u*, and hence probably comes like *λου-τρό-ν* from the strengthened stem: both have the same *s* as *mon-s-tru-m*. The old Latin *lav-e-re* (Ennius Vahl p. 210) is parallel to *λού-ειν* (Hom. praeter. *λό-ε* = *λοφ-ε*, even Attic 2nd sing. mid. *λό-ει*, and also *λοῦ-ται*, *λοῦ-σθαι*): it is developed from *λυ* by an addition of sound. — The rt. *πλυ* (No. 369), from which some have wished to derive this rt. *λυ* by aphaeresis, has an entirely different ramification and not inconsiderable differences in meaning. — This rt. *λυ* in many of its applications is closely connected with No. 546,

especially in λῦ-μα (cp. Lat. *lō-tiū-m* 'urine'), λῦ-μη, λυ-μαίνομαι, λυ-μεών, all of which mean not only 'aspersion,' like *polluere*, but also 'damage,' 'ruin.' Add ἀπολυσέμεναι· κολοβώσκειν Κύπριοι Hes. — The OGall. gloss *lautro* 'balneo' (Stokes 'Beitr.' vi. 229, viii. 343) contains the same stem as ON. *lōthor*. OIr. *loth* (gen. *loithe*) 'coenum' with OGall. *Lutelia* is compared with Lat. *lutum* (Z². 15): but there is also OIr. *lathach* 'marsh.'

548. λύγξ (st. λυγκ) lynx. — OHG. *luhs*. — Lith. *luszi-s*, ChSl. *rysť pardalis*.

Pott W. iii. 251, Benf. ii. 126, 372, Förstemann 'Ztschr.' i. 498. — Probably from rt. λυκ 'see,' whence λυγκ-εύ-ς (No. 87).

549. Root λυγ (σλυγ) λύξ-ω (λυγγάνομαι) hiccough, sob (Germ. *schlucke*, *schluchze*), λύγξ (st. λυγγ), λυγ-μός-s hiccough.

OHG. *sluccan* deglutire.

Benf. ii. 12, who quotes Germ. *schlucken*. — OIr. *slucim* 'I hiccough,' Cymr. *llyncu* 'devorare' (ro *luncas* gloss. on 'gutturicavit' Z². 1064), contain a root ending in a tenuis.

550. λῶβ-η insult, λωβά-ο-μαι, λωβ-εύ-ω insult, scorn, λωβη-τήρ slanderer. — Lat. *lāb-ē-s* spot, disgrace, *lābē-cula*.

Pott i¹. 209, Benf. ii. 10. — It seems to me certain that these words go together, and that '*lāb-ē-s* macula in vestimento' (Paul. 'Epit.' 121) is not originally identical with *lābē-s* 'fall' (cp. *lāb-i*, *lāb-are* and Skt. *lamb* 'labi.') Corssen's attempt (i². 402) to connect *lābē-s* 'spot' and *lābē-s* 'fall' by means of the notion 'damage,' I regard as extremely forced. But the Greek words with the meaning of 'outrage,' 'disgrace,' 'damage,' which is distinctly prominent in them, are entirely removed from the notion of 'slipping,' which is so clearly prominent in *lābi* and *labare*. Somewhat otherwise Fick i³. 192. — It is a mistake to attempt to find the root of our words in any form like βλαβ in βλάβ-τω, and hence to derive λῶβ-η (for βλωβ-η), like κῶπ-η from rt. καπ (No. 34). It would be better to go back to No. 547, and to compare λύμη; in that case we should have to regard the β as developed from f. But *lābē-s* then offers a difficulty. For in Latin the transition from *v* to *b*, even if not unheard of, as Corssen 'Beitr.' 156 maintains, is at any rate limited to a narrow range, and to certain definite groups of sounds.

370 551. μέλα-ς (st. μελᾶν) black, μελαίν-ω blacken, μολύν-ω spot.

Skt. *mála-m* (subst.) dirt, filth, *mala-s* dirty, nig-
gardly, *malíná-s* dirty, impure, black.

Lat. *malu-s*, *mali-tia*, *mali-gnu-s*, *male-ficu-s*.

Goth. *mail* *þvrtís*, OHG. *meil* macula.

Lith. *móli-s* clay, *mėlyna-s* blue, Lett. *mel-s* black.

Cymr. *melyn*, Corn. *milin*, Arem. *melen flavus*,
croceus (Z². 824).

Pott i¹. 112, 253, Bopp 'Gl.,' Benf. i. 478. — These words are all simply developed from a rt. *mal*, which Fick i³. 718 translates by *sudeln* 'puddle,' and identifies with *mar* 'rub.' For the moral meaning of the Lat. *malu-s* cp. 'hic niger est, hunc tu Romane caveto.' For the formation of *μολίνω*, which points to a st. *μολο*, 'Ztschr.' vi. 89. Further *μολοβρό-s* (ρ 219, σ 26), which the ancients explained by *μολίσκων ἐπὶ τὴν βοράν*, certainly belongs to this group of words; but it can hardly be, as Ameis 'App. to Od. ρ' p. 77 maintains, 'dirt-eater,' a very strange description of the beggar, whose appetite for dainty bits is derided, and still more strange as used by Nicand. 'Ther.' 622 of a plant which creeps on the ground, and hence may well be 'dirty,' but hardly 'dirt-eating.' Düntzer 'Ztschr.' xiv. 197 takes *βρο* as a suffix, without being able to establish this by any analogy. Now Aelian 'N. A.' vii. 47 gives us the words *μολό-βριο-ν* and *μολοβρίτη-s* for 'sucking-pig,' and these cannot be separated from *ὄβριο-ν*, *ὄβρικάλο-ν* (cp. 'Studien' i. 1, 259) 'young animal,' especially 'sucking-pig.' Hence, following Aristoph. Byz. (p. 117 Nauck) I divide *μολο-βρό-s* and translate 'dirty young pig.' In Nicander the remembrance of the main idea has been retained, but not that of the composition. — The form *κολ-όβριο-ν* (also *κόλ-αβρο-s*) equivalent to *μολόβριον* means 'black sucking-pig.' (No. 46). — The radically distinct *κλεινώ-s* has been discussed under No. 46.

552. *μόλυβο-s*, *μόλιβο-s*, *μόλυβδο-s* lead, *μολυβδί-s*, *μολ-ύβδαινα* ball of lead, *μολυβ-ρό-s* (Hesych.) leaden-coloured, *μολυβ-οῦ-s* leaden. — Lat. *plumbu-m*, *plumb-eu-s*. — OHG. *plī* (st. *plīwa*). — ChSl. *olovo*.

Pott i¹. 113, who quotes also the Hindustani *mulwa*, Benf. i. 525 f., Fick ii³. 200. — We must assume, as it seems, a stem-form *mlwa*. The difficult combination of sounds *ml* was softened in Greek by means of the auxiliary vowel *o*, while *m* in Latin, being in immediate contact with *l*, changed into the same *p*, which was produced before *l* in *ex-em-p-lu-m*, *tem-p-lu-m*. In the Slavo-Lith. branch of languages the initial consonant has been entirely lost. — One is tempted to add here

also *liv-or*, *liv-idu-s*, *liv-eo*, with Pott i¹. 120. — The β in *μδλυβο-s* has originated in *ϕ*, on which see more at p. 585. In Latin the preceding nasal has probably brought about the change of *v* into *b*. — I do not consider my comparison quite certain.

553. *ὀλίγο-s* (comp. *ὀλίζων* = *ὀλιγ-ίων*, *ὑπολίζων*) small, *ὀλιγο-στό-s* the least [see Ell. Lex. Soph. and Herm. on Ant. 621 (625 D.)], *ὀλιγ-άκι-s* a few times.

371 Skt. rt. *riç* and *liç* (*liç-ā-mi*) pluck, *vi-lish-ṭa-s* mutilatus, *lēç-a-s* a little bit.

OPruss. *lik-u-t-s* parvus, Lith. *lēsa-s* lean.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Benf. ii. 26. — The *o* is prothetic, as in *ὀ-λόπ-τ-ω* by the side of *λέπ-ω* 'peel' (Lobeck 'El.' i. 83); it is wanting in the words preserved by Hesych. *λιζόν* (read *λίζον*) *ἐλαττον*, *λιζῶνες* (*λίζονες*?) *ελάττονες*. *γ* is weakened from *κ* as in *μίσγ-ω* (No. 474), hence *lik* is the root from which we can arrive at the Low Germ. *leeg* (Engl. *low*) 'low,' 'bad,' 'weak.' Perhaps in *λίσσον*, which in Hesych. is explained *inter alia* by *ἐλασσον*, a trace of the harder stem *λακ* is preserved. But the lexicographer has confused this with *λίσσον* 'smooth.' The comparative is naturally to be accented *λίσσον*. — *ὀλίγγιον* *ὀλίγον* 'E. M.' *ὀλιγγίον* *ὀλίγον* Hesych. Bergk. 'Lyr.³' 747.

554. Stem *ὀλ-ολυγ* *ὀλολύζ-ω* cry, *ὀλολυγ-ή*, *ὀλολυγ-μός-s* crying, *ὀλολυγ-ών* cry, note of the frog, name of a screeching animal, *ὀλολυγ-αία* a name for the night-owl.

Skt. *ul-ul-ī-s* ululabilis, ululatus, *úluka-s* owl, screech-owl.

Lat. *ul-ucu-s*, *ul-ul-a*, *ulul-ā-re*, *ululā-tu-s*, *ululā-bili-s*.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Benf. i. 46. — The root is *ul*, Gk. *ὕλ*, reduplicated *ul-ul*, according to Greek phonetic laws *ὀλ-υλ* (cp. *ποππύζω*, *πορφύρω*), with an added *υ* (cp. Skt. *úlū-ka-s*) *ὀλ-υλ-υ*, dissimilated afresh in order to avoid the distasteful repetition of syllables containing *υ* (*φι-τυ-s* No. 417) *ὀλ-ολ-υ*. From this stem comes directly *ὁ δολυ-s*, a word quoted from the comedians, and explained by Photius as *γυναικώδης*, i.e. 'shrieker:' whence with a guttural comes the derived *ὀλολυγ*. For the different meanings of the animal's name *ὀλολυγών* cp. Steph. 'Thes.' The fundamental notion of 'howling sound' (cp. *ἀλαλάζω*) runs through all the words quoted. Hence the connexion with *ὕλ-ά-ω*, *ὕλα-κό-μωροι*, *ὕλ-ακ-τί-ω* 'bark,' asserted by Benfey and Döderlein ('Gloss.' 2272), is

not to be absolutely rejected. *Ul-ul-äre* looks like a reduplicated *ύλ-ά-ν*.

555. *ούλ-ε* *salve*, *όλοό-ς* *salvus*. — Lat. *salv-u-s*, *salv-e-o*, *salū(t)-s*, *salū-bri-s*. — Goth. *sēl-s* *ἀγαθός* [AS. *sēlig*, MidE. *sely*, ModE. *silly*], *un-sēl-s* *πονηρός*, *sēlei* *χρηστότης*, ON. *sæl-l* *felix*, OHG. *sālig* *happy*. — OIr. *slán* *salvus*.

Buttm. 'Lexil.' i. 190, Pott i¹. 130, Sonne 'Epilegomena zu Benfey's Wurzellexikon' p. 16, Fick ii³. 254. — We have a trace of the initial spir. asp. = σ in Suidas: *όλοός δασυνομένης τῆς πρώτης συλλαβῆς δηλοῖ ὁ φρόνιμος καὶ ἀγαθός*, and on *όλοόφρων* there are several traces of the explanation *δύναται καὶ ὁλοόφρων λέγεσθαι ὁ ὑγιεῖς τὰς φρένας ἔχων* (Apollon. 'Lex.' p. 120, 16). From *όλοό-ς* comes the form mentioned by Hesych. *όλοεῖται ὑγαίνει*. Hence there are glimpses both of the form and of the meaning of *salvus*: as to the second *o*, this certainly represents a *f*. On this see p. 570. In *ούλε* the *f* has been transferred into the first syllable, under the form of *υ* (cp. *γούνα* = *γονφα*). There is a close connexion with both words in *Ούλ-ιο-ς*, an Ionic surname of Apollo according to Strabo xiv. p. 635 *ὑγιαστικός καὶ παιωνικός*, τὸ γὰρ οὔλειν *ὑγαίνειν*, and further in *οὔλειον* [*οὔλειον*?] *ἐν ὑγείᾳ φυλάσσειεν* Hesych.; and according to Ahrens 'Aeol.' 284 (otherwise now in 'Philol.' xxxviii. 231) also in *ἐλλαθε* in Simonides (fr. xci. Schneidewin) and *ἐλλατε* in Callimachus (p. 121 O. Schneider). Both these may 372 remain doubtful. Lobeck 'Rhemat.' 111 and Döderlein 'Gloss.' 472 prefer to find in *ούλε* a vocative like *macte*; but I see no decisive reasons for this, for there is nothing against the laws of language in a verbal stem *όλυ*, *όλφ*. We may without much hesitation add here *όλβ-ο-ς*, *όλβ-ιο-ς* with β for *f*. In all these words the fundamental idea remains the same. *ούλή* (for *φολη*) 'scar,' according to Hesych. *ἐλκος εἰς ὑγίειαν ἦκον*, connected by Schleicher 'Comp.' 70 [p. 45 'E. T.'], Fick i². 772 with Lat. *vol-nus*, Skt. *vranā-m* 'wound,' 'tear,' 'gap,' has nothing in common with our words. — I prefer also to discuss separately *όλο-ς* 'whole,' with Skt. *sārva-s* 'quavis,' 'omnis' (p. 551). Cp. Corssen i². 485. — Ir. *slán* is simply for *sálan* Z². 777.

556. *σάλ-ο-ς*, *σάλ-η* tossing, restless motion, *σαλ-εύ-ω* toss, wave, *σαλάσσ-ω* toss, *σάλαξ* sieve, *σόλο-ς* quoit, *σαλάκ-ων* braggart, *σαλ-ύγη* συνεχής κίνησις (Hesych.), *σαλαγή* noise, *σαλαγέ-ω* shake.

Lat. *salu-s* (Enn.), *salu-m* = *σάλο-ς*.

OHG. *swēllan* swell, boil up, *wider-swal-m* whirlpool.

Through all the words here collected runs the idea of 'tossing motion,' which justified Lobeck ('Rhemat.' 112) in connecting *σάλο-s* (cp. *σήλατο· ἔσεισε* Hesych.) with *σει-ω* 'shake.' Add *κονί-σσαλο-s* 'storm of dust' (Fick i³. 842). Whether the *σελ-ματα* (cp. *ἐύσσελμο-s*) denoted originally the 'bending timbers' I do not venture to determine. Perhaps we may add *σελί-s* 'bench' (Fick i³. 798). — The metaphor which occurs in *σαλάκων* reminds us of the Lat. *jactare*. *σόλο-s* 'quoit' and *Σόλων* also belong here, as it seems (Van. 1051). — Probably a *f* has been lost after *σ*. Thus in the first place *σειω* (for *σφε-ιω*, cp. the Homer. *ἐπι-σσειών*), and then also *σάλο-s* (for *σφαλο-s*) might be connected with the Skt. rt. *su su-nō-mi*, which means 'press out,' 'pound,' and from which the Sōma-drink gets its name. Clemm 'Stud.' iii. 284 takes a different view on several points. Cp. Nos. 571, 604, Pott W. i. 1344. — Fröhde 'Ztschr.' xxii. 263 treats *σειω* differently.

557. *σίαλο-ν* spittle, *σίαλο-s* fat, grease, *σιαλώδης* spittle-like, fat, late Greek *σάλο-s* spittle. — Lat. *sal-iva*. — OHG. *slī-m*. — ChSl. *slī-na* saliva, Lith. *seil-ė* spittle, slaver. — OIr. *saile* saliva, *da sale* duo sputa (Z². 233), *sult* fat; Cymr. *haliv* saliva.

Pott i¹. 5, Benf. i. 414, Stokes 'Corm. Gl. Transl.' p. 36. — Neither Benfey nor Kuhn ('Ztschr.' iv. 24) can induce me to believe that the Skt. *shṭiv* 'spit' contains the root, for the meaning goes much beyond this. It seems to me the most advisable course to assume a distinct rt. *śjal* shortened to *sil* (*slī*). — Bopp 'Gl.' compares with *sal-iva* the Skt. *salilā-m* 'water.' Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 259 assumes a rt. *sal* with the by-form *slī*, but this would compel us to separate completely *saliva* and *σίαλο-s*. — With the root-form *slī* is connected Ir. *slemain* 'lubricus' (Z². 777).

558. Root *σφαλ* *σφάλλ-ω* (*ξ-σφηλ-α*) make to totter, trip, *σφάλ-μα* slip, *ἀ-σφαλ-ής* firm, sure, *σφαλ-ερό-s* unsure. — Skt. *sphal* (*sphāla-jā-mī*) to send bounding against, *ā-sphāl-ana-m* the attack, assault. — OHG. *falla-n* fall. — Lith. *pūlu* inf. *pūlti* fall.

Pott W. ii. 1, 514, Benf. i. 567. — In Skt. there are three radical forms nearly akin to each other: *skhal* 'waver,' *khal* 'deceive,' and this *sphal*. Perhaps *sphur* 'jerk,' 'quiver,' also belongs here. The transitive meaning 'shake' reappears in *σφάλω*, the intransitive in *σφαλός-s* 'quoit.' — Cp. Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iii. 323, Grassmann 'Ztschr.'

xii. 96. — The aspirate in Greek and Sanskrit is developed from a *p* (cp. No. 580), hence *spal* is to be assumed as the primary form, and this explains the *f* in German, after the loss of the *s*. — The rt. *skal* 'slip,' akin in sense to *sphal*, *spal* underlies the Goth. *skal* ὀφείλω, properly 'I fail,' and the Lat. *scel-us* = *Schuld* ['debt : ' cp. *shall*]. Cp. *ἀλείτης* p. 557, Delbrück 'Ztschr. f. d. Philol.' i. 135. *σκαλ-ηρό-ς* 'uneven,' 'wry' (cp. *σκολιό-ς*) has nothing in common. — Lat. *fallo*, as Fick 'Ztschr.' xxii. 104 shows, can hardly be reconciled with it, because of the initial consonant. Whether *φηλό-ς* 'deceitful,' *φηλοῦν* 'deceive' (Aeschyl.), *φηλητή-ς* 'deceiver' (Hesiod), as *σφάλλον* (more correctly *σφάλων*) *κολάκευσον* Hesych. leads us to conjecture, belong to *σφάλω*, or, as Fick conjectures, to the rt. *bhal*, occurring in *fallo*, I do not attempt to decide. — To the OHG. *fallan* belongs perhaps OIr. *do-ellatar* 'declinantur' Z¹. 473, *di-all* 'diverticulum,' 'declinatio' 873 : cp. 'Beitr.' viii. 2.

559. ὕλη wood, forest, ὑλή-ει-ς woody, ὕλημα under-wood. — Lat. *silva*, *silvestri-s*, *silv-ōsu-s*, *silvātīcu-s*.

Vossius 'Et.' s. v. *sylva*, as the word used then to be written. — Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 515, ii. 131, Grimm 'Gesch.' 303 f. — Both refer here not merely *saltu-s*, but also AS. *holt* 'lucus,' OHG. *holz* 'lignum,' 'silva.' But the Teutonic *h* cannot be shown to represent anything but an Indo-Germanic *k*, while on the other hand the Gk. *spiritus* asper here evidently stands for *s*, and what is there common to the forms *sula* and *kaldā* which we should have to presume? Legerlotz 'Ztschr.' viii. 208 attempts an explanation from a rt. *σφέλ* 'burn,' which he finds recurring in the Lith. *svil-ti* 'singe,' in the AS. *swelan* 'to roast by a slow fire,' [*schwoelen*] and Skt. *svar*. The latter root, quite unauthenticated, and apparently deduced from words which are discussed under No. 663, means only 'to shine.' Though the idea of 'glowing' and of 'slow roasting' may have developed from this, that of 'burning up' remains still quite distinct. Besides, the use of *silva* to denote 'underwood,' 'plantation,' will not agree with this [cp. Homer's ἄξυλος ὕλη 'copse where there are no logs' A 155]. I would attach these words to the rt. *su* 'procreate' (No. 605), did not this root appear to be limited to the propagation of animals; there is, however, Skt. *pra-sū-na-m* 'bloom,' 'flower.' The meaning 'growth' (cp. φυτόν) would suit very well. Perhaps ὕλη originated from ἰ-λ-φα, so that, with a weakening of *u* to *i* (cp. *libet* and *lubet*), *silva* — also *silva* — corresponds to it exactly. The initial sibilant remained in the proper name Σκαπτή-σύλη (cleared wood), Lat. *Scaptennula*, *scaptennula* 'quitate,' as Lachmann saw, on Lucret. vi. 219. Cp. also *silva* mentioned under No. 280.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. ii. 2, 228, Benf. i. 25, Grimm 'Gr.' i. 1070, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 183, ii. 137, Stokes 'Ir. Gloss.' p. 127. — The Skt. *ās-u-s* 'breath of life,' *āsu-ra-s* 'living,' and *ās*, *āśn* (n.) *ās-jā-m* 'mouth,' which is quite parallel to Lat. *ōs*, make it almost certain that the physical meaning of this very ancient verbum substantivum was 'breathe,' 'respire.' According to Renan 'De l'Origine du Langage' p. 129, éd. 4^{me}) the Hebrew verb. subst. *haja* or *hawa* has the same fundamental meaning. The three main meanings are probably developed in the following order: 'breathe,' 'live,' 'be.' So Max Müller ii. 349. The distinction of this root from the synonymous *bhu*, Gk. *φύ* (No. 417) — a distinction traceable in many languages — suits this view. Rt. *as* denotes, like respiration, a uniform continuous existence: rt. *bhu* on the other hand a becoming. Hence the two roots supplement each other, so that the former is
 376 used exclusively in the durative forms of the present-stem, the second especially in the tenses which, like the aorist and the perfect, denote an incipient or a completed process of becoming (*ἔ-φύ-ν*, *πέ-φύ-κα*, *φύ-ι*). In all languages but Greek, however, the rt. *bhu* also has faded into a simple verbum substantivum. This satisfies the objections of Tobler 'Ztschr.' ix. 254. — The differing view of Ascoli ('Framm. linguist.' iv. p. 20) and Schweizer ('Ztschr.' xvii. 144), which rests especially on Skt. *ās-ta-m* 'home' (adv.), according to which the rt. *as* had as its fundamental meaning 'stand,' 'linger,' does not at all suit Skt. *ās-u-s*, *āsu-ra-s*. *ās* = *ōs* may have originated in *as*, just as well as *vāk* = *vōc* from *vak* (Max Müller 'Asiat. Society' March 1868 p. 35), while the assumption that *ās* is contracted from *avas* or *akas* is not established by any striking example. — It is but a short step from the *living* to the *real*, thence to the *true*, and to that which realizes the purpose of its existence, the *good*. On *é-v-s* (Ep. *ἡ-ύ-s*) for *éσ-v-s*, in the neut. contracted to *éū*, see 'Rhein. Mus.' 1845 p. 245 ff.; we must reject, however, what is said there about the German *wahr*. Bugge 'Ztschr.' xx. 33 tries to show traces of *su* - 'good,' in European languages. I do not see any decisive reason for separating *éū* and *su*, as many scholars have attempted to do. The *η* of *ἡ-ύ-s* (st. *ἡσ-ύ-s*) is to be taken like that of *ἡδ-ύ-s*. — With the Skt. partic. *s-at* is connected No. 208 *ét-éó-s* = *sat-já-s*. Whether *ét-θ-λό-s* (Dor. *ét-λό-s*) comes directly from the root, or, as Kuhn holds ('Ztschr.' iv. 30), from a stem *éσ* = Skt. *sat*, I do not attempt to determine. Further *ἔτοι-μο-s*, like *ἔτυ-μο-s*, must have meant originally 'real,' 'ready'; the latter seems immediately comparable to the Skt. *sattvá-m* 'reality,' 'existence,' 'truth.' The Lat. *sons* has been discussed under No. 208.

560. ὑλία sole. — Goth. *sulja* σανδάλιον, *ga-suljan* θεμελιούν, OHG. *sola*.

374 Lobeck 'Paralip.' 34, 338, Diefenb. 'Wtb.' ii. 289. — ὑλῑαι only in Hesych. in the glosses ὕλλει τὰ πρὸς κάσσωσι δέρματα, for which Musurus writes ὑλῑαι τὰ πρὸς καττίμασι δέρματα, and ὑλῑας τοὺς καρπατίμους (i.e. καρπατίμους) τόμους, hence 'pieces of leather cut for soles.' — Otherwise Benf. i. 291, xvii, whose derivation from the rt. *su*, Lat. *suere* (No. 578), is not improbable for the Greek words, but it is less suitable for the Teutonic groups of words gathered by Diefenbach. Cp. also No. 281, where we placed the Lat. *sol-ea*, since it cannot be separated from *solu-m* (cp. Pott W. i. 1350). The rarity of the Greek words makes it impossible to decide. Cp. Fick i³. 842.

561. χαλῑνός (Aeol. χαλῑννο-s). — Skt. *khalīna-s*, *khalīna-s* bit of the bridle (?).

Benf. i. 678, cp. ii. 282, 'Ztschr.' ii. 336. — Boeht. and Roth in the 'Pet. Dict.' expressly explain the Sanskrit words by 'bit of a bridle,' and prove by quotations that it was put into the mouth of the beast, and according to Pollux *Δ* 148 τὸ εἰς τὸ στόμα ἐμβαλλόμενον was called χαλῑνός, hence T 393 ἐν δὲ χαλῑνοῦς γαμφηλῆς ἔβαλον, so that in later writers χαλῑνός could also mean the 'corner of a horse's mouth,' and the 'fangs of snakes.' Hence the identity of the two words is certain, but A. Weber 'Beitr.' iv. 278 regards *khalīna-s* as borrowed from the Greek; and he is not without support from other Sanskrit scholars. From this point of view the isolated position and the varying quantity of the word are worth notice. Hence the note of interrogation. Origin unknown.

562. ψύλλα, ψύλλο-s flea. — Lat. *pūl-ex*. — OHG. *flōh*. — ChSl. *blŭ-cha*, Lith. *blu-sà*.

Pott i¹. 87, Förstemann 'Ztschr.' iii. 50, Corssen i². 549, Fick i³. 148. — The identity of the creature, which in all four families of speech is denoted by a labial and *l*, establishes the unity of the name: but a difference in the formation must be admitted. The Lat. *-ex* (st. *ec*, *ic*) is individualising, as in *cul-ex*, *sen-ex*, and finds its analogue in the *h* of the German word. The Slavo-Lith. form shows an *s* — for ChSl. *ch=s* — and a softened initial letter. Perhaps *sp* was the original initial sound (Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 36). We shall find on p. 699 *ψ* for *π* presenting itself in some other words as a metathesis of *sp*. — Skt. *pāli-s* 'louse' (Benf. i. 576) and *pulaka-s*, which among its many meanings has that of a kind of vermin, I prefer to omit here. — Misteli 'Ztschr.' xvii. 169.

563. ὠλένη elbow, ὠλέ-κρᾶνο-ν (ὀλέκρᾶνον Aristoph. Pax 443) the point (head) of the elbow, ὠλενο-ς. — Lat. *ulna*. — Goth. *aleina*, OHG. *elina* πῆχυς, cubitus. — Corn. *elin* ulna (Z². 1066); OIr. *uile* (dat. du. for a *dīb n-ulendaib*) ulna.

Pott i¹. 117, Benf. ii. 305, Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' ii. 309, Stokes 'Ir. Gloss.' p. 149. — Originating from the same rts. *ar*, *al*, with different suffixes, but a similar meaning, we have Skt. *arālas* 'bent,' 'the bent arm,' *aratnī-s* 'elbow' (cp. also Lat. *ar-cu-s*), Lith. *al-kū-nė* 'elbow' *olekti-s* 'ell' = ChSl. *lakŭti*, Gk. ἄλαξ· πῆχυς 'Αθαμάνων Hesych., for which M. Schmidt p. 129, probably with justice, writes ἄλαξ, to observe the alphabetical arrangement. Cp. ὠλλόν (for ὠλ-νο-ν?) τὴν τοῦ βρα-
χίονος καμπήν. — The Irish *uile* is a stem in *nn* (*nd*), cp. Z². 268. 'Corm. Gl. Transl.' p. 166 gives for this *uillind*, certainly not the original nominative form, and with an unjustified *ll*. On the other hand in the acc. plur. *na huille* 'ulnas' 'Gild. Cor. Gloss.' 163 the *ll* has come from *ln*.

Σ

Greek *σ* in the following instances corresponds to an Indo-Germanic *s*, which in the other languages is as a rule retained, but in Latin between two vowels has almost invariably passed into *r*. In the same position the sibilant is regularly dropped in Greek: while at the beginning of a word before a vowel it passes into the spiritus asper. In Irish *s* is retained only in groups of consonants and at the beginning of a word; between vowels it is lost.

564. Root *εσ* *εἰ-μί* (Aeol. *εἰ-μι* = *εσμι*), 3 sing. *εσ-τί*, *εὖ-εσ-τω* well-being, *εσ-θ-λό-ς* excellent, *ε-ὖ-ς* good.

Skt. *ás-mi* sum, *ás-ti* est, *s-at* being, good, *su-* (prefix) = *εὖ-*, *sv-as-tí-s* well-being. — Zd. *ah-mi* sum, *aç-ti* est, *añh-u* lord, world.

Lat. (*e*)*s-u-m*, *es-t*, *s-on(t)-s*, *sont-icu-s*.

Goth. *i-m*, *is-t*, *sunji-s*, ON. *sann-r* true, guilty.

Lith. *es-mì*, *és-ti*, ChSl. *jes-mě*, *jes-tě*, Lith. *es-a-ba* being, *es-ni-s* constant, sure.

OIr. *am* sum, *is* est, *it* sunt (Z². 487); *su-*, *so-* bene in *so-nirt* firmus, fortis (*nert* vis, valor), *su-thain* perpetuus (*tan* tempus, Z². 863).

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. ii. 2, 228, Benf. i. 25, Grimm 'Gr.' i. 1070, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 183, ii. 137, Stokes 'Ir. Gloss.' p. 127. — The Skt. *ás-u-s* 'breath of life,' *ásu-ra-s* 'living,' and *ās*, *āsán* (n.) *ās-já-m* 'mouth,' which is quite parallel to Lat. *ōs*, make it almost certain that the physical meaning of this very ancient verbum substantivum was 'breathe,' 'respire.' According to Renan 'De l'Origine du Langage' p. 129, éd. 4^{me}) the Hebrew verb. subst. *haja* or *hawwa* has the same fundamental meaning. The three main meanings are probably developed in the following order: 'breathe,' 'live,' 'be.' So Max Müller ii. 349. The distinction of this root from the synonymous *bhu*, Gk. *φν* (No. 417) — a distinction traceable in many languages — suits this view. Rt. *as* denotes, like respiration, a uniform continuous existence: rt. *bhu* on the other hand a becoming. Hence the two roots supplement each other, so that the former is
 376 used exclusively in the durative forms of the present-stem, the second especially in the tenses which, like the aorist and the perfect, denote an incipient or a completed process of becoming (*ἔ-φῦ-ν*, *πέ-φῦ-κα*, *φύ-ι*). In all languages but Greek, however, the rt. *bhu* also has faded into a simple verbum substantivum. This satisfies the objections of Tobler 'Ztschr.' ix. 254. — The differing view of Ascoli ('Framm. linguist.' iv. p. 20) and Schweizer ('Ztschr.' xvii. 144), which rests especially on Skt. *ás-ta-m* 'home' (adv.), according to which the rt. *as* had as its fundamental meaning 'stand,' 'linger,' does not at all suit Skt. *ás-u-s*, *ásu-ra-s*. *ās* = *ōs* may have originated in *as*, just as well as *vāk* = *vōc* from *vak* (Max Müller 'Asiat. Society' March 1868 p. 35), while the assumption that *ās* is contracted from *avas* or *akas* is not established by any striking example. — It is but a short step from the *living* to the *real*, thence to the *true*, and to that which realizes the purpose of its existence, the *good*. On *é-ú-s* (Ep. *ἡ-ú-s*) for *éσ-u-s*, in the neut. contracted to *éú*, see 'Rhein. Mus.' 1845 p. 245 ff.; we must reject, however, what is said there about the German *wahr*. Bugge 'Ztschr.' xx. 33 tries to show traces of *su* 'good,' in European languages. I do not see any decisive reason for separating *éú* and *su*, as many scholars have attempted to do. The *η* of *ἡ-ú-s* (st. *ἡσ-ú-s*) is to be taken like that of *ἡδ-ú-s*. — With the Skt. partic. *s-at* is connected No. 208 *ἔτ-εό-s* = *sat-já-s*. Whether *ἔσ-θ-λό-s* (Dor. *ἔσ-λό-s*) comes directly from the root, or, as Kuhn holds ('Ztschr.' iv. 30), from a stem *ἔστ* = Skt. *sat*, I do not attempt to determine. Further *ἔτοι-μο-s*, like *ἔτυ-μο-s*, must have meant originally 'real,' 'ready;' the latter seems immediately comparable to the Skt. *sattvá-m* 'reality,' 'existence,' 'truth.' The Lat. *sons* has been discussed under No. 208.

565. Root $\epsilon\varsigma$ $\text{F}\epsilon\varsigma$ $\epsilon\nu\text{-}\nu\text{-}\mu\iota$ clothe, $\epsilon\iota\text{-}\mu\alpha$ $\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\text{-}\iota\text{-}\nu$ dress, $\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\theta\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$, $\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\theta\text{-}\eta(\tau)\text{-}\varsigma$ clothing, $\epsilon\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\varsigma$ ($\epsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\varsigma$) clothes, $\epsilon\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\varsigma$ covering round, pliant (?).

Skt. rt. *vas* (*vás-ē*) put on, *vás-man* cover, *vás-ana-m*, *vás-tra-m* clothes. — Zd. *vanh* to clothe, *vanh-ana* (n.), *vaç-tra* (n.) clothes.

Lat. *ves-ti-s*, *vesti-o*.

Goth. *ga-vas-jan* to clothe, *vas-ti* clothes.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. ii. 2, 481. — F is clearly seen in $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\acute{\nu}\nu\sigma\alpha\nu$ (ψ 135) $\epsilon\pi\upsilon\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, $\epsilon\pi\iota\epsilon\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, $\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron$ ('Greek Verb' p. 80), in the Aeol. $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\mu\text{-}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha = \text{F}\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$, Dor. $\gamma\eta\text{-}\mu\alpha$, $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\text{-}\tau\text{ρα}'$ $\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}$ (Hesych.), Lacon. $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\text{-}\tau\omicron\text{-}\nu$ (E. M.), Cypr. $\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\iota\text{-}\varsigma$, cp. p. 564, Knös 103 ff., and Ahrens 'Aeol.' 31, 'Dor.' 46. For the perf. $\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\iota$ cp. 'Greek Verb' p. 421: for $\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ below p. 712. The two forms of $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\varsigma$, differing only in the quantity of the a , are discussed by Buttmann 'Lexilog.' ii. 11. The adjective $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\varsigma$ surprises us by its \acute{a} (Harder 'De a vocali apud Homerum producta' p. 24), and also shows in Homeric verse no certain trace of the f . Hence the note of interrogation. — The rt. $\text{F}\epsilon\varsigma$ 'clothe' agrees with that discussed under No. 206, which means 'dwell,' in the common notion of 'a protecting surrounding.' — This and the foregoing root are discussed thoroughly by Hainebach 'Die Wurzeln $\text{F}\epsilon\varsigma$ and $\text{E}\varsigma$ ' Giessen 1860, with many precise deductions and striking remarks. — From the Keltic, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 338, 344 has com- 377
pared with this root OIr. *etiuth* 'vestitus,' *étach* 'vestis,' which Windisch 'Beitr.' viii. 435 will not admit. It would be better to think of Corn. and Cymr. *guisc* 'vestimentum' (Z^2 1078).

566. $\epsilon\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ evening (subst. and adj.), $\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ evening, $\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\text{-}\iota\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$, $\epsilon\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\text{-}\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\varsigma$ of evening. — Lat. *vesper*, *vespera*, *vesper-tinu-s*. — Lith. *vákara-s*, ChSl. *večerŭ* evening, *večer-ŭnŭ* $\epsilon\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\varsigma$. — Cymr. *ucher*, Corn. *gurth-uher*, OIr. *fescor* *vespera* (Z^2 781, 828).

Pott W. ii. 2, 352, Fick i³. 781. — The explanation from *divas-para* 'the end of the day,' suggested by Bopp 'Vgl. Gr.' ii. 190, and approved by Benf. ii. 208, must be abandoned, if only because of the Slavo-Lith. words. As p comes from k , but not k from p , these take us back to a primitive form *vas-kara-s*. Hence in Latin, here as well as in *lupu-s* (No. 89), the rare representation of a k by a p must be admitted. For the f in the Aeol. $\text{F}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ Ahrens 'Aeol.' 32. In Homer we have $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$ δ' $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ $\epsilon\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ $\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ δ 786 and the like,

— As *vas-a-tē-s* means in Skt., 'spending the night,' 'nest,' 'lodging,' we may see here the rt. *vas* 'dwell' (No. 206) in the sense of 'turn in,' 'retire.' Perhaps the Teutonic *West* also belongs here. In a similar sense we shall find the rt. *fes* under No. 587. — Ir. *espar-tain* 'eventide,' Corn. *gvespar*, Cymr. *gosper* 'vespera,' are borrowed from the Latin.

567. Root ζεc ζέ-ω (late ζέν-νν-μι perf. m. ἔ-ζεσ-μαι aor. act. ζέσ-σεν) seethe, bubble, ζέσ-μα, ζέ-μα decoction, ζέ-σι-s seething, boiling, ζέσ-τό-s sodden, ζή-λο-s ardor.

Skt. rt. *jas* (*jās-jā-mi*, *jās-ā-mi*), bubble, seethe, fatigue oneself, *ā-jas* exert oneself, *prā-jas-ta-s* boiling over (ὑπερζέων).

OHG. *jēs-an*, *ger-ja-n* ferment [*gären*], ModG. *Gisch-t* [or *Gäsch-t*] yeast, froth.

Benf. i. 681, Pott W. ii. 2, 453, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 137, Roth 'Nirukta, Erläuter.' p. 78, Fick i³. 731. — For ζ = j see p. 625. The less physical meaning of the post-Homeric ζῆλος has its precedent in the use of the verb ζέω. The ā of the Dor. ζᾶλος, which Düntzer 'Ztschr.' xvi. 281 opposes to my etymology, finds its explanation in an older rt. *zas*, which is preserved also in ζάλη 'tossing of the sea,' ζᾶλος, ζάλα-ω: and further, the rule, good enough for practical purposes, that ā in the Doric dialect is to be expected only in the place of an η which has come from *a*, is liable to important exceptions from the well-known fact that even ε in various dialects not uncommonly appears in the older form of *a*. Döderlein 'Gl.' 2450 refers to this root also the Homeric ζω-ρό-τερον (ἀκρατότερον Apoll. 'Lex.') κέραε 1 203, which might indeed very well mean *fervidius*. Pott, who discusses this root ii². 805, refers to ζοή 'τὸ ἐπάνω τοῦ μέλιτος' (Hes.), which, if taken as 'froth,' 'foam,' suits well here. Cp. Hesych. ζείουσιν ἀφρίουσιν.

568. Root ἥc ἥ-μαι, ἥσ-ται sit. — Skt. *ās* (*ās-ē*) sit, stay, dwell, 3 sing. *ās-tē*, *ās-a-m* seat, *ās-ana-m* sedes. — Zd. *āh* sit, remain. — Lat. *ā-nu-s*, OLat. Umbr. *ās-a*, Osc. *aas-a*, NLat. *ār-a*.

378 Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. ii. 2, 299. — For the forms of ἥμαι cp. 'Greek Verb' p. 103. The spiritus asper originating in the lenis is discussed on p. 687. In this case the resemblance in sound to the words of kindred meaning ἔζω, εἶσα (rt. *ēd* No. 280) may have favoured the sharp aspiration. Hence it is not admissible to separate rt. ἥ:

from *ās* and to attach it to rt. *vas* 'dwell,' as Hainebach wishes to do in the essay mentioned under No. 565 p. 18. Benfey i. 418 derives *ἡσ-υχο-s* from this root in the sense of *sedatus*, a derivation well supported by the meaning of the word. Lobeck 'Proleg.' 339 quotes adjectives similarly formed. Even *ἡ-μερο-s* 'tame,' perhaps properly, 'dwelling with,' as it were 'settling down with,' may be derived from this root by means of the suffix *-μερο* = Skt. *mara* (*ad-marā-s* 'greedy,' rt. *ad* = Gk. *ἐδ* No. 279), discussed by Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' i. 480. For the rt. *jam* 'restrain,' from which Bopp 'Gl.,' Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 320 derive *ἡμερο-s*, shows a different initial sound in *ζημ-ία*. — Perhaps the Lith. *as-là* 'floor' belongs here; this would be analogous to the Hom. *εἰαμενῇ* (also *εἰαμενῇ*, *ἰαμενῇ* in Hesych. and in other forms), 'low ground' (= *ἑσ-α-μενῇ*), for Classen's explanation of this word as 'the clothed,' from No. 565, poetical as it is, seems to me improbable for so ancient a word ('Beobacht. üb. den hom. Sprachgebrauch,' 2 Theil, Frankf. 1855 p. 10). — Besides the Theocritean *ἡμένω ἐν χώρῳ* (xiii. 40, cp. Van. 77) strongly supports the rt. *ἡs*. — The meaning prevalent in the Skt. *ās* attaches itself exceptionally also to the form *ās-ta-m* 'home,' which evidently belongs rather here than to the rt. *as* in its usual sense. Could *as* 'breathe,' and *ās* 'sit' be linked by the intermediate notion 'stop for breath'? — With regard to the Italian words for 'altar' it is noteworthy that Skt. *ās* ('Pet. D.' i. 729) is also used of men praying and sacrificing at the altar. Otherwise Fick i². 503.

569. *ἴσο-s* (for *ῥισφο-s*) Aeol. *ἴσσο-s* [Att. *ἴσο-s*] equal.

— Skt. *vishu* (adv.) to both sides, *vishuva-m* aequinoctium, *vishu-vánt* holding the middle.

Pott i¹. 272, Benf. ii. 222. — An initial *f* is proved by the Hom. fem. *ἑῖση*, by *γισγόν' ἴσον*, Lacon. *βίωρ' ἴσως* (Hesych.). That the *σ* has displaced a consonant following it, is shown by the Aeolic form (Abrens 'Aeol.' 66), to which belong also *ἴσσο-s γαλήνη* (cp. Goth. *vis* n. 'calm of the sea,' Fick i². 787), *ἴσσωσθαι κληροῦσθαι* (cp. *ἴση*) and perhaps also *ἴσσω ἢ Δείβοs τὸ πρότερον* (Hesych.). From *γισγόν* we can see that this consonant was a second digamma. Now the stem *ῥισφο* so arrived at is identical with Skt. *vishuva* (for *visva*), an expansion of *vishu* (for *visu*), like that of *πολυ* to *πολλο*, i. e. *πολφο*.

570. *σάο-s*, *σόο-s*, *σῶο-s*, *σῶ-s* whole, sound, *σῶ-κο-s* strong, *σαό-ω*, *σώ-ζ-ω* (more correctly *σῶζω*) heal, save, *σω-τήρ* saviour, *ἄ-σω-το-s* past healing. — Lat. *sā-nu-s*.

Benary 'Lautl.' 235, and after him Benfey i. 360, compare Skt. *sāl-*

ja-s 'strong,' *sáh-ja-m* 'soundness.' In that case *sagh* would be the root, but Gk. χ is hardly ever dropped before vowels. Pictet 'Ztschr.' v. 38 agrees with this view. — The different vowels of the adjective are treated by Lobeck 'El.' ii. 121. Among the numerous proper names belonging here $\Sigma\alpha\acute{\omega}$, the name of a Nereid, hence 'saving goddess,' is noteworthy (Pott 'Ztschr.' vi. 272). — It seems to me somewhat bold to base this group on rt. \acute{e} s (No. 564) with a lost vowel (cp. Skt. *s-mas* = *sumus*). It is better not to go beyond *sa* as the root-syllable, from which probably come also, by means of an expanding *c*, *sacer* and *sanctus*, *sancio*. The retention of the initial σ leads us to conjecture the loss of a consonant. For *sac-er*, *sanc-io* Fick ii³. 284 conjectures a rt. *svak* 'to make firm.'

571. Root *ca* $\sigma\acute{\alpha}-\omega$, $\sigma\acute{\eta}-\theta-\omega$ sift, $\sigma\eta-\sigma-\tau\rho o-\nu$ sieve. — Lith. *sijó-j-u* sift, *sĕ-ta-s* sieve (rt. *si*).

Pott W. i. 306, Benf. i. 398 f., Fick ii³. 256. — A late by-form of $\sigma\eta\sigma\rho o\nu$ is $\sigma\omega\iota o-\nu$ ($\sigma\omega\iota\acute{\omega}$ 'sift,' cp. Brugman 'Stud.' v. 232). $\eta\theta-\omega$ ($\eta\theta\acute{e}-\omega$, $\eta\theta-\mu\acute{o}-s$) 'strain,' 'filter' is identical with $\sigma\acute{\eta}\theta-\omega$. The replacement of the σ by the spir. lenis instead of by the spir. asp. is explained, as in the case of $\acute{e}\chi-\omega$, by the following aspirate (Lobeck 'Rhem.' p. 93). As sowing is a 'sifting scattering,' the rt. *sa*, which is wide-spread in several families of speech (*sa-tu-s* *sĕ-vi*, *sĕ-men* = OHG. *samo*, pres. *se-r-o* = *se-s-o*, Goth. *saian*, ChSl. *sĕ-ja-ti*, Lith. *sĕ-ju* 'sow,' OIr. *síl*, Cymr. *hil* 'semen,' *yð hewyt* 'satum est' Z³. 123) might also be akin. (Cp. No. 389.) Pictet ii. 99, 286, connects AS. *si-bi*, OHG. *sib* [sieve]. — In any case we might conclude even from the Greek forms that the weaker *si* stood by the side of the full rt. *sa*. Perhaps with Fick *sa* is to be traced back to *sja*, whence the retention of the σ . For $\delta\iota\alpha-\tau\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ Att. = $\delta\iota\alpha-\sigma\acute{\eta}\theta\epsilon\omega$ see p. 667. — For different Latin forms belonging here, especially *Sa-e-turnu-s*, for *Sa-je-tur-nus*, *Sā-turnu-s*, *pro-sa-p-ia* (with expanding *p*) and others more or less certain, see Corssen i². 417 ff., 'Italische Sprachkunde' 313 ff. — Bücheler in Polle 'De artis vocabulis Lucretianis' p. 57 adds *sae-clu-m* as 'seed,' 'race,' with great probability. Cp. Goth. *mana-sēth-s* 'seed of men,' 'world.'

572. $\sigma\acute{\imath}\gamma-\acute{\eta}$ silence, $\sigma\acute{\imath}\gamma a$ (adv.) silently, $\sigma\acute{\imath}\gamma\acute{\alpha}-\omega$ am silent, $\sigma\acute{\imath}\gamma\eta-\lambda\acute{o}-s$ silent. — ON. *sveig-ja* flectere [cp. *sway*]; OHG. *swihhan* weary, *swīgōn* be silent, pass away.

Pott W. iii. 356, Benf. i. 464, Grassmann xii. 136, Fick i³. 843, Bugge 'Bezenb. Beitr.' iii. 108 f. — I repeat this comparison in spite of the anomalous relation of the sounds, regarding Gk. γ as softened

from κ (cp. rt. πλαγ No. 367) and giving *svik* as the primitive form, from which a Teutonic *svih*, *svig* would be explained. — Of Greek dialectic forms we find ἱγα' σιώπα Κύπριοι (Hesych.), for which it is perhaps more correct to read with M. Schmidt 'Ztschr.' ix. 367 ἱγα, and the still more remarkable ῥίγα' σιώπα, to which we return on p. 455.

572 b. σι-ωπή (for σι-σῶπ-ή) silence, σιωπάω to be silent.

— MHG. *swif-t* silent, still, OHG. *gi-swiftōn* conticescere, MHG. *swiften* hush up [Germ. *schwichtigen* silence, *schwichtgeld* hush-money].

— OIr. *socht* silence, *sochtaim* I am silent.

Fick i³. 843. — Add σίπ-τα' σιώπα Μεσάπιοι Hesych., which quite agrees with the German words. A very important form is σωπάω = σιωπάω, διασωπάσσομαι Pind. 'Ol.' 13, 91. Bergk. 'Lyrici' 137 adds εὐσωπία' ἡσυχία, ὥπαινε' σιώπα (cod. ὥπαινες' ὥπαιν) Hesych. Add also the ModGk. σῶπα = σιώπα. A connexion with rt. *swap* 'sleep' (No. 391) is not improbable. σι-σῶπ-ή resembles ἐδ-ωδ-ή, ἀγ-ωγ-ή. — Ir. *socht* is one of the words which, like *secht* 'seven,' have changed an original *pt* into *cht*: cp. 'Beitr.' viii. 16.

573. Root κκαγ σκάξ-ω limp. — Skt. rt. *khañg* (for 380 *skang*), *khāñg-ā-mi* limp, *khañg-a-s* limping. — MHG. *hink-e*, *han-c* limping.

Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iii. 429, 'Pet. D.' ii. 588 f., where, *inter alia*, *khañgā* is quoted as the name of an unevenly constructed metre (cp. σκάξων). — The primary form is *skag*, nasalized *skang*. Hence has come, by the change of *g* before *j* into *d*, Gk. σκάξω, i. e. σκαδ-*j*-ω (cp. ῥέξ-ω rt. *fpeγ* No. 141); 'Greek Verb' p. 226. Pott W. iii. 106. The German form came from the initially abbreviated *kang*, with the regular shifting of the mutes (cp. No. 113); the unabbreviated form has been retained in the ON. *shakk-r* 'limping' (Fick i³. 804, cp. Zimmer 'Suff. a' 299). — As ON. *cingim* denotes 'a stately striding in,' it is doubtful whether it belongs here.

574. σόβη tail. — ON. *svipa*, OHG. *sweif* tail.

Benf. i. 342, Kuhn ii. 132, iv. 18. — I follow both in this comparison only. For I am doubtful whether φόβη 'mane,' by the side of σόβη, was developed from **svabā*. σοβ-έω 'scare,' σοβ-αρό-ς 'violent,' and the gloss, on which some doubt is thrown by its position, σον-αρό-ς' σοβ-αρό-ς Hesych. in meaning come very near; and with these Usener 'Rhein. Mus.' xx. 150, connects the almost obsolete *subidu-s* 'excited,' *in-sub-idu-s* 'securus,' [cp. Gell. xix. 9, 9, Gronov., but Hertz reads *subito* in x. 11]. But if β was the final

consonant of the root, neither ON. *svif* 'motus repentinus,' nor OHG. *sweifan* 'vibrare,' which point to *p*, will fit in, though Fick i². 841 places them here.

575. *σποφό-s* spongy, damp. — Goth. *svamm-s* *σπόγ-γο-s*, OHG. *swam*, ON. *svōpp-r*, Goth. *svum-sl* pond (Eng. *swamp*).

Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 17, who rightly goes back to a stem *svam*, from which other Teutonic words (OHG. *swimmam*, etc.) may also be derived. From this we also derive (with him) *σπόγ-γο-s* with the by-forms *σπόγ-γο-s*, *σπογγ-ιά*, in which *f* has either, as in the pronominal stem *σφε* = *sva* become hardened to *φ*, or, as probably in the form *λίσπο-s* No. 544, to *π*. The suffix might have been softened from *-κο*. Corssen i². 161 is probably right in regarding *fungu-s* as a borrowed word, on the ground of the *f*, which in no other case comes from *v*. Pott W. ii. 2, 224.

576. *στλεγγ-ί-s*, *στελγ-ί-s*, *στεργ-ί-s* iron for rubbing or scraping. — Lat. *strig-ili-s*.

For the three Greek forms, of which the last comes nearest to the Latin, see Lobeck 'El.' i. 502, 'Rhemat.' 55. The root certainly cannot be separated from that of the Lat. *string-o* (No. 577). — Benf. i. 671.

577. *στράγξ* (st. *στραγγ*) drop, *στραγγ-εύ-ω* force through, *στραγγ-άλη*, *στραγγαλ-ιά* string, knot, *στραγγαλ-ί-ξ-ω* strangle. — Lat. *string-o*, *strictu-s*, *stric-ti-m*, *stric-tūra*, *strig-mentu-m*, *strig-a*, *strang-ulāre*, *terg-o*. — OHG. *stric*, *strang*, *strangi* strong.

The rt. *strang*, *strag*, for we may assume this (Pott W. iii. 687), has two main meanings 'draw through,' 'force through' and 'strip.' The former comes out clearly in the Greek words, of which *στραγγουρία* 'retention of urine,' *κατὰ στράγγα ῥεῖν* may also be mentioned. From this the cognate meaning of 'tying together,' 'pressing' is easily developed, and this comes out with especial clearness in *stringo-* (for *streng-o*), *nodus strictus*, *vitem perstringere*: the Germ. *streng* 'rigorous,' 'rough,' *sich anstrengen* 'to exert one's self,' with the Hom. *σπρέιγ-ο-μαι* 'to be pained,' 'to grow exhausted,' are not far removed. With respect to the connexion of *σπρέιγ-ο-μαι* it is worth noticing that the cod. Harl. in μ 351 gives the variant *σπρέγγεσθαι* ('γρ' *σπρέγγεσθαι*), and the same word is explained in Schol. A on O 512 by *στραγγίσεσθαι*. Cp. Lob. 'Rhem.' 54. — The second main

meaning meets us in usages like 'folia ab arboribus, oleam, bacam stringere;' with this is connected No. 576 with the ChSl. *strug-a-ti* or *strüg-a-ti* 'radere:' *striga* 'stroke,' 'swath' (Fest. 314) is also akin, and *tergo* for *sterg-o* is connected, cp. Leo Meyer i. 190, Corssen 'Beitr.' 437. — The forms compared by Lobeck, *στραγγός, στρογγύλος* 'curved,' might possibly come from the first main meaning in the sense of 'forced,' 'wrested.' Pictet ii. 171 is perhaps right in his conjecture that *σαργάνη* 'plait,' 'wickerwork' with *ταργάναι* *πλοκαί, συνδέσεις, τεταργανωμένοι* *εμπλεγμένοι* (Hesych.) came from this root in the form *starg*. Cp. *τύρβη* and *σύρβη* No. 250. It is worth noticing for this the Ir. *sreangaim* 'stringo,' *sreang* 'string,' (*srengais* 'traxit,' Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 343: Ir. initial *sr*=original *str* is not one of the firmly established phonetic equations.) But I cannot admit any connexion with *στέφω*. — Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iv. 25 f. groups some of the words here compared with the Skt. rt. *sarj*, for which he establishes the meaning 'stretch.' — Cp. Joh. Schmidt 'Voc.' i. 54, Fick i². 826. — Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 343 adds here Ir. *tracht* 'strength.'

578. Root *cu* *κασ-σύ-ω* (*κατ-τύ-ω*) patch, cobble, fix the warp, *κάσ-σύ-μα* (*κάτ-τυ-μα*) leather, cobbler's work, *καττύ-s* piece of leather.

Skt. rt. *siv* (*siv-jā-mi*) sew, *sjū-tá-s* sewn, *sjū-ti-s* sewing, *sjū-man* seam, band.

Lat. *su-o, sū-tu-s, sū-tor, sū-tūra, sū-tēla* device, *sū-b-ula* awl.

Goth. *siu-ja* *ἐπιρράπτω*, OHG. *siud* (m.) sutura, *sou-m* seam, *sui-la* subula.

ChSl. *šij-a* (inf. *ši-ti*) *ράπτω*, *ši-lo* subula, Lith. *siuv-ù* (inf. *siú-ti*) sew, *siú-ta-s* sewn, embroidered.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. i. 1346, Benf. i. 290, Diefenb. ii. 217. — We may take *siu* as the Indo-Germanic, *su* as the Graeco-Italic root. Grassmann 'Ztschr.' xi. 5 regards this *siu* or *siv*, perhaps correctly, as an expansion of rt. *sī* 'bind' (No. 602). We might be disposed to derive the first part of *κασ-σύ-ω* from the form *kás* *δέρμα* (Hesych.) discussed by Lobeck 'Paralip.' 80, 177, did not the law of Greek composition recommend us rather to conjecture the apocope of *κατά*, a process not surprising in a word of such daily use. There are similar mutilations of *κατά* in *κάθες* (Eur. 'Cycl.' 544), *κανάξαις* (Hes. 'E. 666), in the Hom. *κάββαλε* with the v. l. *κάμβαλε*, *κάσχεθε*=*κατέσχε*, a similar forgetfulness of the composition in *ἐκάθενδον*. Cp. Baunack 'Stud.' x. 109 ff. *καττώ* like *διαττᾶν* (No. 571). — 'sure

the very ancient word for working in leather' Hehn.³ 15. — Cp. No. 560.

- 382 579. *sv-s*, *ū-s* pig. — Zd. *hu* (m.) pig. — Lat. *sū-s*. — OHG. *sū* sow, Goth. *sv-ein* χοῖρος. — ChSl. *sv-inija* ūs. — OCymr. *hucc* sus, Corn. *hoch* porcus (Z². 91, 1075).

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. i. 1327, Miklosich 'Lex.', Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 343, Bacmeister 'Kelt. Briefe' 39. — The Gothic word is a parallel to *su-inu-s*, and may be compared in another way with the stem of the feminine *śūava* (= *sv-av-ia*), *śāva* (Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' v. 384): the Slavonic word has taken a second suffix. For the root we may appeal to the saying 'sue nihil genuit natura fecundius' (Cic. 'De Nat. Deor.' ii. 64), and conjecture the rt. *su* 'generare' (No. 605); this seems to me, with Benfey i. 411 and Justi 'Handbuch des Zend' 326, more probable than that, as Bopp and Pictet i. 370 think, *sū* is to be taken as a natural sound (1), and Skt. *sū-karā-s* (rt. *kar* 'make' No. 72) to be explained as 'the Su-maker': *sū-karā-s* (according to Lindner 'Altind. Nominalbildung' p. 69 *śūkara-s*) is rather a derivative from the st. *sū* by means of the double suffix *-ka-ra*=Gk. *κα-λο*, Lat. *cu-lo* ('Studien' i. 1, 260). Cp. *śi-ka* ūs *λάκωνες*, *śū-β-ro-s* (cod. *śūμβρο-s*) *κάπρος* Hes. Fick i³. 801 comes back to the old derivation from *śeū*, *śessumi*, so that *sv-s* would originally mean 'rusher.' — To *ū-s* we may probably refer with Plutarch *ū-ni-s* *ἔννη* 'ploughshare,' which Jac. Grimm 'Gesch.' 57 discusses further. — The expansion in Cymr. *hucc*, *huch*, as in OCymr. *buch* 'vacca' Z². 295. Eng. *hog* is a borrowed word: cp. Ebel 'Beitr.' ii. 175.

580. *σφήξ* (st. *σφήκ*) wasp. — Lat. *vespa*. — OHG. *wefsa*. — Lith. *vapsà* gadfly, Lett. *apsa*, ChSl. *osa*, *vosa* wasp (?).

Pott ii¹. 112, Förstemann 'Ztschr.' iii. 50, Kuhn iii. 66. Grimm 'Gr.' iii. 366 holds the Teutonic word to be borrowed from the Latin. — The connexion of these words is as probable as their explanation is difficult. Perhaps the full stem-form was *vaspa*, to which the Lat. *vespa* comes nearest; this form would appear in Gk. as *φεςπα*, and with an individualizing *κ* (cp. *ίερα-ξ*, *μύρμη-ξ* by the side of *μύρμος* No. 482) would give *φεςπακ*, from which with the loss of the first syllable (cp. *τράπεζα* for *τετράπεζα*) we might get *σπακ* Ion. *σπηκ*, and, with the aspiration not uncommon near a *σ*, *σφήκ* (*σφάλλω* rt. *spal* No. 558, *δσφάραγος* by *δσπάραγος*). In the northern languages we must assume metathesis. The root is unknown. — The conjecture of Joh. Schmidt ('Ztschr.' xxii. 314) that *σφήξ* belongs rather to the Lat. *fūcu-s*

'drone' is opposed by what Fick 'Ztschr.' xxii. 102 ff. brings forward against the equivalence of the Lat. *f* and the Gk. *σπ*, *σφ*. — Cp. Fick i³. 769.

H

A Greek ξ corresponds to an Indo-Germanic *ks*, for which *ksh* is to be expected in Sanskrit, *hs* (*chs*) in the Teutonic languages, *ss* or *s* (*ch* before *t*) in Old Irish.

581. ἀλέξ-ω keep off, help, ἀλέξ-η-τήρ helper. — Skt. *ráksh-ā-mi* guard, keep, deliver, *raksha-s*, *raksh-aka-s* watcher, defender, *ráksh-ana-m* defence.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 455. — An expansion of the rt. *ark*, *alk* 383 treated under No. 7, by the addition of an *s*, so that ἀλέξ and Skt. *raksh* both go back to *arks*. Cp. above p. 64.

582. ἄξων (st. ἄξον)* axle. — Skt. *áksha-s* axle, wheel, cart. — Lat. *axi-s*. — OHG. *ahsa*. — ChSl. *osŭ*, Lith. *aszŭ-s* axle. — Cymr. *echel* axle.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. iii. 375, Benf. i. 67, Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 343, 'Pet. Dict.,' where the meaning 'axle' is established for the Skt. word. — ἄμ-αξα, older ἄμ-αξα (like the Hom. ἄμυδης), points to the noun-stem retained in Skt. and German; ἄμ- is however certainly for ἄμα (No. 449). We may with Pott ii². 590 consider ἄξ as an expanded ἄγ (No. 117).

583. αὔξ-ω (Hom. ἄέξ-ω), αὔξ-άν-ω increase, multiply, αὔξ-η, αὔξ-η-σι-s, αὔξ-η-μα growth. — Skt. *úksh-ā-mi* grow up, grow strong, perf. *va-váksh-a*, *vaksh-ajā-mi* augeo. — Lat. *aux-ili-um* increase, strengthening. — Goth. *vahs-ja* wax, *vahs-tu-s* αὔξησις. — Lith. *áukasz-ta-s* (or *áugasz-ta-s*) high. — OIr. *ós*, *úas* super, *in óchtur* in superiore parte, *úasal* superus, nobilis, Cymr. *uch* supra, *uchel* altus, OGall. *Uxello-dunum* Caes. (Z². 125).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 462, Benf. i. 93. — Cp. No. 159, where the shorter roots *vag*, *ug* and *aug* were discussed. By the addition of an *s* (cp. p. 64) *vag* became *vaks* (Skt. *vaksh*) Gk. *φεξ*, with a prothetic *á* *άφεξ*, with a 'thinning' from *φε* to *υ* αὔξ. Cp. p. 579. The Vedic adjective *vákhs-ana-s* 'strengthening' is connected with the present αὔξ-άνω. For *aux-ili-u-m* ('ab auctu' Varro 'L. L.' v. 90) Van. 866,

Osthoff 'Forsch.' i. 208. — OIr. *ro ásaíset drissi* 'the thorns grew' (Z². 464), might be for *ro fásaíset*, for the sound *f* disappears through the aspiration coming in after *ro*. In that case the later *fásaim* 'I grow,' would not have a prothetic *f* (Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 343) and Ir. *fás-* might be compared with Skt. *vaksh-*.

583 b. *ἐξ, ἐκ* (Locr. *ἐ*). — Lat. *ex, ec, ē*. — ChSl. *ізъ*, Lith. *isz* out. — OIr. *ass, a, ess-, é-* *ex, echtar* extra, *immethtar* extremitas.

For the dialectic forms of *ἐκ* see 'Stud.' x. 214. — It is as easy to see that these prepositions go together, as it is hard to trace the connexion completely. The clearest point is the connexion of the longer form *ἐξ* (Bocot. Cypr. *έος*, Arcad. Thess. *ές*) with Lat. *ex*, Ir. *ass*. These languages are also alike in their possession of an *ek* as well, which appears in the Lat. *ec-fero, ec-fātu-s, ec se produnto* (Cic. 'De Legg.' iii. 9, Vahlen 'Ztschr. f. d. österr. Gymn.' 1860 p. 17), and in the Ir. *ech-tar*. From *ek* we may explain also Ogc. *eh-trad* 'extra,' the *h* here replacing the tenuis as in *saahum* (Corssen 'Ztschr.' xi. 327). The mutilation of *ec* to *ē* was discussed on p. 77. A parallel to *ē* is supplied by the Umbr. *ehe, eh*, inasmuch as Umbr. *h* is often a mere sign of the length of the vowel (Aufr. u. Kirchh. i. 77). — The analogies collected on p. 37, of which *ἄψ, abs* by the side of *ἀπό, ab* is the clearest, leave hardly the possibility of a doubt that *ek* is the older form, *ex* one formed by the addition of a case-suffix. Hence everything would be as it should, did not the ChSl. form point to a media instead of a tenuis, while the Lith. (Schleicher 'Lit. Gr.' 279) presents no objection to this, as elsewhere a final *z* changes into the hard *sz*. Therefore, either in the Graeco-Italian language an original *g* must have been hardened under the influence of initial letters in its neighbourhood (*ἐκτείνω, ἐκπίνω*), or in Slavonic an original *k* must have been softened. In the former case, which is to me the more probable, *ag, eg* would be the primary form, for which we might conjecture kinship with rt. *ag* (No. 117). — If Goth. *us* (Germ. *er-*) is akin to the fuller *ex*, as Diefenbach 'Wtb.' i. 116 conjectures, it has lost the guttural before *s* (cp. on No. 538). — In opposition to earlier unsuccessful conjectures as to Asiatic representatives of this particle Darmesteter ('Mém.' ii. 307) recognises as such Zend *ash* 'very,' and Skt. *āçkarja-s* 'wonderful' (?), whence he arrives at a primary form **ask* and at *ἄσχα-ρο-s*. This leaves the European forms without *s* obscure. — In OIr. the form *ess-, ē-*, is prevalent in composition, especially in that forming nouns, when this preposition is used in a privative sense: *es-rechtaid* = 'ex-lex' Z². 862.

584. $\xi\acute{\varsigma}$ six, $\xi\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$. — Skt. *shash* sex, *shash-thá-s* sextus; Zd. *khshvas* six. — Lat. *sex*, *sex-tu-s*. — Goth. *saihs*, *saihs-ta(n)*. — ChSl. *šes-ŭ*, Lith. *szesz* sex, ChSl. *šes-tyj*, Lith. *szisz-ta-s* sextus. — OIr. *sé* sex, *sessed* sextus; Cymr. *chwech* sex, *chuechet* sextus.

Bopp 'Vergl. Gr.' ii. 73, Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' ix. 432, Stier x. 238. — In addition to the traces of a *v* which the Zend form shows, and which are confirmed also by Armenian and Keltic forms, we have the most certain evidence of a Greek $\xi\acute{\varsigma}$. On the Heraklean tables we find $\xi\epsilon\acute{\xi}\eta\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$, $\xi\epsilon\acute{\xi}\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$, $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (Ahrens 'Dor.' 43), on an old Lacedaemonian inscription (C. i. No. 1511) according to Kirchhoff's reading 'Studien z. Gesch. d. gr. Alphab.' p. 95 $\xi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ — i.e. $\xi\epsilon\acute{\xi}\eta\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$. Similarly on a Delphic inscription according to Wescher 'Annali dell' Inst.' 1866 (vol. 38) p. 1. In Homer, as is shown not only by Leo Meyer but also by Rumpf 'Jahn's Jahrb.' 81 p. 681, $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ is indicated by passages like E 270 $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu \phi\omicron\iota \xi\acute{\epsilon}\xi \epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$, though others are opposed to an initial consonant. Hence we must unconditionally assume *sex* as the primary Graeco-Italo-Keltic form: from this the Lat. *sex* developed as *se* from *sve*, Gk. $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ like $\phi\epsilon$ from $\sigma\phi\epsilon$. The origin of the numeral, and the guttural appearing in Zend before the sibilant, are not yet cleared up. — The Keltic languages allow us to see most clearly the primitive form *svaks*: Cymr. *chw* = an original *sv*, and in Irish beside *sé*, *sessed* there is the compound *mór-feser* 'a large six' = septem viri (Z². 313).

F.

385

A Greek *F* is either proved to exist or is to be inferred in the following words, as the representative of an original *v*, retained in the Keltic languages especially when initial (Ir. as *f* or *b*, Brit. as *gu*, *gw*), in the other families preserved universally.

585. *alés*, *alév* ($\alpha\epsilon\iota$) always, $\alpha\iota\text{-}\delta\iota\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ everlasting, $\alpha\iota\text{-}\acute{\omega}\nu$ lifetime, time, $\epsilon\pi\text{-}\eta\epsilon\text{-}\tau\alpha\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\varsigma$ lasting for all time (?). Skt. *éva-s* course, conduct, in the plur. custom, manners. Lat. *aevu-m*, *ae-tā(t)-s* (XII Tabb. *aevitās*), *ae(vi)-ternu-s*. Goth. *aiv-s* time, $\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, *aiv* (adv.) unquam, *aiv-eins* $\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$, OHG. *éwa*, law, contract, marriage.

OIr. *áis des óis* (gen. *áisa áisso*) tempus, aetas;
 Cymr. *ois, oes*, Corn. *huis* saeculum; Cymr. *oet*
aetas, oetawc aetate proventus.

All the forms of this adverb — which are numerous — are quoted by Ahrens 'Dor.' 378 f. At the head stands *aífeí* C. i. No. 1: the derivative *ái-dio-s* (cp. *μαψί-dio-s*, *μυννθά-dio-s*) comes nearest to the Lesb. *ái*. *ép-ηε-τανό-s* was discussed by me in 'Ztschr.' i. 34. The preposterousness of the derivation from *ἔτος* comes out clearly from such phrases as *πλυνοὶ ἐπηετανοί* (ζ 86), *κομιδὴ ἐπηετανός* (θ 233). Döderlein 'Gloss.' 1040 agrees with this. The Alexandrian grammarians are far removed from this absurdity, which only arose from the apparent similarity of *ἐπετήσιος*, used in quite a different way η 118, for they explain the word by *συνεχής*. *ép-ηε-τανό-s*, if really belonging here, is a formation like *ἐφ-ημίρ-ω-s*, from the stem *aífes*, curtailed into *ηε*, with the suffix *-tana*, which is employed in the same way in the Skt. *nú-tana-s* 'present,' and in the Lat. *cras-tinu-s*, *diu-tinu-s*. Still the disappearance of the *ι* now makes me hesitate: the Boeot. *ἦí=aíeí* furnishes no analogy, for the Boeotians use *η* for any *αι*. — From the stem *aíf* comes *aíf-ών*, though we must admit that there is no authority for the digamma here, with an ampliative suffix like *ἀγκ-ών* from rt. *ἀγκ* (*ἄγκος*), *χεῖμ-ών* from *χεῖμα*. The Skt. and Lat. words have come from this *aív* with the addition of a short *α*: the Teutonic words belong to the same formation. A stem in *ς* (*aíος*) underlies the acc. *aíō* (Bekk. 'Anecd.' 363, Aesch. 'Choeph.' 346 [350 Dind.] according to G. Hermann). — The greatest difficulties are caused by the relation of the Skt. *éva-s* (i.e. *aira-s*), the meaning of which is thoroughly discussed by Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 232, to *ájú-s*, which means as an adjective 'living,' as a masculine substantive, when oxytone, 'man,' when barytone, like Zd. *áyu*, 'time of life,' and to *ájus* (n.) 'life,' 'long life.' Boethl. and Roth in the 'Pet. Dict.' separate these two words entirely from *éva-s*, conjecturing for *ájú*, etc. a derivation from rt. *an* (?), for *éva-s* a derivation from rt. *í* 'go.' Could not *ájús* be for **áivas* (= *aífos*) and so belong here after all? — OIr. *áis, óis* is certainly to be traced back to **aivas-tu* (Z². 238, 787), and 386 probably also Cymr. *ois, oes*, Corn. *huis*. On the other hand Cymr. *oet* Corn. *oys* seems like Lat. *aetas* to have been formed without *s*: cp. Ebel 'Beitr.' ii. 158, and Z². 101, 292.

586. Root *áf* *á-t-ω* hear, perceive, *ép-a-t-ω* understand, *á-t-τα-s* (Dor.) favourite. — Skt. rt. *av* (*áv-ā-mi*) notice, favour, *áv-as* satisfaction, favour, *ávi-s* devoted. Zd. *av* turn to any one, protect. —

Lat. *au-di-o*. — OIr. *con-n-óí* qui servat, *for-ta-com-ai-som* servat id ille (Z². 431).

The wider meaning of *á-i-ω* 'mark' (Heinr. Schmidt 'Synon.' i. 272) comes out especially in *πληγῆς áíοντες* (*ἱπποί*) Λ 532, whilst elsewhere this verb, which only occurs in the present stem (cp. Hesych. *áere' ákousare*), as a rule denotes perception by the ear. Now as Skt. *av* according to the 'Pet. Dict.' denotes both as a simple verb and also in composition with the prepositions *ut* and *pra* 'to notice' (otherwise Grassmann), I venture the comparison here given. Pott's objections W. i. 440, 647 do not shake me in it. The *a* is prevalently short in Homer: the length is explained by the loss of the *f*, as in *τοκῆ-ες* for *τοκῆf-ες*. As in *íð-i-ω* the *i* passes from the present stem into the formation of other words. — B. and R. compare with this same root Lat. *av-e-o*, the use of which connects itself with the meanings 'to like,' 'to favour,' especially in the imperative of salutation *ave*, while *av-idu-s*, *au-d-ax*, *av-ūru-s* are further removed, and perhaps even belong to No. 587 (cp. rt. *áv* No. 419). But with *avere* even Varro 'L. L.' vi. 83 connects *auris*, quoting the verse of Ennius ('Trag.' 70 Vahlen): 'Iam dudum ab ludis animus atque aures avent, Avide expectantes nuntium.' Hence we get the notion of 'noticing,' 'regarding,' which occurs in Gk. *áíω*. So it seems to me that we are justified in comparing it both with *au-di-o* and with the *aur-i-s*, *ov-s*, which will have to be discussed under No. 619. As *au-dio* shows a stem expanded by the addition of *d*, so the post-Homeric *áíσθ* in *áíσθ-é-σθαι*, *áíσθ-áv-ε-σθαι* has arisen in the same way from *áf* by the addition of *σθ*, as *áí-σθ-ω* 'breathe,' has from the rt. *áf* 'breathe.' — Of Homeric epithets, it is easiest to connect with the rt. *áf* in the sense of *avere év-η-ής* (for *év-ηf-ής*) for which the meaning 'friendly,' 'dear' is established (Düntzer 'Ztschr.' xiii. 4). There is an objection to place here, as D. does, *ép-η-τή-s*, according to Arist. λόγιος, and *ép-η-τύ-s* (φ 306), on account of the disappearance of the *f* without leaving a trace. We should have then to assume an **ép-ηfe-τη-s*, from which came by contraction *ép-η-τή-s*, like *ῆ* from **ῆfe* or *ἄτη* from **áfάτη* (Pind. *avάta*). — To the meaning of 'affectionate, tender treatment,' probably Lat. *av-u-s*, Goth. *av-ô* 'grandmother,' and Lith. *av-ýna-s* 'avunculus' attach themselves, corresponding to *á-i-ta-s*. Cp. *θείος* under No. 310. So too Ascoli 'Ztschr.' xii. 157. — Finally B. and R. compare further the Gk. *á-ω* (*á-μεναι*), with the usage of which Skt. *av* agrees in the meaning 'to pamper one's self,' 'to satisfy one's self.' But this belongs to rt. *σα* (No. 608 b). — For the Keltic words cp. Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 344, where Cymr. *ewi* 'to listen' is added. Ir. *-óí*, *-ai* is to be immediately explained **avit*.

587. Root $\acute{a}f$ $\acute{a}-\omega$ breathe, $\acute{a}-\sigma$ · $\piνεῦμα$ Hesych., $\acute{a}\eta-\mu$ blow, $\acute{a}\eta-\tau\eta-s$ wind, $\acute{a}-\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha$ blast, $\alphaῦ-\rho\alpha$ breath, $\acute{a}-\eta\rho$ (st. $\acute{a}f\epsilon\rho$) air, mist, $\acute{a}-\acute{\iota}-\sigma\theta-\omega$ breathe out, $\acute{a}\acute{\alpha}-\zeta-\omega$ breathe, $\acute{a}\sigma\theta-\mu\alpha$ heavy breathing.

Skt. rt. $vā$ ($vā-mi$) blow, $vā-ta-s$, $vā-jū-s$ wind, air; Zd. $vā$ blow.

Lat. *ven-tu-s*.

Goth. *vaia* $\piνέω$, *vind-s* $\acute{a}\nu\epsilon\mu\sigma$.

ChSl. $vě-j-ati$ flare, Lith. $vė-ja-s$ wind, $ó-ra-s$ air, storm.

Root *av*, Cymr. *awel*, Arem. *auel*, Corn. *auhel* aura, ventus; Root *va*, OIr. *feth* aura, *tin-feth* aspiratio (Z². 817, 884).

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. i. 298, Benf. i. 262, Hugo Weber 'Ztschr.' x. 241. —For $\acute{a}\omega$ Lobeck 'Rhemat.' 4; many different deductions are supplied by Döderlein 'Gl.' 1 ff. We must start from a primitive form *av*, with the by-form *va* and also $\acute{a}f\epsilon$ parallel to $\acute{a}f\epsilon\xi$ (No. 583). For $\acute{a}\eta\rho$ and $\acute{a}\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha$ the Aeol. $\alphaῦ\eta\rho$ (Ahrens 'Aeol.' 38) and $\alphaῦ-\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha$, Dor. $\acute{a}\beta\acute{\eta}\rho$ (Ahr. 'Dor.' 49), Mod. Gr. $\acute{a}\beta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ i.e. $\acute{a}f\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ (E. Curtius 'Gött. Nachr.' 1857 p. 301) are important. By the word $\acute{a}\beta\acute{\eta}\rho$ the Laconians denoted an $\omicron\kappa\eta\mu\alpha$ $\sigma\tau\omicron\alpha\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\nu$ (Hesych.) from which it is probable that $\alphaῦ-\lambda\acute{\eta}$ 'court' is also an offshoot from this root. Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' xxii. 537 compares the word with Skt. *vas-ra-m* 'house,' 'dwelling.' With still more certainty we may refer here $\omicron\upsilon-\rho\omicron-s$, a masculine form, as it were, of $\alphaῦ-\rho\alpha$, especially as $\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\omega}\delta\omicron\nu$ means 'a wind-egg,' and Lith. $\acute{o}-ra-s$ comes so near. The Lat. *ventu-s*, like Goth. *vind-s*, is perhaps to be taken as an expanded participial form. I do not attempt to decide whether *aura* is an inheritance from the Graeco-Italic time, or is borrowed from the Greek. The wind-instrument $\alphaῦ-\lambda\acute{o}-s$ may be placed here with as little hesitation. So too the Skt. *dham-āni-s*, derived from rt. *dham* 'blow,' means 'reed,' 'pipe.' —Further Lobeck regards $\acute{a}\omega$ $\acute{a}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega$ $\acute{a}\epsilon\sigma\alpha$ as identical with $\acute{a}\omega$ $\acute{a}\eta\sigma\omega$, and establishes the transition from 'breathing' (the deep breathing of the sound sleeper, a very different thing from 'snoring,' which a misrepresentation of the theory calls it), to the notion of 'sleep,' in a note, to which Schol. on γ 151 and Aesch. 'Choeph.' 618 $\piνέοντα$ $\acute{\iota}\pi\nu\phi$ may be added. In a similar sense I have endeavoured ('Ztschr.' i. 29) to establish $\acute{\iota}-\acute{\alpha}\acute{\upsilon}-\omega$ 'sleep' as a reduplicated present to the aor. $\acute{a}-\epsilon-\sigma\alpha$. But as $\acute{a}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha\iota$ in Homer, as Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' xxii. 530 has shown, means properly 'remain' ($\nuύκτα$. . . $\acute{a}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$), I have ('Greek Verb' p. 520) agreed with him that this aorist belongs to the rt. *vas* 'dwell' (No.

[illegible]

588. *āṭ-pāṭ* c. *āṭ-lā* breath vapour. *āṭ-pāṭ* vapour, smoke. — *Skt.* *āṭ-mā* breath soul self — OHG. *āt-mā*. OS. *frī-mā*. AS. *and-mā*. [NHG. *Athem*.]

Pott p. 196. Bechtel 333. Grimm - Wille 591. where the unchanged *t* of the OHG. form is also discussed. Grassmann 'Wtb.' 175. — Boethel and Buchwald: *Deutsche Grammatik* from pt. an (No. 419). Greek by-forms are supplied by *ἀντι-παρ-ἀντι-παρ-συνα* (Hesych.) 388 for *ἀντιπαρ, ἀντιπαρ*. *ἀντιπαρ* is certainly constructed from **ἀντι-ός*, like *ἀντιπαρ* for *ἀντιπαρ*. For the permutation of the vowels in *ἀντι-μύρ* (cp. *ἀντι* No. 588 b) see Sommer - Zacher III 277. — We saw on p. 62 that the word was probably derived from No. 587 and expanded by a *t*.

588 b. call, cry (Hom. impf. aē. aor. ἤναι, ἀύσαι), αὐρή shout, αὐρέα call (αὐρή voice, noise, ἀν-εω-s (for *ἀν-α-εω-s) dumb. — Lat. *exultare* rejoice, shout for joy, *exultatio* shout of joy.

Fick p. 510. where the G.S.L. *ε-γ-τι* 'resound,' 'howl,' (v instead of the spir. lenis), and the O.H.G. *uw-ila* 'owl,' are added. — It is remarkable that the contracted form *αω* is confined to the present stem while the sigmatic tenses and the subst. *αῶνή* (Corcyr. Inscr., Cauer 'Delectus' No. 24. *ἀ-ῶ-νά*) are never contracted. *αῶσαι* is probably for **ἀ-ῶ-σαι* (cp. *λαῖ-σσα*). — I now prefer to separate these forms from *ἀ-ε-ῶ-σαι*. — Otherwise Corssen 'Altit.' 407.

589. *ἔαρ*. *ἦρ* spring. *ἐαρ-ινό-ς* *ἐιαρ-ινό-ς* vernus. — Skt. *vas-antá-s*, Zl. *vanh-ra* (?) spring. — Lat. *vēr*, *ver-nu-s*. — ON. *vár* spring. — Lith. *vas-ard* (fem.) summer, *vas-ar-łni-s* summer (adj.), ChSl. *ves-na* *ἔαρ*.

Pott i¹. 124, Benf. i. 309, Schleich. 'Ksl.' 137, Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' i. 350. — For *f* the gloss of Hesych. is of importance, *γίapes* *εap*, which Ahrens 'Aeol.' 171 rightly regards as Boeotian and writes *γίapos*: we have also *γάρ* *εap*, *βηράnθεμον* *νάγκισσος*, *οί δὲ φηράnθεμον* *λέγουσι* (Hesych.). The *féap* thus established, which was afterwards contracted into *ήp*, is evidently for *φεσ-ap*, Lat. *rēr* for *veser* or *verer*. The Sanskrit and the ChSl. words have arrived from the same root at the same meaning by the use of different suffixes. The *r-*

suffix which occurs in Gk., Lat., ON., and Lit. must be held to have been a primitive addition. For the root see above p. 42. In favour of the rt. *vas* 'shine out' is also Skt. *vās-ará-s* 'early morning,' 'day.' Cp. Bergaigne 'Mém.' ii. 74. — To this Rhys 'Beitr.' vii. 234, and Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 344 refer OCymr. *o guiannuin* 'vere,' Corn. *guain-toin* 'ver' (Z². 1058, 1073), reduced to **visantēna*: Stokes adds also Ir. *errach* 'spring.' Of the examples which Stokes gives for the loss of an initial *v* in Irish, excluding the borrowed *espar*- 'vesper,' perhaps *olann* 'wool' (No. 496) is the only one which cannot be contested.

590. *io-ν* (*Fío-ν*) violet. — Lat. *vio-la*.

Pott i¹. 120. — Benf. i. 314 compares Skt. *visha-pushpa-m* 'the flower of the blue water-lily,' and connects it with *vishá-m* 'poison.' This is hardly credible, because of the meaning. Besides in that case we should have expected in Lat. **vir-ola*. The *f* occurs in Hesych. *γία* ἄνθη, and also in the compound *λευκό-ϊο-ν* and in the hiatus *δῶρα ἰοστεφάνων* (Theogn. v. 250). Probably we may add the proper name *Ἰόλη* = *viola* with *f* on a vase (Wachsmuth 'Rh. Mus.' xviii. 581). — Hehn³ 224. — Fick ii³. 238 takes *vi* 'to wind' as the root.

389 591. *l-ó-s* poison. — Skt. *vish-á-m*, Zd. *visha*, *vis* venenum, Skt. *vish-á-s* poisonous. — Lat. *vīrus*. — Ir. *fí*.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Benf. i. 314, Stokes 'Corm. Gl. Transl.' p. 79. The *f* does not occur in any existing Greek word, but both form and meaning point clearly enough to a primitive form *visa-s*. The difference of quantity is noteworthy; the *i* is long in Latin and Greek, short in Skt. In the 'Pet. Dict.' the Skt. words are traced back to rt. *vish* 'work,' 'execute;' otherwise Fick i³. 221. — From *ló-s* Lobeck 'Rhem.' 157 derives *láomai*, *laínw* 'nam et fármakon dicitur in utramque partem.' Otherwise Kuhn 'Ztschr.' v. 50, Pictet 'Orig.' i. 64. It is against this view that in Homer *iāsthai* means 'tend,' and is used either with the acc. of the person (*iār* Εὐρύπυλον M 2) or of the part affected (*ὀφθαλμόν* ι 525). — Pott W. i. 286, ii. 2, 484. Fick i³. 509 attractively compares *láomai* with Skt. *ishája-ti* 'he strengthens,' 'refreshes,' and Bugge 'Bezzenb. Beitr.' iii. 116 confirms this by connecting the ON. *Eir* 'the goddess of healing,' and *eir* 'mercy,' *eira* 'to spare.'

592. *ī-s* pl. *īν-es* sinew, strength, *iv-ío-ν* nape of the neck, *ῥίφι-s*, *ī-φι* with strength, *ίφια* μῆλα strong sheep. — Lat. *vī-s* pl. *vīr-es* for *vīs-es*.

The many difficulties which stand in the way of this comparison, which seems so free from objections, are discussed by Pott W. i. 559

without result. But as *f* is retained in the proper name *φίφρος* and traces of it are to be found in Homer (Knös 127), as Hesych. gives the gloss *γίς ἰπὸς καὶ γῆ (?) καὶ ἰσχύς*, and as there is evidence of the initial labial for *ισχύς* — which cannot be separated from *ἰς* — in the Lacon. *βίσχυρ* by the side of *γίσχυρ* (Hesych.), we must assume, as it seems, a Graeco-Italic stem *vi*. This perhaps originating immediately in the rt. *vi* 'plait' (No. 593) meant in the first place 'band,' 'cord,' then like *nervu-s* (No. 434) 'sinew,' 'strength.' This stem was expanded in Greek in some forms by *ν*, in Latin by *s*, afterwards becoming *r* (Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 133, cp. iv. 211 f.). For *ἰφ* and the kindred forms see I. Bekker 'Hom. Bl.' i. 160. Cp. Kuhn 'Ztschr.' x. 290, Benf. i. 294. — Or could we venture to assume a connexion with Skt. *vāj-as* (n.) 'strength' and rt. *viśh* 'execute'?

593. *i-ru-s* shield-rim, fellow of a wheel, *i-réa* willow. — Skt. *vajā* twig, *vī-ṭi-kā* band, sling, ball, *vē-tasá-s* a kind of reed, *vē-trá-s* reed. — Zd. *vaēti* (fem.) willow-twigg (?). — Lat. *vi-tu-s* fellow, *vī-ter*, *vitta* (?), *vī-men*, *vī-ti-s*. — OHG. *wi-d* cord, *wī-da* willow, AS. *widde* rope [*withy*]. — Lith. *vy-ti-s* willow-switch, cask-hoop (Lex.), Lett. *vitols* willow, ChSl. *vi-tŭ* *σχοινωτόν*. — Cymr. *guden* willow.

Pott W. i. 616, Benf. i. 288, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 133, Corssen i². 540, Fick i³. 783. — The *f* of *i-ru-s* is established by the Aeol. *βί-ru-s* (Ahr. 32), by Δ 486 *ῥῥα ἱρυν κάμψῃ*, the *f* of *i-réa* by κ 510 (*μακραί τ' αἰγίποι καὶ ἱρέαι*) and other passages in Homer, and by *γυρία* in Hesych. According to Suidas *ἱru-s* also occurs in the sense of *lréa* so that even Lobeck 'Paralip. 337 compares the two words with each other and with the Lat. *vīeo vīmen*. The Lat. *vitu-s* (abl. *vitū*, dat. abl. plur. *vitū-bus*, but also nom. plur. *viti*) is established convincingly from the grammarians by Joh. Schmidt 'Ztschr.' xxii. 314. In Marius Victorinus (Keil 'Gramm.' vi. 56, 18) *viti in rotis* is the reading of the MSS. Further we may add with Pott *οἶσο-s* 390 'yellow-willow,' *οἶσῶ-a* 'a kind of willow.' On *o* for *f* see p. 575. The by-form *εἰσύνους* 'Inscr. of Andania' (edited by Sauppe, Gött. 1860) l. 22 is remarkable. — The rt. of all these words plainly occurs in the Skt. *vjā* (*vjā-jā-mi*) 'entwine,' *vā* (*vā-jā-mi*) 'weave,' 'plait,' in the Lat. *vīe-o*, in the ChSl. *vī-ti*, Lith. *vý-ti* 'twist' (a cord) (Schleich. 'Ksl.' 134, Miklos. 'Lex.' 65), expanded in Goth. *vī-d-an* 'bind up,' *vin-d-an* 'wind.' Cp. No. 594. — Stokes 'Beitr.' viii. 345 adds also Olr. *féith* 'fibra,' but an Irish word for 'willow,' which

belongs here, seems to occur in the adj. *fēthaide*, which occurs several times as an epithet of a 'carriage' (*carpat fīdgrind fēthaide*). Add also Ir. *fiam* 'a chain which went round the neck.'

594. *oī-vo-s* wine, *oī-vη* vine, *oīvá(δ)-s* vine, grape, wine, *oīv-apo-v*, *oīvo-v* (Hesych.) vine-leaf, vine-tendril, *oīv-ávθη* vine-shoots, -blossom, grape. — Lat. *vī-nu-m*.

The *f* is retained in Alcaeus (Ahr. 'Aeol.' 32) and in Doric dialects (Ahr. 'Dor.' 48, 55), and is clearly to be recognized in Homer. (Knös 138). — Pott i. 120, ii. 246 (cp. W. i. 619) and Benf. i. 288 took *vī* (No. 593) to be the root. Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 191 denies this, allowing this derivation indeed for *vī-ti-s*, but neither for *oīvo-s* nor for *vīnu-m*, which he prefers to compare with Skt. *vēnā-s* 'dear,' laying stress upon the fact that *vēnā-s* is occasionally an epithet of the Soma-drink, so highly celebrated in the Vedas, and in fact deified. So Pictet i. 254. But Pott 'Personennamen' 584 has rightly returned to the old explanation. It is impossible to separate *vī-nu-m* from *vī-ti-s*, and the words immediately related to *oīvo-s*, which are collected above, prove that the Greek words were by no means exclusively used of the drink, but just as much of the vine. Pott very appropriately compares the Lith. *ap-vy-ný-s* 'hop-tendril,' plur. *ap-vy-ne-i* 'hops.' The Skt. *vēnī-s* 'braid of hair' also belongs here. We cannot see why the fruit of the twining plant should not itself have been called originally twiner. The fact is therefore that the Indo-Germans had indeed a common root for the idea of 'winding,' 'twining,' and hence derived the names of various pliant twining plants, but that it is only among the Graeco-Italians that we find a common name for the grape and its juice. The northern names (Goth. *vein*, neuter, as against the German masc. etc.) are undoubtedly to be regarded with Jac. Grimm 'Gramm.' iii. 466 as borrowed: so also the Keltic (Ebel 'Beitr.' ii. 154): OIr. *fin* 'vinum,' Cymr. *guin* 'vinum,' Ir. *finemain* 'vitis,' *caer finemnach* 'uva' (Z². 53, 127, 265). — Friedr. Müller wishes to derive the Graeco-Ital. word from the Ethiopic *wein*; it is the reverse with Pictet ii. 317. Hehn³ 504 ff. pronounces very decidedly in favour of the origin of the vine and its name from the Semitic. Just as decidedly does A. Müller (Bezenb. 'Beitr.' i. 294) deny the original Semitic character of the Semitic words Aeth. *wein*, Hebr. *jain*.

595. *ō-i-s*, *oī-s* sheep, *oī-εo-s* of a sheep, *oī-α*, *ō-a* sheep-skin. — Skt. *áv-i-s*, *avi-ká-s* sheep, *avi-kā* ewe, *ávj-a-s*, *ávj-úja-s* *oieos*. — Lat. Umbr. *ovi-s*, Lat.

ovī-li-s, *ovī-llu-s*. — Goth. *avi-str* sheep-cote, *av-* 391
ēthi flock of sheep, OHG. *auw-i* ovicula [*ewe*].
 — Lith. *avī-s* sheep, *āvi-na-s* wether, ChSl.
ovī-ca ovis. — Ir. *ói* ovis.

Bopp 'Gl.', Grimm 'Gesch.' 34, Pott W. i. 654, Stokes 'Corm. Gl. Transl.' p. 127. — Müllenhoff 'Gl. zum Quickborn' under *E-lamm* discusses this Low-German word, for which in Westphalia there is *Au-lamm*, a word still in use with the meaning 'she-lamb' [Eng. *ewe*, AS. *eowen*]. The retention of the *a* in the Lat. *avillus*, '*agnus recentis partus*' (Paul. 'Epit.' 14, according to the reading of Loewe 'Prodr.' 349) is noteworthy. To this we may add *aububulcus* 'pastor ovium' (cod. 'bovium') quoted there from glossaries, which is certainly rightly compared with *ἰπποβουκόλοι* and similar words: and *ai-pólo-s*, *ai-γυνό-s*, according to Gust. Meyer's explanation ('Stud.' viii. 120) 'shepherd,' 'sheep-vulture.' Fröhde's attempt (Bezzenb. 'Beitr.' i. 327) to connect *avillu-s* with *ag-nu-s* does not convince me. *a* beside *o* as in *dare* beside *dō-s*. — The Skt. *āvi-s* as an adjective means 'devoted,' 'attached,' and is probably derived from the rt. *av* discussed under No. 586. According to this the sheep was called 'pet,' 'favourite,' from its gentleness, as I conjectured 'Ztschr.' i. 34. So Pictet 'Orig.' i. 357. Schleicher 'Comp.' 371 conjectures that it is derived from rt. *av* 'clothe.' — Perhaps *Οἶτη* is connected with the meaning 'sheep:' 'Sheep-Mountain:' in that case the name would approximate to the Goth. *av-ēthi*.

596. *oi-ωνό-s* large bird. — Skt. *vi-s* (m.) bird, *vājas* (n.) poultry, birds (collective), Zd. *vi* (m.) bird.
 — Lat. *avi-s*.

Benf. i. 21. — We must assume the stem *avi* as Indo-Germanic, from this came Gk. *όφι*, *όϊ*, with an ampliative suffix (cp. *vi-ωνό-s*) *όϊ-ωνό-s* (Alkman Fr. 60, l. 6 Bergk³), *oi-ωνό-s*: in Skt. the initial vowel was lost (cp. *pi* = *api*). — Benfey regards *ai-ε-ρό-s* (*aiβeρός* *áerós* *Περγαίος* Hesych.) as related, comparing it immediately with Skt. *vi-ja-ti-s* 'bird;' and also *ś-a* 'sorbus' (by-forms *śh*, *oñ*, *ośa*). The fruit of the tree, the sorb-apples [Germ. *Vogelbeeren* 'bird-berries'] are also called *ośa* (n.) or *śa*.

597. *φó-ν* (*ώτο-ν*) egg. — Lat. *ovu-m*. — OHG. *ei* (plur. *eig-ir*).

Pott i¹. 122, Benf. i. 22. — From the form recorded by Hesych. *ωβευ* *τὰ φά* 'Αργείοι, and from the trisyllabic *ώτο-ν* used by Sappho [Fr. 112 Bergk] we may (in spite of Lobeck 'El.' i. 442) argue with certainty to an older Graeco-Italic *ovjo-m*, of which the Roman

suppressed the *j*. the Greek the *f*. But both of these with the ancient *a* have been remarkably preserved in the modern Greek form *ἀγρός*, i. e. *argros*, as I have shown 'Ztschr.' vi. 231. (The *a* of the Modern Greek *ἀγρός* = *φῶ-ν* is evidently not very old, but has come from the *o* of *οἶν* in accordance with a change common in Modern Greek. The Trapezuntine form *ὀργόν* (according to the ordinary spelling *οἶργόν*) proves this. So Deffner writes to me.) In the OHG. *g* too a trace of the *v* is still remaining, though it has changed its place. Leskien calls my attention to ChSl. *aje, jaje* 'ovum' (Miklos. 'Lex.' 1148): the first *j* of the second form is that which so frequently occurs, which strictly speaking has originated in the spir. lenis: *jaje* is therefore a parallel to *φῶ-ν*. — Hence Bensley's acute conjecture is extremely probable, that the primary form *ārja-m*, which we must assume, is a neuter adjective from the stem *ari* 'bird,' which under No. 596 we saw to be Indo-Germanic, with the meaning *ὀπριθεῖον*. — Stokes 'Corm. Gl. Transl.' p. 128 separates the Keltic words OIr. *og*, Corn. *uy* (plur. *uyen*) 'egg' (Z². 285, 1014) from the Gk. *φῶν* and Lat. *ovum* on the ground of the *g* in Irish.

Spiritus asper.

392 A Greek spiritus asper is in the following words the representative of an Indo-Germanic initial *s* followed by a vowel, which *s* is retained in the other languages, with the exception of the Persian and the British family.

598. Prefix *ś-*, *ś-*, *ś-* with. — Skt. *sa-* *sam* with. — ChSl. *sq-*, *su-*, *śŭ-*, OPr. *sen*, Lith. *sq-*, *sa-*, *su-* with.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott i¹. 129, Schleicher 'Ksl.' 136, 'Lit. Gr.' p. 280. — The aspirated form has been preserved only in *ἀ-θρόο-ς* (Herodian on M 391) and *ἀ-πᾶ-ς*, but the so-called *ā* copulative is found very commonly with the spir. lenis, e. g. in *ἀ-λοχο-ς* (No. 173), *ἀ-δελφ-εῷ-ς* = Skt. *śā-garbha-ja-s*, i. e. *co-uterinus* (Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 129), *ἀ-πεδο-ς* = *ισό-πεδο-ς* 'plain,' more rarely as *ś*, as in *ᾠ-παρ-ο-ς*, *ᾠ-ζυξ*. Cp. Lobeck 'El.' i. 41, 86, Clemm 'Stud.' viii. 90 ff. This prefix has no direct connexion with *σύν*, *ξύν*, nor with Latin *cum-*, *con-*, *co-* or the German *ga-*, *ge-*, but *ā-ma* (No. 449), and perhaps No. 599 may be regarded as akin.

599. *á* in *ᾄ-παξ* once, *ᾄ-πλόο-ς* single, *έ* in *έ-κατό-ν* (No. 18). — Skt. *sa-kṛt* once, *sa-hásra* one thousand, Zend *ha-keret* once. — Lat. *sim-plex*, *sin-guli*, *sin-cin-ia* ('cantatio solitaria' Paul. Epit. p. 337).

Pott i¹. 129, 'Zählmethode' 150, 156, Benf. i. 381, Corssen i². 376. — The numerals here grouped together point with certainty to a stem *sam*, *sa* with the meaning 'one,' and probably akin to Nos. 598 and 449. Of these *ᾄ-παξ* is formed by composition with rt. *παγ* (No. 343). *sa-kṛt* with rt. *kart* 'cut,' *sim-plex* for *sem-plex* with rt. *plic plicare*: *singuli* is however a diminutive formation for *sen-culi* (cp. *homun-culu-s*) with *g* for *c* as in *quadrin-genti*; with this J. Grimm 'Gramm.' iii. 697 well compares the OLat. *nin-gulu-s* = *nullus* (Fest. 177 M.), which we must probably trace back to *ne-oini-culu-s* with Vahlen 'Ztschr. f. d. österr. Gymn.' 1860 p. 15. *sem-per* reminds of *parum-per*, *paullis-per*. It is harder to explain *sem-el*; cp. No. 449. With the stem *sam* = Gk. *á* Pott and after him Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' v. 161, viii. 129, Ahrens ib. 343, connect also the Gk. st. *έν*, which would then be for *έμ*. In favour of this view the fem. *μ-ία* may be especially quoted: this would then be explained from *έμ-ια* or *sm-ia*, and similarly the Cretan numeral adverb *ᾄμ-akis* (cp. *έξákis*), the Tarentine *ᾄμ-atis* = *ᾄ-παξ* (Hesych.). Still *έεις* or *έεις*, which is well supported at one place in Hesiod ('Th.' 145), causes difficulty (cp. Rzach 'Dial. des Hesiod' p. 422). The forms *ία*, *ίφ* with *οίο-ς* must in any case be completely separated from the stem *sam*. Cp. No. 445.

600. Stem *άμο* (*άμο*) *άμό-θεν* from somewhere or other, 393
άμῶς, *άμηγέπη* somehow or other. — Goth. *sum-s*
some one or other, *sum-an* (adv.) some time, once.

Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *sama*, with which as well as with Gk. *άμα-*, *άμο-* he identifies this stem: this is easily done by means of the notion of 'one.' Thus a kinship with No. 599 is also established. Still the above-mentioned use of this stem as an indefinite, common, as it appears, only to these two languages, deserves especial notice. — For the Greek forms belonging here among which those compounded with negatives (*οὐδ-αμῶς*, *μηδ-αμῶς*) are the most usual, cp. Kühner, 'A. Gr.' i. 471.

600 b. *αὔ-ω*, *άφ-αύω* dry, parch, *αὔο-ς*, *αὔαλέο-ς*, *αὔσ-τηρό-ς* dry, rough, *αὔ-χ-μό-ς* drought. — Skt. *śush* (*śísh-jū-mi*) dry, wither, *śísh-ka-s* dry, Zd. *hush* dry. — AS. *seár* dry, OHG. *sôren* dried up. — Lith. *saus-a-s*, ChSl. *such-ŭ* dry.

Fick P. 802, Bugge 'Ztschr.' xi. 33. — I formerly added the Greek words to No. 610. But the spir. asp. is established for αῖω ξηπαῖω by Herodian (ed. Lentz i. 546). The original initial *s* has been preserved in σω-αῖ-ω ξηπαῖω Σαρακώσιος (Hes.). The *ξ* of the Sanskrit root has arisen from *s*, as the Zend word shows; hence *sus* is the Indo-Germ. root. With Pauli 'Ztschr.' xviii. 17 I omit *siccū-s*. A by-form of αῖω is αῖω for αῖ(f)-jω, with αῖ(f), ἀζαλῆος ('Greek Verb' p. 226): cp. ἀμπαίζοντα ἀμπαλίζοντα Hesych. ('Greek Verb' p. 224). I leave αῖω 'singe' under No. 610.

601. Pronominal stem *é* (οἷ, οἷ, εἰ) σφε him (her)-self, themselves, ἐό-ς, εἰ-ς, σφό-ς own, his (her, their) own, ἰ-δίο-ς own. — Skt. *sva-* (OPers. *huva*) self, *sva-s* own, *sva-jám* self; Zd. *hva*, *qa* suus. — Lat. *sē*, *suu-s* (OLat. *souo-s*). — Goth. *si-k* self, *své-s* ἰδῖος. — ChSl. *se* (acc.), Lith. *savę* self, ChSl. *se-bě* sibi, *svo-* (in composition) own, *svo-j*, Lith. *savà-s-is* suus.

Bopp 'Vgl. Gr.' ii. 126, Windisch 'Stud.' ii. 329 ff. — Cp. No. 305. — The use of the pronoun is originally generally reflexive, by no means confined to the third person, and has been retained as such to the present time in the Letto-Slavonic languages, and also in many traces in the Teutonic languages. Cp. Miklosich 'On the reflexive use of the pronoun οἷ,' 'Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Academie' i. p. 76, Jac. Grimm 'D. Gr.' iv. 319, and more thoroughly, with a special reference to the Homeric usage, Brugman 'Ein Problem der homer. Textkritik' Leipz. 1876. — The oldest form of the stem was probably *sava*, in Greek represented by *é* (for *σφε*) and *ío* (for *σφο*), whence Hom. *έό-ς* suus. Thence arose by syncope *sva* Gk. **σφε*, and with loss of the *σ* *φε*, *εἰ*: and on the other hand with the loss of the *v* Lat. *sē*, Goth. *si-k*. For the numerous traces of the *f* see Ahrens 'Aeol.' 31, 170, f., 'Dor.' 42, 250, Knös 206 ff. *fi-δίο-ς* (Tabb. Heracl.) is for *σφε-δίο-ς* (cp. *αἰ-δίο-ς*, *μοιρ-ίδιο-ς*) with a weakening of *ε* into *i* as in 394 ἰσ-θι 'be.' Froehde 'Ztschr.' xii. 160 adds *ἑται* 'relatives' (Elic nom. sing. *féta-s*). *fé-τη-ς*: *φε* = *οἰκέ-τη-ς*: *οἰκο*. Cp. p. 686. — Oscan *svai* = Lat. *sī* (Corssen i². 778) certainly belongs here, and very probably Gk. *ai*, *ei*; hence Homer. *ἐπεί* with a long first syllable, to be explained from *ἐπ-φε*, and, as Hugo Weber ('Die Partikel *καὶ*' p. 102) acutely conjectures, Hesych. *βαίκαν...κρήτες*, i. e. *εἰ κεν*. Cp. Gerland 'Griech. Dat.' p. 15. — The by-form of **σφε*, *σφε* (*σφέις*, *σφέ-τερο-ς*) is derived by Fick i². 795 from the primitive form *sa-bha*, comparing the Pruss. *subba*, Goth. *si-l-ba* 'self.' I still hold, on the

strength of the complete identity of usage with $\sigma f\epsilon$, to the assumption of a unique hardening of σf to $\sigma\phi$, to be discussed on p. 442. From $\sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\nu$ comes Laconian $\phi\acute{\iota}\nu$, so Homer. $\phi\acute{\eta}$ ('as') from $\sigma\phi\eta$. Cp. 'Ztschr.' iii. 75, 394. — Perhaps this stem occurs in OIr. *feib* 'as,' *fadesin* 'self' (3 pers.), *fanisin* 'self' (1 plur.), *fesin* 'self' (3 pers.), Z². 366.

602. *ι-μά-ς* (st. *ι-μαντ*) thong, *ι-μον-ιά* well-rope, *ιμάσσ-ω* flog, *ιμάσ-θη* whip.

Skt. rt. *si* (*si-nó-mi*, *si-ná-mi*) bind, *sī-mán*, *sī-mánta-s* top of the head, limit; Zd. *hi-ta* bound, bridled.

OS. *si-mo* vinculum, OHG. *sei-l*, *sei-d* laqueus, tendicula, MHG. *si-l* harness for draught-cattle.

ChSl. *si-lo* laqueus, *se-ti* tendicula, *si-tije* juncus.

Pott W. i. 630, Bopp 'Gl.' Kuhn 'Ztschr.' i. 374, ii. 131, 457. — Much quoted there I place under rt. $\sigma\epsilon\rho$ No. 518. For the form *ιμάσσ-ω* = *ιμαν-τ-ω* Ebel 'Ztschr.' i. 298. The forms *ι-μαν*, *ι-μαντ*, and *ι-ματ* seem to me to be formed from the rt. *ι* = *si*, and the *τ* I regard as an expanding suffix ('Ztschr.' iv. 214). Cp. Lat. *semen-ti-s*. From *ιμάσ-θη*, i. e. *ιμαν-θη* (cp. *ἐχ-έ-τη* and *θέ-με-θο-ν*), came by aphaeresis *μάσθη*. It was natural also, with Lobeck 'El.' i. 76 to explain *μάστιξ* (Hom. dat. *μάστι*, acc. *μάστι-ν*) from a form **ιμαστ-ι-ξ*. But I now prefer to connect the word, along with *μαστιζω*, with the rt. *μα* (p. 312), *μαίεσθαι* 'feel,' 'touch,' a conjecture made already, as Vaníček reminds me, by Gust. Meyer 'Stud.' v. 111.

603. Pronominal stem *ó*, fem. *á*, *ή*. — Skt. *sa*, *sa-s* he, *sā* she. — OLat. acc. *su-m*, *sa-m*. — Goth. *sa* the (m.), *só* the (f.), *si* she. — OIr. acc. plur. *-so*, *-su* in *impu* (for **imb-su*) circum eos, *etarro* (for **etar-so*) inter eos.

Bopp 'Vgl. Gr.' ii. 134, Max Schmidt 'De pronomine Graeco et Latino' p. 10 sq. — The common-Greek forms $\sigma\text{-}\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\rho\text{-}\nu$, $\sigma\text{-}\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ 'to-day,' 'this year' (Att. $\tau\text{-}\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\rho\text{-}\nu$, $\tau\text{-}\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$) are compounded with this stem. The OLat. forms *su-m*, *sa-m*, *so-s*, *sa-s* occur in Ennius (Vahlen p. 229), the compound *sa-psa* = *i-psa* in Pacuvius (Ribb. 'Trag.' v. 324). The locative of this stem appears with the appended demonstrative *c* in *sī-ce*, shortened *sī-c* (*sei-c*), without this in the much discussed *si remps lex esto*, where *sī* is pretty certainly 'so' (Ritschl. 'Rhein. Mus.' viii. 303) [cp. Corssen i². 777, ii². 847, Wordsworth 'Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin' p. 108]. The ablative has been pointed out by Loewe 'Prodr.' 350 from glossaries in *sū-c* 'ita.' —

Among the pronominal elements of Irish, often hard to determine, of which many contain *s*, the following among others probably belong to 295 the old stem *sa*: the demonstrative adverb *so*, *don buith so* 'huic mundo,' the former part of *su-de*, *suide* 'hic,' *so-dain* 'hoc,' OGall. *so-sin celicnon* 'hanc turrem' (Z². 346); the nom. and acc. sing. neut. of the article (*s*)*an*-, and the unchanging relative pronoun of the same form; in both cases the *s* is retained only after certain prepositions: *trissa n-dede sin* 'per hoc utrumque,' *tresā m-bi* 'per quam est' (Z². 214, 341).

604. Root *ṡ* *ṡ-ε* it rains, *ṡ-ε-τḡ-s* rain. — Skt. *su* (*su-nō-mi*) press out juice, *sū-mā-m* milk, water, sky.

Benf. i. 408, Pictet i. 138, Pott W. i. 1341, Aufr. and Kirchh. ii. 268. — This etymology, which Bopp 'Gl.' gives only doubtfully, has indeed this fact against it, that the Skt. rt. *su* (Zend *hu*), as a simple verb, occurs only of the pressing of the plant, which serves for the preparation of the Soma-drink that gets its name from this. Cp. No. 556, where *σειω*, *σάλο-s* are discussed. But in composition with *abhī* it means, according to the 'Pet. Dict.' also 'besprinkle,' and the substantives quoted in the text make it probable that this use was of old date: perhaps we may add to them also Goth. *saiv-s*, *mari-saiv-s* λίμνη. These various meanings may be well explained from the fundamental idea of a shaking motion. Perhaps it is even not too bold to assume an original kinship of this root with the following (Pott 'Ztschr.' vi. 365). Cp. No. 497. — We may with some probability place here also *ṡαλο-s*, *ṡελο-s* 'crystal,' 'amber,' 'glass,' *ιαλόειρ διαφανής* (Hesych.): cp. Sonne 'Ztschr.' xii. 359. The substantive probably meant properly 'rain-drop.'

605. *v-ló-s* son. — Skt. rt. *su*, *sū* (*sāv-ā-mi*, *sāu-mi*) beget, bear, *su-ta-s*, *sū-nu-s*, Zd. *hunu* filius. — Goth. *su-nu-s*. — ChSl. *sy-nŭ*, Lith. *su-nù-s* son. — OIr. *suth* fetus (Z². 239).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. i. 1314. — The stem of the Greek word varies between *vi* (nom. plur. *vi-εs*), *vi-o* and *vi-v* (dat. *vi-ŭi*). The last stem is placed beyond question by the forms *HYIHYS* (old Laconian with a surprising interaspiration), *HYIYS*, *HYYS* (once monosyllabic) established from inscriptions by Neubauer 'Hermes' x. 153 ff. Add now from the Philippeion in Olympia the acc. *viŭv*. For *viŭs* we often find also *iŭs* written, Baunack 'Stud.' x. 89, Lob. 'El.' i. 137. No one has succeeded as yet in tracing the different stems to one single form. The suffix *-iv* reminds us of the Skt. *ju*, e. g. *bhuŭj-jū-s* 'flexible' (Lindner 'Altind. Nomin.' p. 99); cp. *πῶ-ῡ* beside *pā-jū-s* (No. 372).

Pott derives also the poet. *ī-m-s* 'son,' as a fem. 'daughter,' from this root, comparing it with the ON. *svéinn* 'puer,' 'juvenis:' it would in that case be for **sv-īn-i-s*. — The derivation of the word from *veiv*, which is mentioned above at No. 604, may be found in Eustath. p. 1384, 59 in the midst of many absurdities. It is supported by the fact that the rt. *hu* (*hundmi*) has according to Justi these very two meanings 'beget,' 'bear,' and 'press out.' — Cp. No. 579. [On the question whether the suffix has an active or a passive sense cp. 'Owens College Essays' ix. p. 309, and Fick 'Spracheinheit' p. 267].

The Spiritus asper

396

appears in the following words as the representative of an original *j*, preserved in the other languages, with the exception of Irish, or replaced by the cognate vowel *i* (*e*).

606. Pronominal stem *ó*, nom. *ó-s*, fem. *á*, *í* who, *ós* as. "

Skt. *ja-s* n. *ja-t* who, which, *jā-t* as. — Zd. *ya* who.

Goth. *ja-bai* if, *jau* whether.

Lith. *jñ-s* he, *jñ* she, *jñ* the (more), ChSl. *i* he, *ja* she, *je* it.

Bopp 'Vgl. Gr.' ii. 162, Schleicher 'Ksl.' 262 f., 'Lit. Gr.' 196, Wināisch 'Stud.' ii. 203 ff. — On the Locrian inscription edited by Ross (L. 1854) l. 6 occurs the form *φó-τι* as the neuter of the pronoun. If this *φ* is to be regarded as the sign of an original *v*, it would tell against the grouping of the Greek relative pronoun with the Skt. *ja-s*. But this inscription, which, according to Kirchhoff's 'Studies in the History of the Greek Alphabet' p. 136 'cannot be ascribed to a date much before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war,' shows in many respects a certain laxity of spelling. For instance, the *φ* is indeed written in *μεταφουκέοι*, *φιδιοξένω*, *φασσρός*, but it is omitted A l. 8 in *οί*, where we have actually the spir. lenis. This appears also in *δ* = *δ* B l. 1, 5, while *ΗΑΓΕΝ* is written for *ἀγαιν*. No wonder that this writer also introduced his *φ* once in the wrong place. Now as *φ* is written also in some other instances incorrectly, and in one place, where we may argue the existence of an old *j* (*Τλασίαφο* — Corcyr. inscript. Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' i. 118), we ought not to be misled by this, as I have tried to show in Jahn's 'Jahrb.' Vol. 71 p. 354. Pott ii. 366 and Sonne 'Ztschr.' xii. 273 agree in this opinion. Cp. Allen 'Stud.' iii. 252. The former, who usually follows

Thiersch in questions relating to the digamma, quotes $\delta\sigma\sigma\sigma$ as also digammated. This is due to an error. On the tables of Heraclea we find $\text{FO}\Sigma\Xi\text{A}$ and the like. F is here always the sign of the rough breathing (Ahr. 'Dor.' 35). Now inasmuch as these tables have in many cases faithfully preserved a very ancient $\text{F}(\text{C})$, but here do not insert it, their testimony goes against, not for the view, that this letter once preceded the relative stem. The form $\beta\alpha\lambda\iota\kappa\iota\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta\beta\omicron\varsigma$ $\text{K}\rho\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (Hesych.) adduced by Savelsberg 'Ztschr.' viii. 402 to prove a f in the relative stem, has nothing in the world to do with this: on the contrary it may easily belong to the st. $\sigma\text{f}\epsilon$ (No. 601), so that it means 'suae aetatis adolescens' (cp. $\tau\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\sigma$, $\pi\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\sigma$). Thus the Locrian inscription remains the only evidence for it. But who will prefer to build on such weak foundations new combinations, especially in the case of a stem so widely used, if others are better recommended in every respect from the point of view of language? — I regard the stem $j\alpha$ as an expansion of the i , which occurs most plainly in the Lat. i -s, i -d, OLat. i -m, and in the appended \bar{i} of 397 $\omicron\iota\tau\omicron\sigma\text{-}\bar{i}$, $\acute{\omicron}\delta\text{-}\bar{i}$. We can see clearly in the demonstrative use of $\delta\text{-}\varsigma$ ($\kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta$) how the relative developed by degrees from the demonstrative as used in anaphora. In ChSl. i (originating in $j\ddot{u}$) used by itself has the meaning of the Lat. is , in composition with the particle $\acute{\epsilon}$, which corresponds to Gk. $\gamma\epsilon$ ($i\text{-}\acute{\epsilon} = \delta\sigma\text{-}\gamma\epsilon$) it has that of Gk. $\delta\text{-}\varsigma$, Skt. $j\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$. — Skt. $j\hat{a}t = \acute{\omega}\varsigma$ is discussed by Kuhn in Hoefler's 'Ztschr.' ii. 175. We shall return to it on p. 602. — The Skt. $j\bar{a}\text{-}\text{vat}$ 'quamdiu' corresponds to the Gk. $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, the older form of which, — the form which we are to assume for Homer — was $\eta\omega\varsigma$, for $\eta\text{-}\text{fos}$, $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\text{fos}$, hence Dor. $\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$. I have shown in the 'Rhein. Mus.' 1845 p. 242 ff. that it is from this that we must explain the Homeric use of this particle as a trochee, and its later change into an iambus, and that the form $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ has absolutely no authority. Cp. p. 577. ['Stud.' ii. 193 ff.]

607. Pronominal stem $\delta\mu\epsilon$, Aeol. $\delta\mu\mu\epsilon$, $\delta\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, Aeol. $\delta\mu\mu\epsilon\varsigma$.

— Skt. $jushm\bar{e}$. — Goth. Lith. $j\ddot{u}\text{-}\varsigma$ you.

Bopp 'Vgl. Gr.' ii. 110, Schleicher 'Comp.'³ 634, Max Schmidt 'De pron. Gr. et Lat.' p. 8. — The base-form is $j\ddot{u}$, expanded by sma , $j\ddot{u}\text{-}sma$, for which Skt. $jushma$.

608. Stem $\delta\sigma\mu\bar{\iota}\nu$ (dat. $\delta\sigma\mu\bar{\iota}\nu\text{-}\iota$), $\delta\sigma\mu\bar{\iota}\nu\eta$ battle. — Skt. $j\ddot{u}dh$ ($j\ddot{u}dh\text{-}j\bar{a}\text{-}m\bar{i}$) to fight, $j\ddot{u}dh$ (m.) fighter, (f.) fight, battle, $j\ddot{u}dh\text{-}m\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\varsigma$ fighter, fit for fight; Zd. yud fight.

Bopp 'Gl.' where Keltic words are also compared, as in Pictet ii. 190, and the OHG. $gund$ 'battle' is conjecturally added. The latter

assumption is repeated by Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' vii. 17, Pott i¹. 252, Benf. i. 680. The last is probably right in referring *ju-dh* to *ju* 'bind,' in the sense '*manus conserere*.' Cp. above p. 62. It is worth while noticing that Skt. rt. *ju* also means 'defend' and *abhi-ju-g* (No. 144) 'fight.' — From the Keltic languages certainly the *iud-* ('fight') of many proper names belong here. OCymr. *Iud-nerth* (*nerth* 'valor'), OCorn. *Iud-prost* (Cymr. *prwst* 'bustle'), Arem. *Iud-car* (*car* 'amicus'), cp. Z². 126, Stokes 'Rev. Celt.' i. 332 ff.

A simple vowel

appears as the representative of the Indo-Germanic vowel corresponding to it, i.e. *ǣ*, *ε*, *o* as the representatives of an *ǣ*; *ā*, *η*, *ω* as the representatives of an *ā*; *ι* and *υ* as the representatives of *i* and *u*, in the following words, which are retained in the kindred languages, sometimes in a fuller form.

608 b. Root *ǣ* (for *ca*), Homer. *ἄ-μεναι* aor. *ἄσαι* sate, *ἄτος* insatiable, *ἄ-δην* (*ἄδην*, *ἄδδην*) to satiety, enough.

Lat. *sa-tur*, *sa-tis*, *sa-tiēs*, *sa-ti-ā(t)-s*, *sa-tiē-tā(t)-s*, 398 *sa-tiā-re*.

Goth. *sō-th* (or *sō-th-s*) satiety, *ga-sō-th-jan* satiate, *sath-s*, OHG. *satt* satisfied.

Lit. *só-ta-s* satisfied, *so-ti-s* satiety, ChSl. *sy-tŭ* satisfied, *sy-tŭ* satiety.

OIr. *sáith* satias, *sathech* satur.

Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' xxii. 467, Fick (but without the Greek and Keltic words) i¹. 792. — The rough breathing as the representative of *s* has been preserved only in the reading of Aristarchus *ἄ-δην* (E 203) and in the Homer. conj. *ἔωμεν* or *ἰώμεν* ('Greek Verb' p. 320), but *σ* must be necessarily presupposed, as L. Meyer saw, for *ἄ-ρο-s*, i.e. *ἄ-σα-ρο-s* (not *ἀν-άρο-s*). For *ἄδην* see below p. 649. — The *ǣ* in *ἄ-μεναι*, is explained by the contraction (for *ἀτ-μεναι*).

609. *ἔαρ*, *ἐῖαρ* blood. — Skt. *as-ra-m*, *as-an*, *ás-ṛj* blood.

— OLat. *assir* blood, *assar-ā-tum* mixed with blood.

Suidas s. v. *ἔαρ* cites for the meaning 'blood' an anonymous poet; cp. *ἔαρ* αἷμα Κύπριοι, εἰλαπόνης αἰμπούνης Hesych. The Alexandrian

writers use the word also of the juice of plants. Paul. 'Epit.' p. 16: 'assaratum apud antiquos dicebatur genus quoddam potionis ex vino et sanguine temperatum, quod Latini prisci sanguinem assir vocarent,' *assir* αἷμα Löewe 'Prodrom.' 142, Pott ii¹. 113, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 136. — The form *asar*, which we must assume as Graeco-Italic, is most nearly approached by Skt. *asra-m*; the relation of the other Skt. forms is as yet undetermined, and so is the root. Greek *ἔσῃ* is regular for *ἐσῃ*: the history of Latin orthography shows that no importance is to be ascribed to the double *s* of the Latin word. Savelsberg's attempt ('Ztschr.' vii. 385) to derive the meaning 'blood' from that of 'spring,' and hence to identify the present *ἔσῃ* with that discussed under No. 589, is quite unsuccessful. The verse quoted by Suid. "ἦχι κορίστραι ἄξεινοι λύτρω τε καὶ εἶαρι πεπλήθασι," and the reading *ἐλαροπῶτις* Ἐρινός mentioned by the BV. Scholia on T 87 (cp. M. Schmidt 'Ztschr.' ix. 294) are sufficient to show that we have not to do here with any poetical metaphor. Such a one does, however, occur in *ἐλαρ* ἐλαίας in Nicander Alexiph. 87; cp. 'blood of the grape.' — Fick i³. 503 adds Lett. *assin-s* 'blood.'

610. *εὔ-ω*, *εὔ-ω* singe, *αὔ-ω* kindle, *Εὔ-ρο-ς* South-east wind (?).

Skt. rt. *ush* (*ōsh-ā-mi* for *aus-ā-mi*) burn, *ush-ṇá-s* hot, warm; Zd. *ush* burn, shine.

Lat. rt. *us ūr-o* (*us-si*, *us-tu-s*), *us-tor*, *us-tio*, *ustulare*, *Auster* (?).

OHG. *usil-var* gilvus, MHG. *üs-el* favilla.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 322, Benf. i. 26, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 273, Aufrecht ib. v. 135. — The rt. *us* has in these words retained the meaning 'burn,' while Nos. 612, 613 belong to the kindred meaning 'shine.' *εὔ-ω* : *us* = *γεύ-ω* : *gus* (No. 131). From *εὔω* and *εὔω* (fut. *εὔσ-ω*), — on the breathing cp. Steph. 'Thes.' (latest edition) — come *εὔσ-τραι* (οἱ βόθροι ἐν οἷς εὔεται τὰ χοιρίδια) and *εὔσ-αυα* (τὰ ἐγκαύματα) with the *σ* retained, Pollux vi. 91. — *αὔ-ω*, with the meaning 'kindle,' ε 490. The compound *ἐν-αύ-ω* with *ἐναν-σις*, *ἐνανσ-μα* ('glowing embers,' 399 'kindling' [τῶν ἀπετῶν, etc.]) has longer retained the original notion. By the side of the rt. *ush* we find in Skt. remains of a fuller rt. *vas* (Zd. *vañh* 'shine'), from which *ush* has come by abbreviation, especially *vās-ará-s* 'day.' This rt. *vas* = *us* occurs in Gk. *ἐσ-ρία*, Lat. *Ves-ta*. Cp. Corssen i³. 580 (otherwise Roth 'Ztschr.' xix. 218). For the traces of the *f* cp. Ahrens 'Dor.' 55. This explanation of these words I now prefer to my former one, according to which I placed them under No. 206. — Other words formerly placed here are now under No. 600 b.

611. ἡ-μί say (3 sing. Dor. ἡ-τί, Aeol. ἡ-σί, impf. 1 sing. ἡ-ν, 3 sing. ἡ), ἡχ-α-ε-ν εἶπεν Hes. — Skt. perf. 3 sing. āh-a he spoke, speaks. — Lat. ā-j-o, ad-ag-iu-m, ad-ag-io(n), Umbr. ai-tu dicito.

Bopp 'Gl.' s. v. *ah*, Pott W. iii. 725, Benf. ii. 64, 'Stud.' iv. 208.— The 1 sing. pres. occurs in Aristoph., the 3 sing. in Aleman and Sappho (Fr. 98 B.), the past tense is Homeric and Attic. The notion that ἡ was nothing but φῆ remained so entirely the prevailing one in the common grammatical tradition, in spite of its utter groundlessness, that Döderlein 'Gl.' 2199 advances the difference of the two stems as something quite new, though comparative grammar had long recognized it. The root is *agh* (cp. Armen. *asel* [for *azel*] 'say,' Hübschmann 'Ztschr.' xxiii. 25), Gk. ἀχ, Lat. *ag*. It is defective in all three languages. [In Skt. it occurs only in the perfect.] Of the final χ the only trace left is in ἡχάεν ('Gr. Verb' p. 181). The Gk. ἡ-μί is to be regarded as a present without thematic vowel, the χ being dropped before the personal terminations, as in σπλήν (No. 390); Lat. ā-j-o is for *ag-i-o*, the 2 sing. of which *ag-is* (= *ais*) perhaps still occurs in glossaries (Loewe 'Prodrom.' 366), like *mē-j-o* for *meig-i-o*, *mā-j-or* for *māg-i-or* (Ebel 'Ztschr.' iv. 288, Fleckeisen 'Zur Kritik der altlat. Dichterfragmente' p. 6); to the same formation belongs Umbr. *ai-tu* = *ajeto* (Aufr. und Kirchh. i. 142). Corssen i². 90 very properly places here *ad-ag-iu-m* (cp. *παρ-οιμία* from *οἶμη* 'song' No. 615), 'what is spoken with reference to a thing,' 'saw' (*Zuwort*); the kindred word *adagio* is discussed by Varro 'L. L.' vii. 31 M.; *nēg-a-re* is certainly for *ne-ig-ā-re* and comes from a noun *ne-ig-u-s*, in spite of the unexpected shortness of the stem-syllable. This word, as well as the frequentative *axare* (Paul. 'Epit.' 3 'nominare') formed from *ag*, the derivative *axamenta* ('carmina Salaria'), and *ind-ig-ita-menta* [Preller 'Römische Myth.'² p. 81] is discussed with convincing acuteness by Corssen 'De Volsorum lingua' Nurnb. 1858 p. 19 sq.

612. ἡέλιος-s, Att. ἥλιος-s sun, ἀπ-ηλιώ-τη-s East wind. — Lat. *Ausēliu-s*.

I have given reasons for this grouping in 'Ztschr.' i. 29 ff. It rests upon the form preserved by Hesych. ἀβέλιος ἥλιος Κρήτες (Ahrens 'Dor.' 48), from which we may explain both Homer. ἡέλιος-s and Att. ἥλιος-s. It is noteworthy that the latter form occurs in Homer only once, θ 271. But as a Lesb. αῶς has been preserved as well as the Lacon. ἀβώρ, i. e. ἀφώς, we may assume for ἀφέλιος a by-form αὐέλιος. This is to *Ausēlius* as αῶς to Lat. **ausos*, from which came *aurōra*. Paul. 'Epit.' 23 'Aureliam familiam ex Sabinis oriundam a Sole dic-

tam putant, quod ei publice a populo Romano datus sit locus, in quo sacra facerent Soli qui ex hoc Auseli dicebantur.' The root is *us* 'burn,' 'shine' (No. 610) and the Etruscan name of the Sun-god
 400 *Usil* is probably akin (Gerhard 'Ztschr. f. Alterthsw.' 1847 No. 85). Cp. Schweizer 'Ztschr.' iii. 369, Ebel v. 67. Pictet, however, 'Ztschr.' iv. 351, 'Orig.' ii. 670 again tries to connect these words with *Σείριος*, Lat. *sōl*, Goth. *sawil*, which we shall have to discuss on p. 551 (No. 663). Others (Benfey 'Or. u. Occ.' i. 284, Corssen 'Beitr.' 386, i². 349, Pott W. ii. 1, 733, Fick i³. 801) assume an intermediate form *Σαφέλιος*, from which they try to arrive at *ἡέλιος* and *sōl*, though they differ again widely in the manner in which they do so. I cannot see why there should be so much opposition to the assumption that the chief name of the sun was different with the Greeks and with the Romans. In the Nighantu thirty-one Indian names of the sun are recounted. We see just the same with the names of the moon; *μήνη* = *mena* (No. 471) became obsolete in both languages and was replaced in the one case by *σελήνη*, in the other by *lūna*. Now we have in Greek two names for the sun handed down to us. The one, *Σείριος* (No. 663), may very easily be connected with *sōl*, the other, in its oldest form *ἡέλιος*, still more easily with the similarly authenticated *Ausēlius*. Why not admit that of these two the former became the prevailing one in Latin, and also in the Northern languages, the latter in Greek? — Above all we must not once more conjure up the pretended Pamphylian *βαβέλιος*, as Benfey and M. Schmidt did. This phantom has been recognized as such by Ahrens 'Dor.' 49 note. As Hesychius gives us *ἀβελίην ἡλιακὴν Παμφύλιοι*, which is confirmed by the alphabetic arrangement, the statement of Heraclides ap. Eustath. p. 1654, 20, that these same Pamphylians said *βαβέλιος* cannot be correct.

613. *ἡώς*, Aeol. *αὔως*, Att. *έως* dawn, *έωςφόρος* dawn-bringing, *αὔριο-ν* tomorrow, *ἦ-ρι* (adv.), *ἡέρι-ος* (adj.) early.

Skt. *ush* (f.) morning, *ush-ás* shining, *ush-ás* (f.) dawn, morning, *ush-ā* (adv.) early, *us-rá-s* (adj.) morning, *us-ríjā* brightness, light; Zd. *usha*, *ushanh* dawn.

Lat. *aur-ōra* for *aus-ōsa*.

OHG. *ós-tan*, ON. *aus-tr* oriens, OHG. *ós-tar* (adv.) in the east.

Lith. *ausz-rà* dawn, *ausz-ta* day breaks, ChSl. *u-tro* morning.

Bopp 'Gl.' Pott W. ii. 2, 333, Benf. i. 27, Kuhn 'Ztschr.' iii. 450, El'el v. 67, Savelsberg vii. 382 f., Fick i². 512. — The Greek forms, to which ἀβώ· πρωὶ Δάκωνες (Hesych.) also belongs, are discussed by Ahrens 'Aeol.' 38, 'Dor.' 49. But his view of the origin of the word ('Ztschr.' iii. 163) is altogether erroneous. The root is *us* 'burn,' 'shine,' from which comes also No. 612, as the Skt. shows to demonstration. The Indians and Persians form the words belonging here from the unstrengthened rt. *us*, the European nations from the form *aus*, strengthened by the addition of sound. We may therefore assume *ausos* as Graeco-Italic; from this all Greek forms may be explained by the loss of *s*, the Latin by its rhotacizing, and by the addition of a derivative *a* (cp. *decōru-s* beside *decus*). The *ρ* in αὐ-ριο-ν is derivative, as in Skt. *us-rá*, Lith. *ausz-rà*. Fick adds also Εὔρο-ς 'morning-wind,' i. e. East-wind (cp. No. 610). From the Homer. ἥρ-ιο-ς we may assume for ἥ-ρι an older ἥε-ρι, and regard ἥε as an abbreviation of the stem ἥος, like κρε- in κρε-ρό-ς. ἥρι : ἥριο-ς = ἥλιο-ς : ἥελιο-ς = ἥ : ἥε = ἄσα-μεν ('we slept') : ἀέσα-μεν. I say this to 401 remove Fick's objections ('Ztschr.' xxii. 95). Cp. Brugman 'Stud.' ix. 392. There is a fuller discussion in 'Stud.' ii. 175, where I have shown that ἄριστον 'breakfast' belongs here: it has nothing in common with ἄριστο-ς 'the best.' Roth 'Ztschr.' xix. 217 compares ἥριο-ς with the Ved. *vāsarā-s* 'of the morning.' This would be possible for this adjective, but not for the adverb ἥρι, which can hardly be separated from it, for its use in Homer does not admit a *f*. Fick (also i². 27) altogether separates ἥρι, and compares it with the Zd. *ayare* 'day,' Goth. *air* 'early' (with OIr. *an-áir* 'easterly' Z². 611?). The combination Ἦὼς ἡργένηια at any rate offers no ground for this, for the connexion between the proper name and the adjective can hardly have been felt.

614. *i-ερό-ς* vigorous, holy. — Skt. *ish-irá-s* vigorous, fresh, blooming.

Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 274 establishes the use of the Skt. word as an epithet of *mānas* 'sense' (*iepōn ménos*), *dēvá-s* 'god,' *bhū-mi-s* 'earth.' According to the 'Pet. D.' it is also an epithet of various gods, but means originally 'juicy' (*ish* fem. 'juice,' 'strength,' 'freshness,' 'courage'). *ish-irá-s* is for *is-ara-s*, whence by the loss of the sibilant comes the Aeol. form *i-apó-s*, and from this ἰάπων (Giese 'Aeol. D.' 409, Ahr. 26), later *i-ερό-ς* (Ebel 'Ztschr.' v. 67). I have discussed this, and the meaning 'vigorous,' 'active,' which alone suits phrases like *iepōs* ἰχθύς (II 407), *ieph* ἱς in 'Ztschr.' iii. 154 ff. Of course in the time when the Homeric epos was most flourishing 'holy'

must have already become the prevalent meaning, but the older physical meaning was retained in isolated phrases.

615. Root *i* *ei̯-mi* (pl. *i̯-mēn*) go, *i̯-tē-s*, *i̯-ta-mō-s* straightforward, energetic, *oi̯-mo-s* path, way, *oi̯-mē* course, tune, song (*προ-οίμ-ιο-ν*, *παρ-οιμ-ία*), *oi̯-to-s* fate, lot.

Skt. rt. *i* (*ē-mi*, pl. *i-mās*) go, *i-tī-s* a going, *ē-ma-s*, *ē-man* way, road. — Zd. *i* go.

Lat. *e-o* (*i-mus*), *i-ti-o(n)*, *i-tu-s*, *i-ter* (*it-in-er*).

Goth. *i-ddhja* ivi.

Lith. *ei-mì* (2 sing. *ei-sì*, 3 sing. *ei-tì*), *ei-nù* go, *ei-smė* (Lex.) way, path, ChSl. *i-dq̃ ei̯mu* (inf. *i-ti*).

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. i. 396 ff. — As rt. *i* has been expanded in Skt. to *jā*, so Greek *i* has been expanded to *ie*, which occurs in *ie-vai*. From the same *jā* in a causative sense comes *i-η-μ*, i. e. **ji-jā-mi*, and, with the addition of a *c*, Lat. *ja-c-i-o*, as I have tried to show 'Philologus' iii. p. 5 ff., 'Ztschr.' ii. 400 (cp. above p. 62). The doubts of Pott ii. 967 have the less effect, in that he himself brings out the difficulties of his own explanation from rt. *as* 'throw,' which has not the least plausibility, except for the present-stem, Skt. *ās-jā-mi*. The objection that my assumption of a causative meaning for reduplication is 'purely imaginative,' is shown to be groundless by a reference to *i-στη-μ* and *si-st-o* as compared with *stare* and *στήναι*, *βιβάζω* beside *βῆναι*, *λέλαθον* and *ἐλαθον*, *ἤραρον*, *ᾤρορον*, *δέδαον*, *κέκαδον*, *λέλαχον*. The interchange between intransitive and causal meaning is a very common one. Other points, which Pott describes as 'left out of consideration,' have been all well weighed in the places referred to. The view
402 of Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' viii. 249 (developed and adorned with the usual abusive language in Bezzenberger's 'Beitr.' i. 301), that *i-η-μ* comes from the rt. *sa*, which occurs in *se-r-o* for *se-s-o*, and which he also connects with *si-n-o*, is open to many objections. To the middle *ισθαί* with its traces of an initial consonant, we return on p. 604. The use of *ἐφίσθαι* is sufficient to preclude us from separating the active from the middle. — For the forms expanded by *dh* (Gk. *θ*, Teut. Slav. *d*), to which belong *i̯-θ-μα*, *i̯-θύ-s*, *ισθ-μός-s* p. 63 f. Bugge in Bezzenb. 'Beitr.' iii. 100 adduces an excellent parallel to *i̯-σθ-μός-s* from rt. *l* in the ON. *eið* (neut.) 'strip of land between two seas.' The meaning of *i̯θús* is established against the doubts of Pott W. i. 161 by *i̯-tē-s*. Goth. *iddja* is discussed by Müllenhoff 'Haupt's Ztschr.' xii. 387. — Corssen's objections (i. 213, 454) seem to me all removed by the very probable assumption that from a very early

date *i* and the expanded rt. *ja* existed side by side, as is the case in Skt.

616. *l-ó-s* arrow. — Skt. *ish-u-s*; Zend *ishu* arrow.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Kuhn 'Ztschr.' ii. 137. — The *ι*, as a rule long, is short in Hom. *ιό-μῶροι*, and in Pindar, also in *ιο-χέαipa*. Brugman 'Stud.' iv. 170 (Fick i². 509) is probably right in referring *ιό-s* to *ιο-f-o-s*. B. and R. in the 'Pet. D.' establish the root *ish* (i. e. *is*) with the meaning 'let fly.' *διο-τό-s* cannot have anything to do with this word, because it must have lost a consonant between *ο* and *ι*.

617. Root *ic* wish, *ιό-τη(τ)-s* wish, will, *ἰ-μερο-s* longing.

— Skt. rt. *ish* (*ikkh-ā-mi*) seek, desire, *ikkhā* wish, *ish-tá-s* desired, *ish-má-s* (*ish-má-s*) god of love; Zd. *ish* wish. — OHG. *eis-c-ōn* ask (*heischen*), *eis-ca* demand. — Lith. *jėszkó-ti*, ChSl. *isk-a-ti* seek.

Bopp 'Gl.,' Pott W. ii. 2, 310, Benf. i. 15, Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' i. 160, Fick i². 508. — The root is *is*. *ιό-τη-s* points to a lost adjective *ιό-s* 'willing.' On the suffix of *ἰ-μερο-s* cp. Aufrecht 'Ztschr.' i. 480, Kuhn ii. 275. We may add *ἰμέρα*, *ἰμέρα-s*, perhaps even *ἰμβρο-s* (cp. *μεσ-ημβρ-ία*). The *σ* of the root is retained in *ἰσ-μερα*, which in Hesych. is explained like *ἰμερα* by τὰ πρὸς τοὺς καθαρμούς φερόμενα ἄνθη καὶ στεφανώματα; and also probably in the proper name *ἰσ-μύνη* *Desiderata*, *ἰσ-μηνό-s*, *ἰσ-μορο-s* (son of Eumolpus, and the name of the wine-town of the Cicones). Ebel 'Ztschr.' v. 66. Pott 'Ztschr.' ix. 415 adds *ἰμμάρ-αδο-s*, who is also called son of Eumolpus, with *μμ = σμ* as in the Aeolic *ἔμμε = Skt. jushmat*. — For the Italian words see Corsen 'Ztschr.' ix. 139, i². 375. — Those of the northern languages go back to the noun stem *is-ka* preserved in the Skt. *ikkhā*.

618. *ōvo-s*. — Lat. *as-inu-s*. — Goth. *as-ilu-s*, ON. *as-ni*.

— ChSl. *os-ŭ-lŭ* ass (*Esel*).

Benf. i. 123, Pictet i. 354, and Stokes 'Ir. Gl.' p. 159 consider the word to be of Semitic origin (Hebr. *athôn* 'she-ass'). After the historical explanations of Hehn³ 514 this now seems to me too the most probable, while it appears certain that the ass was not among the possessions of the Indo-Germans. A. Müller (Bezzenb. 'Beitr.' i. 294) raises difficulties against the Semitic derivation. The Greek and Latin name on the one hand, the Gothic and Slavo-Lithuanian on the other are more closely connected. Perhaps the latter go back to the Lat. *asellu-s*. — Ir. *assal* 'asinus,' Cymr. *assen*, Corn. *asen*, (Z². 823) are borrowed from Latin.

619. *oŭs*, Hom. pl. *οŭατ-α*, Att. *ῶτα*. — Lat. *aur-i-s*, *aus-*

κ k

cul-to. — Goth. *aus-o* (st. *aus-an*), OHG. *ōrā* [NHG. *ohr*]. — Lith. *aus-ì-s* (fem.), ChSl. *uch-o* (gen. *uš-es-e*) n. ear. — OIr. *ó auris* (Z². 33).

Pott W. i. 643, 652, Fick i³. 502, 405, Leo Meyer 'Ztschr.' v. 369. — The words for the conception 'ear' have in fact only the initial diphthong in common: *au*, the earliest form of this, may still be recognized in the Tarentine form *ā-ra*, or, as we may probably write more correctly, *ā-ṛ-a* (*āra* Hesych.), i. e. *āfar-a*, *āara*, and in the modern Greek *aur-i* (i. e. *af-ti*) = *ōr-io-v* (E. Curtius 'Gött. Anz.' 1857, 'Nachrichten' p. 311), and also in Lesb. *παρ-αῦα*, Pind. *παράα*, Hom. *παρ-ή(ῥ)-ιο-v*, Att. *παρειά*, i. e. *τὸ παρ' ὠτί*, as Pott saw (i³. 138). Cp. *μαλλο-πάρανο-ς* *λενκοπάρειος* Hesych. Ahrens 'Aeol.' 36, Brugman 'Stud.' iv. 143. — We may suppose that we see in this diphthong the rt. *av* discussed under No. 586. — Now in three families of speech we find an *s* added to this stem. Cp. p. 64. From the stem *aus* come Lith. *aus-ì-s* and Lat. *aur-i-s* for *aus-i-s*, by the addition of a derivative *i*, Goth. *aus-o*, ChSl. *uch-o* (for *us-o* st. *us-es*) by the addition of other suffixes. The *s* is also clearly retained in Lat. *aus-culto*. Hence it is probable that the Greek word also had originally a sibilant in the stem. I therefore regard *αῖσ-αῖ* as the Greek primary form. The suffix *-ar* is the same that we saw added in *γουν-αῖ* for *γουν-αῖ*, *δουρ-αῖ* for *δουρ-αῖ*. *οὔσ-αῖ* is to *αῖσ-αῖ* as *οὔρο-ς* to *αῖρα* (No. 587). By the regular loss of the *σ* this became *οὔ-αῖ*. This stem is the more common in Homer for the oblique cases. By the change of *οὔ* into *ὄφ* (cp. *βοφ-ός*) arose *ὄφ-αῖ*. Of this there is still a trace occurring in Lacon. *ἐξωβάδια ἐνώρι* (Hesych.). The *φ* also was then dropped: Dor. *ῶαῖ* (Ahrens 'Dor.' 246, so in Theocr. *ἄμφ-ῶες* 'with two handles'), Ionic **ῶαῖ*, contracted *ῶαῖ*. As for the nom. sing. *οὔς*, either we have in it a shorter stem, as in *γόνυ* compared with *γουν-αῖ*:—this is the view of Froehde 'Ztschr. f. Gymnasialwesen' 1864 p. 195, and at any rate it deserves consideration: — or *οὔς* is contracted from *οὔας*, possibly directly from a by-form *οὔος* (cp. *ῶδος* and *ῶδαῖ*) (see Ebel 'Ztschr.' xiii. 457, Gust. Meyer 'Stud.' v. 81). Cp. Herodian (ed. Lentz.) ii. 281. — We may further notice the Tzaconian form *ἄβουτᾶνα*, plur. *ἄβουτᾶνε* (Thiersch 'Sprache der Tzakonen' p. 522). In this remarkable dialect *ov* is the regular representative of *o*, *β = φ*; so that we get the stem *ἄφοῖ*, to which a secondary expanding suffix is here superadded.

DR. WM. SMITH'S THEOLOGICAL, CLASSICAL, & LATIN DICTIONARIES.

‘I consider Dr. Wm. Smith's Dictionaries to have conferred a great and lasting service on the cause of classical learning in this country.’—DEAN LIDDELL.

THEOLOGICAL.

- A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE; its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History.** By VARIOUS WRITERS. Edited by WM. SMITH, D.C.L. With Illustrations. 3 vols. Medium 8vo. 5*l.* 5*s.*
- A CONCISE BIBLE DICTIONARY.** Condensed from the above Work, for FAMILIES AND STUDENTS. With Illustrations. 9*th* Edition. Medium 8vo. 2*1s.*
- A SMALLER BIBLE DICTIONARY.** Abridged from the larger Work, for SCHOOLS AND YOUNG PERSONS. 11*th* Edition. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*
- A DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES.** The History, Institutions, and Antiquities of the Christian Church. By VARIOUS WRITERS. Edited by WM. SMITH, D.C.L., and ARCHDEACON CHEETHAM, D.D. With Illustrations. 2 vols. Medium 8vo. 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*
- A DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY, LITERATURE, SECTS, AND DOCTRINES.** By VARIOUS WRITERS. Edited by WM. SMITH, D.C.L., and HENRY WACE, D.D. Vols I., II., and III. Medium 8vo. 3*1s.* 6*d.* each (to be completed in 4 vols.).

CLASSICAL.

- A DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.** By VARIOUS WRITERS. With 500 Illustrations. (1300 pp.) Medium 8vo. 28*s.*
- A SMALLER DICTIONARY OF ANTIQUITIES FOR JUNIOR CLASSES.** Abridged from the above Work. 12*th* Edition. With 200 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*
- A DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN BIOGRAPHY AND MYTHOLOGY.** By VARIOUS WRITERS. With 564 Illustrations. (3720 pp.) 3 vols. Medium 8vo. 4*l.* 4*s.*
- A DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN GEOGRAPHY.** By VARIOUS WRITERS. With 4 Maps and 534 Illustrations. (2512 pp.) 2 vols. Medium 8vo. 2*l.* 16*s.*
- A CLASSICAL DICTIONARY OF BIOGRAPHY, MYTHOLOGY, AND GEOGRAPHY,** for the HIGHER FORMS IN SCHOOLS. Condensed from the above Dictionaries. 17*th* Edition. With 750 Woodcuts. 8vo. 18*s.*
- A SMALLER CLASSICAL DICTIONARY FOR JUNIOR CLASSES.** Abridged from the above Work. 19*th* Edition. With 200 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

LATIN.

- A COMPLETE LATIN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY.** With Tables of the Roman Calendar, Measures, Weights, and Money. 17*th* Edition. (1250 pp.) Medium 8vo. 2*1s.*

This work holds an intermediate place between the Thesaurus of Forcellini and the ordinary School Dictionaries, performing the same service for the Latin language as Liddell and Scott's Lexicon has done for the Greek. Great attention has been paid to Etymology.

- A SMALLER LATIN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY.** With a Dictionary of Proper Names. A New Edition, the 27*th.* Thoroughly Revised and partly Re-written. By Dr. WM. SMITH, and Prof. T. D. HALL, M.A. (730 pp.) Square 16mo. 7*s.* 6*d.* The Etymological portion by JOHN K. INGRAM, LL.D., of Trinity College, Dublin.

This Edition is to a great extent a new and original work. Every article has been carefully revised.

- A COPIOUS AND CRITICAL ENGLISH-LATIN DICTIONARY.** Compiled from Original Sources. 4*th* Edition. Medium 8vo. 2*1s.*

This work is a more complete and perfect English-Latin Dictionary than yet exists. It has been composed from beginning to end precisely as if there had been no work of the kind in our language, and every article has been the result of original and independent research.

- A SMALLER ENGLISH-LATIN DICTIONARY FOR JUNIOR CLASSES.** Abridged from the above Work. 11*th* Edition. Square 12mo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

JOHN MURRAY, Albemarle Street.

